



UNIVERSITY OF
KWAZULU-NATAL

INYUVESI
YAKWAZULU-NATALI

**LAND RESTITUTION AND POVERTY ALLEVIATION IN
KWAZULU-NATAL: THE CASE OF HLOMENDLINI
COMMUNITY**

By

Ndlovu Sandile

215079409

School of Built Environment and Development Studies

Master of Development Studies

Supervisor: Prof. Mvuselelo Ngcoya

2020

DECLARATION

This research has not been previously accepted for any degree and is not being currently considered for any other degree at any other university. I declare that this dissertation contains my own work, except where specifically acknowledged.

Student Name.....

Student Number.....

Signed.....

Date.....

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the memory of my late father Mandlakayise ‘Mgenge’ Ndlovu and my mother Puseletso Christina Ndlovu.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my eternal gratitude and appreciation to the living God for granting me His grace to do this work, without Him this would be impossible. Secondly, I would like to thank my family who have taken the full brunt of my absence in my pursuit of this work. Despite all odds, they offered me their unwavering support. Deservedly, I would like to appreciate my supervisor, Prof. Mvuselelo Ngcoya for his scholarly guidance and valuable advice that he provided during this study. I am also indebted to the members of the Hlomendlini Community Trust for their willingness to share their experiences and making this study a reality.

ABSTRACT

Unequal land access and poverty skewed along racial lines remains one of the major legacies of colonialism and apartheid in South Africa. Massive poverty amongst the black South African population in particular is associated with their landlessness dating back to the colonial past. The democratic government rolled out a land access programme to retribute the victims of past injudicious laws. Amongst other objectives, this programme aims to improve household welfare and alleviate poverty. The nexus between land access and poverty reduction has become the dominant narrative amongst politicians, some scholars and policy-makers. This study seeks to interrogate the popular notion dominating the South African land discourse that access to land will reduce poverty amongst the poorest of the poor. To achieve its aim, the study adopted qualitative methods using a case study approach which was better suited given the complex nature of the study. Using snowball sampling to identify participants, I used semi-structured interviews, observations, secondary materials and transect walks to conduct the research. The study found that land access was biased towards old people and males in particular. The government imposed its own preferred land use plans on new landowners in order to sustain the previous large-scale commercial model, despite the limited number of hectares of land shared by a large number of beneficiaries. Post-settlement was inadequate as land claimants face numerous challenges such as delayed grant funding, a lack of institutional support, corruption, a lack of equipment and difficult co-management arrangements with white strategic partners. The study found that contestations from within and outside the community have pushed them to the brink of collapse. The major finding of the study is that since taking ownership of the land, there are no durable material and psychological benefits that have been derived by new land entrants to alleviate their poverty, largely caused by their loss of land due to dispossession.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION	i
DEDICATION	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
ABSTRACT	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS	v
List of Figures	ix
List of Tables	x
ACRONYMS	xi
Chapter 1: Introduction.....	1
1.1 Background and problem statement.....	1
1.2 Democratic dispensation.....	2
1.3 Impact and challenges of restitution.....	5
1.4 Overview of poverty in South Africa.....	7
1.4.1 Poverty profile.....	8
1.4.2 Race	8
1.4.3 Gender.....	8
1.4.4 Age.....	9
1.4.5 Education.....	9
1.4.6 Where are the poor?.....	9
1.5 Assets, complementarity and livelihoods.....	10
1.6 Significance of and rationale for the study.....	11
1.7 Research questions and study objectives.....	14
1.8 Research methods and instruments	15
1.9 Organisation of the dissertation	15
Chapter 2: Literature Review.....	17
2.1 Introduction.....	17
2.2 Main agrarian approaches.....	17
2.2.1 State-led land reform	18

2.2.2	Market-based land reform	20
2.3	The restitution of land rights programme	22
2.3.1	Ideological underpinnings	23
2.3.2	Compensation	26
2.3.3	Social Justice	28
2.3.4	Land use	30
2.3.5	Post-restitution support	31
2.3.6	Strategic partnership and the colonial present	33
2.3.7	Legal entities	34
2.3.8	Land and gender relations	35
2.4	Conclusion	36
Chapter 3: Conceptual Framework: Assets, Complementarity and Livelihoods		38
3.1	Introduction	38
3.2	Assets	38
3.2.1	Natural Capital (Land)	39
3.2.2	Physical Capital	41
3.2.3	Social capital	43
3.2.4	Human capital	45
3.2.5	Financial capital	47
3.3	Complementarity	49
3.4	Livelihoods	49
3.4.1	Livelihood diversification	52
3.4.2	Livelihood Outcome	54
3.5	Conclusion	55
Chapter 4: Research Design and Methodology		56
4.1	Introduction	56
4.2	Study Design	56
4.3	Study Area	57
4.4	Study Population	59
4.5	Sampling Methods	59
4.6	Research Methods	60

4.6.1	Interviews	61
4.6.2	Observation	62
4.6.3	Transect walking.....	63
4.6.4	Secondary data collection	63
4.7	Data analysis	64
4.8	Trustworthiness of the study.....	65
4.8.1	Credibility	65
4.8.2	Transferability	66
4.8.3	Dependability	66
4.8.4	Confirmability	66
4.9	Limitations and Challenges	66
4.10	Ethical considerations.....	67
4.11	Conclusion	68
Chapter 5: Research findings, Discussion and Analysis		69
5.1	Introduction.....	69
5.2	How do gender, age and educational levels of beneficiaries impact on access to land?	70
5.2.1	Gender.....	70
5.2.2	Age.....	71
5.2.3	Education level	72
5.3	Relationship between land use, productivity and livelihoods.....	73
5.3.1	Land Use	73
5.3.2	Productivity of the farm	77
5.4	Land access and its impact on livelihoods.....	81
5.4.1	Benefits of land access.....	82
5.5	Post-settlement support.....	89
5.5.1	Financial support.....	89
5.5.2	Advisory support.....	92
5.5.3	Human development.....	93
5.5.4	Commercial partnerships	95
5.5.5	Governance.....	97

5.6	Contested land	99
5.7	Psychological impact and land access	101
5.8	Livelihood outcomes	103
5.9	Conclusion	104
Chapter 6: Summary of Findings and Implications of Study		106
6.1	Introduction.....	106
6.2	Summary of findings	106
6.2.1	Demographics and land access	106
6.2.2	Land use and productivity	107
6.2.3	Land access and livelihoods	108
6.2.4	Post-settlement support	110
6.2.5	Contested land	111
6.2.6	Psychological impact and land access	112
6.2.7	Livelihood outcomes.....	112
6.3	Implications of the findings	113
6.4	Conclusion and further research	115
References.....		117
Appendix 1:.....		131
Appendix 2:.....		135
Appendix 3.....		136
Appendix 4.....		137

List of Figures

Figure 1: The location of HCT.....	58
Figure 2: The HCT map showing the farm, settlement and thorn tree veld	73
Figure 3: The backyard garden belonging to Gcinile Gasa	80
Figure 4: The household garden belonging to Christina Nxele	84
Figure 5: Under-utilised sugarcane farm	91
Figure 6: The hired tractor driver inspecting the boom sprayer	94
Figure 7: Cattle grazing within the unplanted parts of the HCT sugarcane farm.....	100

List of Tables

Table 1: Classification of the components of rural livelihood diversification	53
Table 2: Profile of interviewees	60
Table 3: Gender distribution	70
Table 4: Age distribution	71
Table 5: Level of education	72

ACRONYMS

ANC	: African National Congress
CODESA	: Convention for a Democratic South Africa
CRLR	: Commission on the Restitution of Land Rights
CPA	: Communal Property Association
CT	: Community Trust
DARD	: Department of Agriculture and Rural Development
DLA	: Department of Land Affairs
DRDLR	: Department of Rural Development and Land Reform
GEAR	: Growth, Empowerment and Redistribution
HA	: Hectare
LCC	: Land Claims Court
LBPL	: Lower bound poverty line
MBLR	: Market-based land reform
NDP	: National Development Plan
RDP	: Reconstruction and Development Programme
SACGA	: South African Cane Growers Associations
SSA	: Sub-Saharan Africa
SLLR	: State-led land reform
T A	: Traditional Authority
TH	: Tongaat Hullet
UBPL	: Upper bound poverty line
WSWB	: Willing seller-willing buyer

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Background and problem statement

The pain and humiliation that black Africans endured at the hands of white colonialists during the large-scale looting of their land in South Africa was immeasurable. When the Dutch landed on South African shores, not a single piece of land was offloaded from their cargo. Obviously, they did not bring any land from their country of origin, the Netherlands, to South Africa (Ramose 2018, 11). Yet, many indigenous people became landless and were disconnected from agriculture, which was their main form of livelihood, rendering them poor in the process (Commey 2014, Du Toit and Neves 2012 and Bromely 1995). While this racist act entrenched poverty amongst the dispossessed through the loss of income and food insecurity, it also robbed them of their dignity as people in the process (Modise and Mtshiselwa 2013, 5).

Although the dispossession of land by conquest began immediately after 1652, the passing of the 1913 Natives Land Act on 19 June 1913, paved the way for legal land dispossession (Weidman 2004, 9). The 1913 Act, together with the Mines and Works Act of 1911 and the Native Labour Regulation Act of 1911, effectively ensured that the black African majority were confined to the new enclosures called native reserves (Lahiff and Cousins 2005, 127).

Modise and Mtshiselwa (2013, 3) report that an insignificant number of black Africans experienced poverty before the enactment of the 1913 Natives Land Act. They argue that Africans were self-sufficient and proficient farmers who competed with their white counterparts very well (McCann 2001, 256). However, in the so-called native reserves, the conditions were wretched, characterised by poor agricultural infrastructure, underdevelopment, congestion and diminutive land size per family making it difficult to depend on agriculture as a livelihood. Agricultural activities were at a level that could

only be labeled as sub-subsistence (Bundy 1979, 221). These activities contributed below the employment wage and too little far less to have any positive impact towards household's livelihoods (Lahiff and Cousins 2005, 127).

In turn, African males were compelled to sell their labour for low-paying jobs on the white owned farms, mines and industries for survival. As a consequence of the deliberate disruption of the black African rural agrarian economy through land dispossession, those that remained in the native reserves, particularly women, were dependent on subsistence farming that was supplemented by remittances (Du Toit and Neves, 2014, 4). Effectively, land shortages forced a transition from a flourishing agrarian economy to a cash-based economy that was constructed on a migrant labour system (Sidloyi 2016, 379).

In the 1970s, there was a structural shift within the formal economy characterised by a decline in the primary sector, capital intensiveness, vertical integration and job shedding (Du Toit and Neves, 2012; Seekings 2007; Terreblanche 2002). This process resulted in massive job losses and the remittances that were transferred to the rural areas dried up (Du Toit and Neves, 2012, 4).

1.2 Democratic dispensation

It is projected that approximately 3.5 million people were forcefully dislocated between 1960 and 1983 in both rural and urban areas (Hall 2009, 2). By 1990, 82 million ha (87 %) of land was occupied by about 60 000 white commercial farmers, while black Africans had access to a mere 13 % of the land in the Bantustans (Du Toit 2012, 3). Against this backdrop, the new democratic government, led by the African National Congress (ANC), announced plans to embark on a large-scale land reform programme in 1994. This followed the conclusion of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) and the first democratic election, widely won by the ANC.

In 1994, the ANC-led Government of National Unity passed the Restitution of Land Rights Act 22 of 1994 to return the land stolen by the racist government and its accomplices back to its rightful owners. This Act further affirmed the previous agreements reached through compromises on land restitution during the CODESA dialogue, as well as described the process to be followed by those eligible to claim their land back from the state (Hall 2009, 3). The Act prescribed two institutions that would drive these processes: the commission process driven by the Commission on the Restitution of Land Rights (CRLR) and a court process to be led by the Land Claims Court (LCC) (Atuahene 2014, 60).

The CRLR was established in 1995 with a mandate to assist claimants; ensure that their claims were valid; and prepare them for settlements or adjudication. It operated under the authority of a Chief Land Claims Commissioner at the national level, with the Regional Land Claims Commissioners responsible for its operations in their respective provinces. On the other hand, the LCC was established in 1996 to approve claims, grant restitution orders and make pronouncements on various disputes. However, appeals against its judgments could be made in the Supreme Court of Appeal and subsequently in the Constitutional Court (Hall 2009, 4).

The LCC was a vital cog in the restitution process, particularly when there were disputes between the CRLR and claimants or the CRLR and white landowners. Matters under dispute were referred to the LCC, which provided clarity and direction on the interpretation of law by the CRLR. The length of time it took for the matters referred to the LCC to be settled negatively affected the ability of the CRLR to finalize claims with reasonable timeframes (Atuahene 2014, 61). In lodging their claims, Everingham and Jannecke (2006, 548) state that communities usually received support from activist groups, such as the Black Sash and the Legal Resource Centre.

The Restitution of Land Rights Act 22 of 1994 set out the following logical phases of the restitution process: lodging the land claim; validation of the claim; verification; negotiation in terms of the nature of compensation such as land or monetary compensation; and the valuation process, which entails evaluating the value of property and the amount of the financial award to be paid to claimants should they opt for it (Hall 2003, 21). This process was given further impetus by the adoption of the new South African Constitution in 1996, which set the following framework for land restitution:

A person or community dispossessed of property after 19 June 1913 as a result of past racially discriminatory laws or practices is entitled, to the extent provided by an Act of Parliament, either to restitution of that property or to equitable redress (Section 25 (7) (RSA Constitution, 1996).

In 1997, the then Department of Land Affairs (DLA), now the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform (DRDLR), published the country's land reform policy which explicitly stated its four-fold objectives: "(a) to redress the injustices of apartheid; (b) to foster national reconciliation and stability; (c) to underpin economic growth; and (d) to improve household welfare and alleviate poverty" (DRDLR 1997, 7).

The process proved not to be as smooth sailing as initially anticipated. According to Kepe (2012, 396) slow pace in resolving claims characterised the first years of the programme as very few rural land claims were settled. It was reported that claims received before the 31 December 1998 cut-off date exceeded the 70 000 mark (Hall 2003, 20). The bulk of the land claims at 82% were urban based, whilst 18% targeted rural areas (Atuahene 2014, 68).

Between 1996 and 1997, only a single claim was successfully settled. By the end of 1998, only six claims were resolved by the commission. The state managed to settle about 41 of the total claims received by the end of 1999 (Hall 2004, 217). In 2006, the government

announced that 73 433 claims were settled. However, a staggering 5 279 rural claims were still not settled, suggesting that the bulk of settlements were urban claims (Hall 2010, 26 and Parliament of South Africa 2016, 32).

1.3 Impact and challenges of restitution

The CRLR reports that 79 582 claims were settled by August 2013. In the same year, the commission reported that around 3 million ha of land had been restored to its rightful owners since the inception of the programme. By that time, the state had paid about R23 billion as part of land acquisitions for the restitution programme, while R 5.6 billion had been paid as financial compensation (Parliament of South Africa 2016, 34). About 400 000 households benefited from the restitution programme by 2013, of these, close to 140 000 were female headed-households (Parliament of South Africa 2016, 37).

However, Hall (2003, 10) and Cousins (2007, 223) have raised questions about the government's commitment to fast-track land restitution based on the budget allocation for the programme. They claim that the DRLR received about 0.5 % of the national budget, clearly not matching the rhetoric with the actual figures despite many claims being settled with monetary compensation (Bromley 1995, 101 and Hall (2009/2010). The money paid to claimants was far below the market value of the land under claim, while the CRLR gladly paid white landowners market-related compensation for their land (Atuahene 2014, 152).

Basically, even the dispossessed indirectly carried the cost for restitution as all land claims were directed to the state, not white landowners who benefited from dispossession (Hall 2010, 26 and Atuahene 2014, 905). The Joint Constitutional Review Committee within the parliament of South Africa recently adopted a report on land expropriation without compensation which will enable a change of the Constitution. In essence, this landmark decision is aimed at fast-tracking land restoration to the rightful owners and to pay no compensation for the allegedly stolen land.

While this move is generally welcomed by the dispossessed, questions are being asked about the impact of land restitution on the current beneficiaries thus far. The current land restitution has its own fair share of challenges that have been recorded by different scholars after years of evaluation. Hall (2010, 35) states that many restitution beneficiaries that acquired large-scale commercial farms were expected to carry on with the very same production system by government. Cousins (2007, 225) believes that the continuation with the previous land use plans by new landowners at the insistence of the state has not only disrupted beneficiaries' personal ambitions, but also seriously affected their livelihoods.

Fraser (2007, 840) argues that the continuing involvement of former white commercial farmers in restitution farms under the guise of commercial partnerships represents what he terms the 'colonial present'. According to Hall (2010, 36), new landowners have been put under severe pressure by government to enter into these strategic partnerships. At the core of this push by the state is to ensure that claimants continue with the above-mentioned production system and to avoid 'failure' of these projects because of beneficiaries' lack of farming expertise (Fraser 2007, 840). Instead, Basu (2016, 734) argues that these joint ventures have not benefited the claimants, leaving them with insurmountable debt, farm productivity decline and most importantly, social conflicts amongst themselves.

Communal Property Associations (CPA) and Community Trusts (CT), the legal entities charged with the responsibility to administer land rights on behalf of the landowners, are at the centre of numerous challenges facing many restitution projects. Due to poor support from the state, these legal entities have been rendered isolated and dysfunctional and hence badly exposed to both social and legal contestation (Cousins 2016, 15 and Hall 2003, 15). Furthermore, Cousins (2016, 15) points out that corruption, poor governance and collusion with outside interests are some of the allegations levelled against these entities by claimants.

Scholars such as Terreblanche (2002), Du Toit (2012) and Modise and Mtshiselwa (2013) have attributed the rampant poverty that is ravaging black Africans to the loss of their land. They argue that restoring the land to their rightful owners will contribute immensely to reducing the poverty produced by colonial conquest and dispossession. This view resonates with politicians, policy-makers and the dispossessed African people.

Despite the rolling out of land restitution programmes, poverty is said to be ravaging many land beneficiaries across the country (Mostert 2002, 427). Kepe (2012, 397) states that claimants have not derived any expected benefits from their land in any form. Dikgang and Muchapondwa (2016) and Kewell and Carter (2014) have found similar trends in their studies. Borras (2003, 385) points out at the lack of post-settlement support for land beneficiaries as one of the fundamental causes of their poverty.

1.4 Overview of poverty in South Africa

The emergence of poverty amongst black Africans is traced back to the colonial conquest by European settlers more than 300 years ago, as well as the promulgation of the Native Land Act of 1913, to be precise (Ramose and Hook 2016; Modise and Mtshiselwa 2103). Through apartheid, black Africans had limited opportunities for employment and economic participation, and they were subjected to sub-standard education and health care and an unequal distribution of assets (Seekings 2007, 2; Du Toit 2012, 3). The lack of opportunities to accumulate capital and access productive assets ‘sentenced’ them to chronic poverty, which they transmitted from generation to generation (Aliber 2003, 476). Likewise, Seekings (2007, 12) states that the post-1994 economy has failed to absorb many low-skilled personnel, resulting in large-scale unemployment. This has ensured that, to this day, black Africans remain entrapped in poverty cycles, regardless of the political freedoms they enjoy today (Modise and Mtshiselwa 2103, 8; Modiri 2012, 233).

1.4.1 Poverty profile

While certain strides have been achieved by the democratic state as poverty declined between 2006 and 2011 from 66.6% to 53%, an increase to 5.5 % was recorded in 2015. This suggests that of 55 million people, 30.4 million are living in conditions of squalor, despite the National Development Plan's (NDP) vision to reduce the proportion of the population living below the Lower Bound Poverty Line (LBPL) from 39% in 2010 to 0% and income inequality from 0.70 to 0.60 by 2030 (Statistics SA 2017, 56).

1.4.2 Race

In the post-1994 period, race stubbornly remains a strong determinant of poverty such that in 2015, black Africans still had the highest incidence of poverty as compared to other racial groups. Using the Upper Bound Poverty Line (UBPL), the poverty headcount ratio of Black Africans was 64.2% as compared to the second most impoverished group, Coloureds, at 41.3%. While both Indians/Asians and Whites had the lowest levels of poverty at 5.9 % and 1.0 % respectively. This trend has been consistent since the advent of democracy where black Africans have remained at the top end of poverty distribution as compared to other races (Statistics SA 2017, 58).

1.4.3 Gender

The notion that South African poverty has a “strong gender dimension” is reflected in national statistics. According to Statistics SA (2017, 56), the proportion of females living below the UBPL increased to 57.2% as compared to males at 53.7% in 2015. Females in South Africa continue to be impoverished as compared to their male counterparts.

1.4.4 Age

Statistics published in 2015 suggest that poverty was high amongst children (aged 0-17) at 66.8 % as compared to other age groups. Poverty amongst the elderly (65+ of age) was recorded as 44%. Children are more prone to poverty as compared to the adult age cohorts (Statistics SA 2017, 59).

1.4.5 Education

There is a correlation between poverty and levels of educational attainment by individuals (Mbuli 2008, 6). In 2015, the largest concentration of poverty was found amongst the individuals ranging from no schooling at 79 % and those with some primary education recording poverty levels of 69 %. This was in stark contrast to those with a post- Matric education, where only 8.4 % were said to be poor (Statistics SA 2017, 62).

1.4.6 Where are the poor?

Poverty is unevenly distributed across the nine provinces of South Africa. The provinces where the former Bantustans were located are more impoverished than those that were part of “South Africa” pre-1994. In 2015, the Eastern Cape had the highest poverty levels (72.9 %) closely followed by Limpopo province (72.4%) and KwaZulu-Natal (68.1%). The Western Cape (37.1%) and Gauteng (33.3 %) had the lowest incidences of poverty amongst the provinces (Statistics SA 2017, 64).

Less than 50% of the population lives in the South African countryside and more than 70% of them live in poverty (Mbuli 2008, 4). Statistics suggest that poverty was concentrated in rural areas at 81.3% as compared to 40.6% in urban areas in 2015 (Statistics SA 2017, 64).

1.5 Assets, complementarity and livelihoods

The nexus between land restitution and poverty is analysed through the lens of the assets, complementarity and livelihoods framework. I have used this conceptual framework because of the lack of theories that best suit the objectives of this study and is discussed in detail in Chapter Three. An asset is anything that has some form of value, such as a house, a plough, a goat or a piece of land (Kim and Sumberg 2015, 126). Several capital assets such as natural, physical, social, human and financial capital are used by households in pursuit of their livelihoods (Moser 2006, 5; Rakodi 1999, 316; Siegel 2005, 7; Winters et al 2009, 1436).

However, inadequate access to these assets may lead to poverty, whereas their accumulation is critical to the wellbeing of the poor (IFAD 2001, 71 and McKay 2009, 4). Land access is strongly associated with poverty reduction as it ensures wider participation of the poor in the mainstream economy (Cotula et al. 2006, 7 and Kay 2006, 475). However, access to land alone, without the equal right to use other capital assets, will have little or no impact on poverty alleviation (DFID 2002, 1).

Physical assets such as infrastructure and production equipment play a key role in supporting different livelihood strategies and fighting poverty. They assist people to function better and more productively (DFID 1999, 13 and Rakodi 1999, 317). Social capital, on the other hand, enables access to the other four capital assets and institutions (Kay 2006, 462). It is developed through networks based on trust and the ability to work together based on commonly accepted standards and sanctions (DFID 1999, 9).

Skills, the ability to work and a good state of health enables people to use assets such as physical capital efficiently in order to advance their livelihoods (Psacharopoulos 1995, 4 and DFID 1999, 7). Effective utilisation of other assets (natural, physical, financial and social) to achieve positive livelihoods depends on the acquisition of human capital by the poor (DFID (1999, 7). Financial resources are required by the people to achieve their

livelihood objectives (DFID 1999, 15). Access to finance is one of the greatest instruments to reduce poverty and arguably one of the best indicators used to measure poverty reduction (Moser 2006, 19).

Siegel (2005, 9) asserts that some capital assets are more productive if combined with others. A single asset has the potential to generate livelihood benefits, but the combination of different types of assets yields more benefits for households (Kim and Sumberg 2015, 126). Livelihoods are a set of activities required for a means of living such as wage labour, state transfers, remittances and farming (Carter and May 1999, 5 and Carney 1998, 4).

Foster et al. (2011, 539) postulate that over the years, rural livelihoods have diversified from agriculture as the key economic activity for survival. The daily activities that different households are engaged in must yield a set of livelihood outcomes. The desired outcomes that have a positive effect on poverty are: more income, increased wellbeing and increased food security (DFID 1999, 25 and Rakodi 2002, 16).

1.6 Significance of and rationale for the study

The significance of this research is to interrogate the popular notion dominating the South African land discourse that access to land will reduce poverty amongst the poorest of the poor. The land reform programme has broad objectives, namely economic growth, reconciliation, historical redress and poverty alleviation. However, more focus has been given to the latter objective than other outcomes of the land reform programme, particularly by the state.

For instance, in her speech during the handover of land to the community of Hlomedlini in 2006, the then Minister of Land Affairs, Ms. Xingwane, stated that “as we seek various ways to address poverty, we look upon communities like this one to take advantage of the

new opportunities presented by government” (Xingwane, 2006). This statement represents the thinking of government and policy-makers about the role that programmes such as land restitution can play in reducing impoverishment amongst the poor. Some scholars have given credence to this position. Karriem and Hoskins (2016, 329) argued that governments the world over have widely used land reforms to tackle landlessness and abject rural poverty amongst the rural poor.

However, Kay (2006, 475) argues that although land access is crucial in ensuring that broad-based rural development, equity and poverty reduction is realised, it is not a foregone conclusion that poverty will be alleviated. In fact, DFID (2002, 1) argues that land access without being accompanied by access to other complementary services such as infrastructure, education, skills and markets will not make a dent in poverty or improve the livelihood of the poor. Indeed, scholars such as Kewell and Carter (2014), Dikgang and Muchapondwa (2016, 80), Kepe (2012, 397) and Mostert (2002, 427) have conclusively declared that in South Africa, land restitution beneficiaries have not derived any material gains and are being ravaged by poverty, despite having access to land.

Cousins (2007, 225) points out that new restitution beneficiaries are expected by the state to continue with previous owners’ land-use plans, which are largely unworkable and irrelevant to their livelihood’s possibilities. These impositions without any possible options have negatively affected the livelihood of the new landowners. As indicated above, their problems have been further compounded by the lack of post-settlement support which has derailed the programme from delivering on one of its key objectives, namely poverty eradication (Borras 2003, 385).

Instead, the formation of joint venture companies by land claimants and agri-business companies as a strategic partner has resulted in the accumulation of a mountain of debt, farm deterioration and social conflicts between claimants. These have worked to the disadvantage of the claimants who have benefited nothing from these strategic

partnerships (Basu 2016, 734). Fraser (2007, 841) claims that traditional leaders adjacent to restitution projects believe that land handed over to communities must be under their control. This has affected the performance of restitution projects as the focus is shifted to fighting for the independence of these entities from traditional authorities, thus failing to deliver on the programme's objective.

The commercialization of land in South Africa has eclipsed the most fundamental objective of re-capturing the stolen land from white colonialists, which is the restoration of the dignity of black Africans, lost during colonial dispossession. This view is also supported by Hall (2004, 664) who states that there is an attempt through the restitution programme to strike a balance between restorative justice on one hand and economic development on the other, which are two competing objectives.

The restoration of black Africans' dignity is no longer the focus despite the pain and humiliation they endured during land dispossession, including the disruption of their livelihoods (Commey 2014, 10 and Bromely 1995, 103). Ballard et al. (2004, 13) argue that social justice is the main reason that land restitution was undertaken. Land restitution is one of the most powerful means to correct the racially skewed patterns of land ownership in both rural and urban areas. It is a way in which the dignity of many individuals, families and communities who were dispossessed of their land can be restored (Hall 2009, 3).

This study will contribute to the advancement of knowledge and growing literature on the link between land access and poverty alleviation. It seeks to make contributions to land and poverty discourses, as well as future policy considerations. Besides Ballard et al. (2004) and Hall (2009), most scholars focused mainly on the quantitative outcomes of land restitution rather than qualitative outcomes. While land restitution is a multi-faceted process (Ferguson 2013), the literature has demonstrated greater bias towards the economic aspects of restitution than exploring the psychological question as part of the

livelihood outcomes. This study seeks to contribute to the correction of this bias by focusing on both qualitative and quantitative outcomes of the land restitution programme in South Africa. Also, poverty is typically measured using money-metrics poverty lines such as LBPL and UBPL, which are regarded as ‘objective’ indicators of economic wellbeing. This study departs from that norm by using ‘subjective’ poverty assessment which is simply asking people to assess themselves whether or not they or their households are poor (Posel and Rogan 2014, 56).

1.7 Research questions and study objectives

The purpose of this dissertation is:

1. To assess the relationship between land access and poverty alleviation.
2. To determine the types of ancillary services and support available to beneficiaries.
3. To uncover the psychological impacts of land restitution.

The research seeks to answer the following questions:

1. How do gender, age and the educational level of beneficiaries’ impact on access to land?
 - (a) What is the relationship between land size, productivity and livelihoods?
 - (b) What is the impact of land access on livelihoods?
2. What type, size and duration of support do beneficiaries enjoy?
3. How do beneficiaries perceive the psychological impacts of land restitution?

1.8 Research methods and instruments

This study employs a qualitative approach in order to gain an in-depth understanding of the relationship between land access and poverty reduction. Given the complex nature of this work, I adopted a case study approach because it is more suitable to obtaining a better understanding of a community, situation, site, phenomenon and episode (Kumar 2011, 127). A total of 18 semi-structured interviews were conducted using snowballing or chain sampling (Patton 1990, 169). In addition, existing documents and records were used as secondary data (Stuwing and Stead 2001, 80). Furthermore, observations were made after the interviews in order to confirm some of the information provided by participants.

The study was conducted in the Hlomendlini Community Trust (HCT) area, KwaDukuza Local Municipality within ILembe District Municipality, which is about 20 km north of KwaDukuza (formerly Stanger), as shown on the map in Chapter Four. The largest part of the interviews were conducted in IsiZulu and were translated into English. The collected data was analysed using thematic analysis or content analysis. This process entailed generating codes, identifying themes, analyzing and reporting themes within data which cover the complex and interlinked aspects of the research topic (Boyatzis 1998). Details of how this process unfolded is explained in Chapter Four in details.

1.9 Organisation of the dissertation

This dissertation is divided into six chapters as follows:

This introductory chapter has presented the study background and the problem statement. It provided a brief insight on the conceptual framework used to analyse the research. It highlights the significance and rationale of the study.

The second chapter provides the first part of the literature review which covers the main agrarian approaches in the world; land reform approaches in South Africa with specific reference to the land restitution programme; and its benefits and challenges.

Chapter Three presents the second part of the literature review which deals with the conceptual framework of assets that are required and the combination of different assets to determine the livelihood outcomes.

The fourth chapter outlines the research design, the study area, research tools and analysis instrument, as well as challenges encountered during fieldwork.

The penultimate chapter presents the research findings, analysis and discussion of findings in relation to the literature review and conceptual framework.

The final section of the dissertation provides a summary and the implications of the study. Additionally, areas for further research are identified.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter broadly reviews literature on the restitution of land rights in South Africa. It is divided into two sections. The first part explores the debates on two contesting agrarian approaches in which land reforms programmes are framed globally. The second section reviews existing literature on the South African land restitution programme in particular. This section focuses on the macro-economic framework under which land restitution has been implemented over the years. It reviews the debates on the dominant land reform approach that underpins the South African land programme.

This section also describes the type of redress available to the victims of land dispossession, especially in relation to the notion of social justice for the dispossessed; the type of post-settlement support given to new landowners; and the adopted land use post-settlement. I conclude the chapter by focusing on land rights and gender, as well as the notion of commercial partnerships between new entrants and former white farmers.

2.2 Main agrarian approaches

Two competing approaches have characterised land reform debates on a global scale. The state-led land reform approach (SLLR) is widely regarded as populist or radical in its character by those opposed to it, and the market-based land reform approach (MBLR) is underpinned by a neoliberal economic framework. The former was broadly implemented during the post-independence period in the 1950s and the latter coincided with the rise of neoliberalism after the demise of socialism across the globe in the early 1990s (Wolford 2007, 551). The recurring theme in the broad land reform discourse globally is that of market versus state-backed agrarian reforms (Jacobs 2009, 1677).

2.2.1 State-led land reform

Ciamarra (2003, 4) defines SLLR as confiscatory in nature, largely defined by the acquisition of land from large landowners by the national authority and its redistribution to selected beneficiaries. Equally, Lahiff et al. (2007, 1422) agree with the assertion that state-backed reforms are both expropriatory and coercive in nature, often offering limited compensation, if any, to landowners. According to Karriem and Hoskins (2016, 329), these reforms are widely used by the state to tackle landlessness and abject rural poverty amongst the rural poor.

Between the 1950s and 1960s, land reform topped the developmental agenda of countries with a high concentration of land ownership and socio-economic inequality, particularly in Asia and Latin America (Ciamarra 2003, 5). Admittedly, Griffin et al. (2002, 302) report that in the same period, success stories of state-initiated land reforms recorded in Japan, Taiwan, South Korea, China and Vietnam have not been matched to date. For example, compulsory land reform had a substantial effect in Taiwan, redistributing 244,000 ha of land (or 28% of cultivated land) to tenant households within 7 months resulting in a drastic decline of poverty. Similarly, in Japan, the state redistributed massive tracts of land owned by large landowners to the landless and smallholder farmers in equal lots (Griffin et al. 2002, 304-305).

Furthermore, Griffin et al. (2002, 305) report that in South Korea, before the implementation of radical agrarian reforms, 50% of land ownership was within the hands of the richest 4% of the population. However, after reforms were implemented, agricultural productivity increased by 3.5%, reducing income inequality in the process. The positive effect of these reforms was not limited to economic growth only as incomes were distributed fairly amongst the farming community and the society at large. In the same way, Besley and Burgess (1999, 32) made similar observations in India where poverty and inequality were reduced after state-sponsored agrarian reforms were implemented.

Despite SLLR's remarkable achievements reported above, other scholars have raised some reservations about the model. For example, Kay (2006, 476) questioned the rationality of this approach given the current neoliberal context, limiting the role of the state while market forces and owners of capital wield more power than government. Indeed, Deininger and May (2000, 20) point out that the expropriation of land tends to undermine investor confidence in the economy and does not conform to the protection of private property rights.

Neto (2004, 53) states that coercive land reforms are more supply-led than demand driven, whereas the process begins by expropriating land first and then looking for potential beneficiaries to settle them on the land they had no prior plans to use. This has led to the land lying fallow in most cases. Additionally, Deininger and May (2000, 20) agree with Neto, arguing that redistributing productive land to new settlers who lack expertise to use the land efficiently is the reason behind land under-utilisation in many state-initiated land reforms.

Moreover, Neto (2004, 53) concurs and argues that government-sponsored agrarian reforms are more of a knee-jerk political response by a state to pressure groups than a long-lived rural developmental strategy. He justifies this by claiming that SLLR distorts the operation of land markets as it hinders efforts by efficient producers to purchase or increase their landholdings through state regulatory instruments which restrict land sales. He further elaborates that the inability of the state to accomplish farm planning ahead of land transfers has collapsed the radical land reform model. Furthermore, Borrás and McKinley (2006, 2) concede that inadequate post-transfer support has indeed turned this model into an inefficient agrarian system.

Bryant (1996, 1542) claims that state-driven land reform tends to be awkward, inadequate, heavily bureaucratic and often easily corruptible when compared to a market-initiated programme, which is less centralized and has the capacity to redistribute land more

effectively. Additionally, Neto (2004, 53) confirms that SLLR are susceptible to corruption as the state allocates the land that has been expropriated from large landowners, which results in sidelining of the intended beneficiaries by corrupt technocrats in favour of politically connected elites in this process.

2.2.2 Market-based land reform

MBLR emerged in the early 1990's as a market-friendly alternative to state-driven land reforms (Borras 2003, 367). For this reason, Kay (2006, 476) refers to it as 'counter reforms'. The rise of a global neoliberal agenda promoted the expansion of these reforms worldwide (Lahiff et al. 2007, 1420). It emphasises the redistribution of land from large to small landholdings using market mechanisms to achieve equity and efficiency (Lahiff et al. 2007, 1429). Using the 'willing seller-willing buyer' (WSWB) principle, large landholders are encouraged to sell their idle land to willing buyers who received grants from state institutions (Neto 2004, 53).

Neto (2004, 58) states that market-led reforms tend to be less controversial than radical land reforms. This model is demand-driven and allows a voluntary exchange of land ownership through market mechanisms. According to Neto (2004, 53), this is by any standard far better than the state deciding on who should get the land after expropriation. The advantage of the MBLR is that it possesses both the supply and demand sides. On the supply side, it encourages landowners to release unused parts of their farmland to the markets, while on the demand side, poorly resourced farmers become recipients of government grants that assist them to acquire farmlands through markets (Neto 2004, 54). Importantly, the transactional cost of land through the markets is lower as compared to the state mechanism (Bryant 1996, 1543). Neto (2004, 58) argues that although MBLR was not necessarily meant for rural poverty reduction, some positive impacts on poverty alleviation have been achieved.

However, several scholars have questioned the MBLR model's ability to facilitate the poor's access to land. For instance, Borras and McKinley (2006, 2) have dismissed the superiority of MBLR in countries where it has been implemented, given the modest results it has recorded as compared to the outcomes of the state-backed model. They further argue that on their own, market-driven reforms are unable to meet the land demands of the poor with the ability to farm. Moreover, Mutume (2001, 7) states that "the market responds to money, not human needs, and it is hard to see how the poor will benefit" from this type of land reform. In agreement with Mutume, Lahiff et al. (2007, 1431) argue that markets only recognize the economic aspect of land while disregarding its social, cultural and religious dimensions, including gender and class-based relations. Another dimension is that of cost. To simply state that the market will effectively and judiciously resolve the knotty issues of land ignores the fact that market reforms through the WSWB principle can be very expensive (Rahman and Westley 2001, 556).

Mutume (7, 2001) further elaborates on this issue and points out that MBLR programmes are designed to reward landowners, rather than empowering the landless poor. Small wonder then that, as Lahiff et al. (2007, 1431) state, only the politically connected elite are benefiting from market reforms as compared to the landless poor and farm workers. Therefore, White et al. (2014, 15) assert that the market-friendly model is unlikely to change the structure of land ownership. Where both state-led and market-led programmes have been implemented concurrently, the latter has received the backing of multilateral financial institutions when compared to the former. For instance, in the Philippines where the two models existed, the state-led model played second fiddle to the market-led model (Borras and McKinley 2006, 2).

Borras (2003, 390) states that contrary to the claims of MBLR proponents, its actual outcomes in experimental countries such as South Africa, Brazil and Colombia have been disappointing, to say the least. Markets are unable to discharge the redistributive function of the state. Also, Jacobs (2009, 1677) posits that most peasants dismiss market-backed land reforms as tricky, most likely to pave the way for land consolidation by current

landowners and as unlikely to deliver land to the poor. The less inspiring results of the market-led model over the past two decades have persuaded international financial institutions to adopt a more realistic approach. They are now advocating 'national ownership' land policy which affords more freedom to governments to select their most suitable model (Borras and McKinley 2006, 2).

2.3 The restitution of land rights programme

According to Bromley (1995, 100), the dispossessed are not just calling for land reform programmes in general, but for land restitution. In agreement, Walker (1996, 46) posits that the restitution programme is more legitimate than the other two elements of land reform, namely land redistribution and tenure security. Sinovich et al. (2016, 2) and Hall (2004, 656) described land restitution as 'a human rights-based programme' aimed at correcting the wrongs perpetuated by previous racist laws. Hence, Bromley (1995, 100) argues that land restitution has nothing to do with equity between two racial classes but everything to do with heritage and the restoration of what colonialism and apartheid stole from the black people.

Hall (2004, 656) contends that unlike wide agrarian reform, land restitution was conceived as a programme aimed at restoring justice to those who lost their land through dispossession. However, Walker (1996, 46) states that while the restitution of land rights created opportunities for redress, it also opened old wounds to the victims of racially motivated dispossessions. Additionally, Lahiff (2001, 4) states that while 'healing the wounds' is one of the fundamental goals of restitution, it also includes addressing poverty. As a result, by design, the restitution programme attempts to strike a balance between the restoration of land rights on one hand and economic development on the other, two competing objectives (Hall 2004, 664).

2.3.1 Ideological underpinnings

According to Lahiff et al. (2007, 1583), three broad ideological groupings shape the land reform discourse in South Africa. The first lobby consists of conservatives and liberals who are opposed to the modification of the existing agrarian structure dominated by large-scale commercial farming, preferring a de-racialised agricultural sector instead; the second interest group is a combination of neo-populists and neoliberals who advocate for the market-led transfer of land ownership; and the third bloc advocates a more populist account of land reform framed in terms of restorative justice and the return of land without paying settler landowners exorbitant compensation, or none at all (Lahiff 2007 et al., 1584).

The shift from the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), which was ANC policy between 1994 and 1995, to GEAR (Growth, Empowerment and Redistributive) in 1996 implied that a drastic cut in deficit spending and a small manageable public sector was on the cards (Hall 2004, 661 and Ntsebeza 2007, 126). Furthermore, Karriem and Hoskins (2016, 333) state that change in policy direction meant that the government would become less interventionist and be more passive in the land market. The new policy direction raised the ire of the leftists within and outside the ANC about the commitment of government in rolling out the land restitution programme (Ntsebeza 2007, 125). Its adoption strengthened the position of neoliberals and the neo-populist lobby from within and outside the ANC (Negrao 2002, 7). However, Pheko (2014, 2) believes that this policy shift left the government with protecting the market-driven economy on one hand while trying to deliver redress for the dispossessed on the other.

The institutional limitations posed by GEAR were witnessed between 1996 and mid-2000, when only 41 of the restitution claims were successfully settled out of 77 000 received. The slow pace in settling land claims was attributed to inadequate staffing within the CRLR, a clear sign of fiscal discipline (Hall 2004, 10). In essence, Cousins (2007, 223) believes that this marked the institutional failure by government in the midst of enormous claims backlog waiting to be finalised. Austerity measures were also evident

in the period between 1996 and 2004, demonstrated by the fact that the allocated budget for DLA did not surpass 0.5% of the national budget. The rhetoric on land restitution was not being matched by the budget figures (Hall 2004, 661).

However, the budget set aside for restitution was significantly increased between 2005 and 2008, before declining again in 2009 (Hall 2009, 11). Thus far, the state has paid about R23 billion as part of land acquisition for the restitution programme, while R5.6 billion has been paid as financial compensation (Parliament of South Africa 2016, 34). About 400 000 households had benefited from the restitution programme by 2013. Of these, close to 140 000 were female-headed households (Parliament of South Africa 2016, 37). Nevertheless, Sinovich et al. (2016, 2) state that by March 2014, 8 471 claims were not finalised. Hall (2003, 10) believes that the failure of the state to settle claims is a serious departure from the initial commitment to complete the restitution programme within 18 years from 1994.

The slow pace of land restitution therefore casts a dark shadow over national development policies. For example, Karriem and Hoskins (2016, 326) contend that the current NDP undertaking of driving agrarian transformation and creating one million agricultural jobs by 2030 is a far-fetched dream. They warn that the current NDP appears to be an extension of GEAR's macroeconomic framework, a major barrier to land restitution and poverty eradication. Beyers and Fay (2015, 449) agree that institutional challenges and fiscal restraints will impact the delivery of restitution negatively unless the current economic framework is reviewed.

However, after more than two decades of neo-populist and neoliberal dominance over the land reform ideological framework, the balance of power has shifted towards the 'populist' block that has been long advocating for the expropriation of land without compensation. The initial landmark decision by the Republic of South Africa's parliament on 27 February 2017, as well as the most recent adoption of the report by the

constitutional review committee in favour of the constitutional amendment to effect land expropriation without compensation, is viewed as a victory by left forces.

Modiri (2018, 21) suggests that these radical positions are taken to confront repressive systems and effect a fundamental change. He argues that at the heart of this posture is not just populist or naive idealism, but rather a refusal to accept the status quo. The defenders of the constitution, particularly the liberal groups, are viewing those that are agitating for the constitutional modifications to resolve the land question with great suspicion (Dladla 2018, 2).

This dramatic change in the ideological and political landscape was by and large informed by the events that took place at the 54th national conference of the ANC held in December 2017. The conference adopted expropriation of land without compensation as the policy that will finally lay to rest the unresolved land question. Nonetheless, there were caveats attached to this resolution, such as: “This policy should be pursued without destabilising the agricultural sector, without endangering food security in our country and without undermining economic growth and job creation” (ANC, 2017). These statements call into question the seriousness of the ANC in truly restoring the land and the dignity of black Africans and other dispossessed. Indeed, the racist white regimes were not bothered about the poverty of blacks when they removed them from their land more than a century ago (Bromely 1995, 103).

As populist as this may seem, Andrews (2007, 205) argues that capitalist markets on their own are unable to reverse the injustices of apartheid and the atrocities of colonial dispossession endured by the rural poor. Indeed, Karriem and Hoskins (2016, 333) attribute the snail’s pace of land restitution progress to the WBWS principle. Similarly, Commey (2014, 9) states that the market has failed dismally to bring justice to the landless poor. He qualifies his assertion by citing the inflation of land prices by landowners far above the market rate as an impediment caused by these policies. Lahiff

(2005, 2) echoes this sentiment when he argues that the WSWB principle was designed to prejudice the would-be ‘willing buyers’, as their interests are not equally protected as those of so-called ‘willing sellers’. Additionally, Lahiff et al. (2007, 1432) posit that the WSWB principle has effectively shelved the resolution of the land question by failing to meet its own targets set during the political transactional period.

2.3.2 Compensation

In the context of the prevailing policy framework, Commey (9, 2014) submits that both WSWB and the Restitution of Land Rights Act have failed to bring much redress to the victims of dispossession. For instance, the restitution programme provides claimants with three broad reliefs, namely the restoration of the actual land lost, granting of alternative land and financial compensation or any combination of these (Lahiff 2001, 3; Sinovich et al. 2016, 2; Bromley 1995, 101). However, Hall (2010, 25) claims that most claimants preferred financial compensation over land. She refers to the dominant financial rewards as “cheque book” restitution.

For example, Bohlin (2004, 675) highlights that some claimants objected to the idea of being relocated to their dispossessed land because it was now “too rural” compared to where they were dumped during forced removals. Furthermore, Bohlin (2004, 675) adds that financial compensation was more attractive than land because land was going to be awarded to groups of people, whereas cash was paid to individual households. However, a concern has been raised by land activists that the majority of claimants prefer money over land as compensation for their loss. The question begs: who could blame claimants for choosing money over land in light of the well-documented struggles of black African farmers in South Africa today (see amongst others Bernstein 2011; Aliber and Cousins 2013; Kepe 2016; Ngcoya and Kumarakulasingam 2017)? Apparently, the government was seemingly happy that many claims were settled financially rather than restoring land to its rightful owners amidst fears of disrupting food production, rendering the country ‘food insecure’ in the process (Walker 2005, 818).

Atuahene (2014, 152) points out that while financial compensation paid to claimants was not market-related, conversely, the CRLR is paying market-related prices to current white landowners in the acquisition of land for restitution. By law, the restitution claims were made against the state. The beneficiaries of racist dispossessions were not liable for any claim but instead made millions in profits by selling the 'stolen' land back to government. In essence, every taxpaying South African is carrying the cost of restitution as government uses the national fiscus to settle this political deal (Hall 2010, 26 and Atuahene 2014, 905).

On the contrary, Vorster (2006, 701) believes that as a sign of 'collective responsibility', everyone through government must pay the current white landowners a fair compensation for the land earmarked for restitution. This assertion is rejected by Bromely (1995, 103) who argues that Africans in particular paid the highest price during land dispossession, thus asking them to pay the former coloniser a market-related price for the ill-gotten land through the fiscus has no ethical basis, to say the least.

The question whether financial compensation over land restored the dignity of the dispossessed has been debated by scholars. Atuahene (2011, 986) argues that through financial awards, the lives of ordinary claimants improved as many renovated their existing houses and erected tombstones for their loved ones. For instance, in a study conducted by Ballard and Reid (2004, 13) in the Western Cape town of Paarl, they report that financial restitution had a positive impact on claimants' lives, albeit the claimants that received small financial compensation did not make long-term economic investments but spent their money on daily needs and luxury goods (Ballard and Reid 2004, 13; Atuahene 2011, 986).

In contrast, Bohlin (2004, 679) believes that financial settlement did not bring closure to some of the claimants, despite the colourful events hosted by the government on their behalf. Instead, old wounds were opened as conflicts flared amongst family members

over the compensation that was to be divided and shared amongst them. Atuahene (2014, 169) does concede that the ‘symbolic’ compensation paid to the dispossessed was considerably very low given the unimaginable humiliation that they suffered in the hands of the racist white regime.

Furthermore, she suggests that the partial compensation provided by the state made everyone who received a financial award a loser, considering that it did not cover the market value of the property rights lost during dispossession (Atuahene 2014, 905). All these criticisms of financial compensation lead Koopman (2014, 6) to conclude that dispossessed people should instead be reconciled with their land. It is only the restoration of their land that will actualise their dignity and human rights rather than giving them financial compensation.

2.3.3 Social Justice

The pain and humiliation that Black South Africans endured during colonial dispossession that robbed them of dignity and disrupted their livelihoods is both unspeakable and immeasurable (Commey 2014, 10 and Bromely 1995, 103). Indeed, Terreblanche (2002, 386) states that African indigenous people’s livelihoods were severely disrupted, and they were rendered into poverty in the early years of colonialism. The subsequent years that were characterised by apartheid and racial segregation dealt them a massive blow from a social and cultural viewpoint.

It is not surprising therefore that Atuahene (2011, 956) reports that most black South Africans believe that their land was unfairly taken away from them by white colonialists. Consequently, the Pan Africanist Congress’ slogan *Izwe Lethu* (our land) is a revolutionary call that demands justice to be done by returning the land to the rightful owners (Ramose and Hook 2016, 93). That being the case, Ballard et al. (2004, 13) argue that social justice is the key reason for land restitution being undertaken in South Africa.

Consequently, there are two broad categories of social justice that underpin the land reform programme. Firstly, ‘compensatory justice’ for the immediate victims of dispossession through restitution and secondly, those that promote ‘transformative justice’, whose purpose is more enduring and seeks to correct historical imbalances (Hopskins 2006, 182). Furthermore, Hopskins (2006, 183) posits that given the three-pronged land reform programme in South Africa, land restitution takes a ‘compensatory justice’ form while land redistribution and security of tenure are more ‘transformative justice’ in nature.

The restitution of land rights programme has been criticized for being limited in scope and extent by different scholars. Mostert (2002, 4020) argues that for those who were not adequately represented in transitional negotiations, like Nama communities, they were dealt a blow by a constitutional compromise that resulted in Section 25 of the 1996 Constitution. Sub-section 7 of Section 25 of the Constitution states that “A person or community dispossessed of property after 19 June 1913 as a result of past racially discriminatory laws or practices is entitled, to the extent provided by an Act of Parliament, either to restitution of that property or equitable redress” (Constitution, 1996).

Hall (2009, 3) and Walker (2012, 812) believe that sub-section 7 of Section 25 of the Constitution limits the right to restitution to the period after the promulgation of the Natives Land Act of 1913. The 1913 cut-off date excluded communities who lost their land through colonial conquest in the period between the 1700s and 1800s. Therefore, Ntsebeza (2007, 124) argues that both colonial conquest and land dispossession are at the center of the land question. It is therefore unimaginable to expect those who were robbed of their land to embrace any land restitution process that seeks to downplay this gruesome experience. Dladla (2018, 24) holds nothing back in labelling the Constitution a white colonialist document that protects and promotes their interests through Section 25, downplaying the needs of the landless black African majority. For this reason, Hall

(2009, 3) concludes that what we have in South Africa has is a limited restitution and by implication, partial justice.

In agreement, Mostert (2002, 401) believes that land restitution in its current format cannot deliver social justice to the victims of dispossession. He argues that the restitution process is restricted in the following ways: firstly, it does not restore the land rights of communities based on 'pre-colonial ancestral entitlement'. Secondly, the restitution programme does not have a direct benefit for women, who in some traditional societies do not hold any land rights. Hence, they cannot claim restitution directly. It is for these reasons that the type of restitution programme embarked on by the democratic government is limited social justice to those who lost their land rights since 1652.

2.3.4 Land use

Upon the restoration of land, government expected the majority of rural communities to continue with the existing production system of capital-intensive, large-scale farming (Hall 2010, 35). The project designs which new landowners are expected to continue with are largely unworkable and irrelevant to their livelihood possibilities, aspirations and abilities. The government action of imposing its preferred land use plans on people without giving them options has negatively affected their livelihoods (Cousins (2007, 225). Moreover, Puttergill et al. (2011, 597) state that the decision about land use post-restitution remains the 'prerogative' of policy-makers alone, despite the participative process which includes claimants before the land is restored to them.

Furthermore, Puttergill et al. (2011, 597) argue that the post-settlement land use decision by the state is informed by neoliberal thinking, which regards land as an economic resource and commercial agriculture as the only viable and sustainable livelihood option for new landowners. The state prioritises claims that are best positioned to continue with the existing land use and ignores the livelihood aspirations of the claimants.

Consequently, the number of restitution projects that could not to live up to expectations increased.

According to Cousins (2007, 229), rural claimants are not a homogenous group, but are differentiated along social and economic lines, dependent on multiple livelihood strategies which include both formal and informal employment; social transfers such as pensions and welfare grants; remittances; agriculture at different scales; and micro-enterprises. In agreement, Hall (2003, 15) states that claimants are differentiated along class, gender and generational lines. These differences become apparent when decisions on land use post-settlement are taken within legal entities such as CPAs and CTs.

Indeed, most households no longer rely on subsistence farming as a key livelihood strategy, but more as a supplementary survival method. More importantly, young people prefer employment elsewhere than being involved in farming as their chosen livelihood (Puttergill et al. 2011, 608). Others have termed this process de-agrarianisation, which according to Bryceson (1996, 105), is one of the key drivers of rapid rural-urban migration in Africa. However, Du Toit and Neves (2007, 10) and Du Toit (2009, 7) state that de-agrarianisation in South Africa was in the main triggered by colonial dispossession resulting in widespread rural poverty. This is why Cousins (2007, 229) is baffled that post land reform discussions tend to focus primarily on farming rather than on other non-agricultural livelihood strategies.

2.3.5 Post-restitution support

The inadequate post-settlement support in land restitution projects has been documented widely by scholars. Mostert (2002, 427) states that the poverty ravaging the restitution claimants post-settlement is a serious indictment of government. Similarly, Kepe (2012, 397) states that “post-restitution in rural areas, the majority of beneficiaries across all the restitution projects have received no material benefit whatsoever from restitution, whether in the form of cash income or access to land”.

For example, studies conducted by Dikgang and Muchapondwa (2016) and Kewell and Carter (2014), respectively, found no material benefits derived by the new landowners from the restitution programme. In light of these reports, Hall (2009, 41) suggests that improving food security, raising income, improving wellbeing, reducing vulnerability and increasing sustainability be considered as land restitution's indicators of success, rather than the number of hectares redistributed by the DRDLR.

Borras (2003, 385) states that the lack of post-land transfer support indicates that land is transferred to claimants without a clear post-settlement development plan. For this reason, Hall (2007, 16) insists that post-transfer support is included in the project plans before land is transferred to claimants. However, were this to be factored into settlement programmes, Kepe (2012, 397) warns that the problem is the “non-implementation of development plans” by state actors. It is for this reason that Cousins (2007,235) suggests that government play a leading role in ensuring that support is rendered to land reform beneficiaries in order to create conditions that will necessitate a broad-based strategy of what he calls ‘accumulation from below’.

In view of the above, Hall (2003, 18) identifies three key areas of post-settlement support that are vital to the new landowners as: institutional support that must be given to the CPAs and trusts; comprehensive support for agricultural production, including market access and extension services; and assistance regarding access to services and infrastructure. In addition, Jacobs (2003, 8) states that financial assistance, skills development and capacity building are key if land beneficiaries are to farm successfully. Overall, Cousins (2007, 235) notes that while access to land is important, it is not sufficient if the necessary resources which are critical aspects of post-land reform support are absent. Therefore, attempts at undoing centuries of colonial aggression and dispossession will remain a pipe dream.

2.3.6 Strategic partnership and the colonial present

Fraser (2007, 840) claims that the South African land restitution programme's outcomes are shaped by what he calls the 'colonial present'. The first dimension of the colonial present refers to the continuing involvement of white commercial farmers in restitution projects through government. Their involvement is largely attributed to their 'near-monopoly of technical and entrepreneurial agricultural skills', which the government views as a requirement for successfully running a commercial farming enterprise (Fraser 2007, 840).

Indeed, Hall (2004, 666) points out that as restitution becomes more "developmental", new land entrants have opted to lease their land to existing operators or form joint ventures between themselves and commercial partners in order to sustain their farming enterprises. This is largely due to tremendous pressure exerted by government on claimants to enter into these joint-venture agreements with strategic partners. A dominant model, particularly in community claims which involve high-value commercial farming enterprises (Hall 2010, 36). However, she warns that by their nature, strategic partnerships are meant more for the continuation of commercial production on the farms rather than the livelihood benefits that the claimants should be enjoying (Hall 2007, 17).

More importantly, Fraser (2007, 840) states that the reasons behind these joint ventures with white commercial farmers are to continue with the previous land use and avoid the total collapse of these restitution projects. However, a study conducted by Basu (2016, 734), exploring the strategic model of South African land restitution, suggests that the formation of joint venture companies by land claimants and agri-business companies as a strategic partner resulted in the accumulation of huge debt, farm deterioration and social conflicts between claimants instead.

The second dimension of the 'colonial present' phenomenon according to Fraser (2007, 841) are traditional leaders, who until today hold powerful positions reminiscent of the

dominant positions some of them enjoyed during the apartheid era. He claims that most traditional leadership are convinced that the land under claim for restitution should be handed back to them, particularly those adjacent to their traditional authorities. This claim is supported by Cousins (2006, 237), who states that some traditional leaders have challenged the authority of elected trustees over land ownership and administration. They have no regard for the legal entities administering restituted land and the poor that were dispossessed. Finally, Fraser (2007, 841) argues that if land is restored through communal tenure, this will hand land administrative powers over to traditional leadership, which is a far cry from what restitution seeks to achieve.

2.3.7 Legal entities

The challenges facing institutions such as CPAs and CTs in administering post-settlement land rights on behalf of the new landowners have been well documented. For example, Cousins (2016, 15) and Hall (2003, 15) argue that CPAs and CTs are poorly supported by the state, rendering them dysfunctional and exposed to social conflicts, including court challenges. Similarly, Beyers and Fay (2015, 434) claim that these 'legal entities' are targeted by land beneficiaries over restitution project failures, whilst the state's neoliberal developmental approach remains unchallenged. Therefore, Hall (2003, 18) proposes that the government provides institutional support to these entities, including comprehensive support for agricultural production.

Elsewhere, Hall et al. (2003, 17) further point out the quandary facing legal entities in terms of land use planning post-settlement. The question of land use and dividends from the land proceeds remains unresolved and contested. The challenge is so dense and intricate that the legitimacy of these entities has been questioned by those they represent, including accusations of corruption, poor governance and collusion with outside interests (Cousins 2016, 16).

Bayers and Fay (2015, 438) state that “despite the appearance of unity, the collective project of land claims intersects with other aspirations and interests. As land restitution fails to deliver the expected rewards, the putative unity between groups, projects and legal entity pulls apart”. Hall (2003, 15) says that the complexities on which these entities are constituted and operate have in many ways reversed the promises of restitution.

2.3.8 Land and gender relations

Pheko (2014, 1) postulates that land access is one of the key factors that determines the ability of the rural poor and women to improve their wellbeing and food security. Similarly, Moyo (2013) claims that women have long been connected to the land, using it for both agricultural and social reasons. She further argues that although women have always been the custodians of households’ food security, they have encountered countless difficulties such as inadequate land access, as well as lack of access to finance, technology and production inputs. Therefore, initiating land reform programmes raised expectations that the livelihoods of the rural poor, particularly women, were going to improve. However, Jacobs (2004, 2) argues that since their implementation, agrarian reforms have rarely been considered along gender lines, despite women comprising the majority of rural dwellers and the rural poor (Jacobs 2009, 1675).

Moyo (2013, 5394) asserts that women’s land ownership is insignificant as they are unable to take key decisions regarding land use without consulting the ‘household head’, who in most contexts happens to be a male. Indeed, Jacobs (2009, 1677) contends that allocating land rights to the household heads has become the universal practice of land redistribution. He further argues that women’s land rights are limited under household land reform models as they are subsumed under the household head’s title. In the South African context, households are the beneficiaries of restitution programme as land is allocated to a household as a single unit, as opposed to individuals.

Furthermore, Moyo (2013, 5397) points out the numerous land related hurdles faced by rural women in South Africa. She states that rural women's inadequate knowledge about their rights due to a lack of education beset their lives. Customary law and other sociological beliefs inhibit women's access and control of land, which put them at risk of poverty and impacts their lives negatively (Budlender et al. 2011, Claassens 2013). A lack of voice and representation by women in legal entities such as CPAs and CTs compromise their own interests and rights as men command more control over their management. In addition, Meer (1997, 142) posits that land rights for rural women are constantly being threatened by traditional leaders, husbands, brothers and sons.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter examined the literature on two broad agrarian reform approaches, the MBLR and SLLR. It reviewed land restitution in South Africa, beginning by paying special attention to the ideological and macro-economic framework that underpinned it over the years and the recent shift within the South African political landscape. Land restitution was discussed using the prism of social justice and the compensatory models available to claimants. The post-settlement support and lack thereof were discussed including its implications for productivity and sustainability. The type of land use plans that claimants were implementing post-settlement, were examined in relation to livelihood strategies. I also discussed the use of strategic partnerships as commercial partners by new landowners forced by the state. The chapter concluded by reviewing the literature on women's access to land within the context of land reforms in terms of equity.

The literature reviewed in this chapter focused mainly on the quantitative outcomes of land restitution in terms of the number of claims settled and the size of the restitution budget. While restitution is multi-faceted, the psychological needs of claimants are generally overlooked in the existing literature. Scholars tend to focus on the monetary aspect of restitution rather than exploring the question of whether or not claimants feel that their dignity has been restored after receiving the land. This study has adopted a qualitative approach to unearth the stated feelings of the claimants about land restitution

and their dignity. Having reviewed the literature on land reform and restitution, the next chapter presents the conceptual scaffolding of the dissertation, with a focus on assets, complementarity and livelihood outcomes.

Chapter 3: Conceptual Framework: Assets, Complementarity and Livelihoods

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter reviewed literature on agrarian reform in general and the restitution of land in particular in South Africa. This chapter discusses the body of work which informs the conceptual framework that underpins this study. It is widely claimed that access to assets, or the lack thereof, determines the livelihood strategies that the poor adopt, which may increase or reduce poverty (De Janvry and Sadoulet 2000; Rahman and Westley 2001; and IFAD 2001). Furthermore, it is argued that access to one type of asset is not adequate, rather a combination of assets can make a difference in the lives of the poor (Siegel 2005, 9 and DFID 1999, 23).

This chapter is organised in three broad segments. The first section discusses different types of assets, namely natural, physical, social, human and financial assets. The concept of asset complementarity is discussed in the second segment, while livelihood strategies and livelihood outcomes are discussed in the last component of this chapter.

3.2 Assets

Kim and Sumberg (2015, 126) define assets as “something of value, thus a plot of land, a plough, a cow or a house may be an asset”. Assets are “stocks” that can depreciate or appreciate over time, depending on the level of investment by households (Moser 2006, 5; Winters et al. 2009, 1436). They can assume different forms and can be owned in more than one way (IFAD 2001, 71). Broadly, assets can be tangible or intangible (Siegel 2005, 7 and Moser 2006, 5) and they can further be broken down by form, type, accessibility, fungibility, use and productivity (Kim and Sumberg 2015, 126).

Quite importantly, access to assets can increase the income of the poor, cushion them against shocks and widen their options for livelihood strategies (Rahman and Westley 2001, 555). Conversely, the lack thereof may lead to poverty and people with limited access to assets are generally consumption poor (IFAD 2001, 71). In addition, De Janvry and Sadoulet (2000, 395) submit that households who command a low base of assets are more likely to be in a state of deprivation than their counterparts with access to different types of assets.

Asset accumulation is critical in enabling the poor to get out of poverty and improve their wellbeing (Mckay 2009, 4). Increasing the rural poor's access to assets has a beneficial effect on economic growth (IFAD 2001, 72). Households with increased access to assets may explore other economic opportunities that were not available to them before (Winters et al. 2001, 1451).

Households' capital assets can be identified as natural (land, water and other environmental resources); physical (infrastructure, production equipment and proximity to markets); social (local institutional arrangements and political rights); human (education, skills and labour resources); and financial (access to institutional credit and savings) (Moser 2006, 5; Rakodi 1999, 316; Siegel 2005, 7; Winters et al. 2009, 1436).

3.2.1 Natural Capital (Land)

Natural resources such as land, water, forests and clean air are a gift of nature to humans from which livelihoods are derived. Land is one of the key natural resources on which many poor rural households are dependent for their livelihoods and wellbeing. Additionally, Quan (2002, 1) and Rakodi (1999, 324) state that land is a basic livelihood asset essentially for food production, shelter and other important livelihood activities. In many cases, land is the most prominent rural asset (IFAD 2001, 73). Importantly, Winters et al. (2009, 1437) submit that land ownership is an important determining factor of whether households remain in agriculture or switch to off-farm economic activities.

Hence, De Janvry and Sadoulet (2000, 396) state that rural households with poor access to land are confined to low paying agricultural jobs as compared to the much more affluent households, that can access better paying employment.

According to Foster et al. (2011, 540) and Winters et al. (2009, 1437), land is closely associated with livestock and crop production; it has both direct and indirect value for farming and other non-agricultural activities; and can be used as collateral for accessing credit. Furthermore, Deininger and Binswanger (1999,247) state that “land is not only the primary means for generating a livelihood, but is often the main vehicle for investing, accumulating wealth and transferring it between generations”. That is why Bhandari (2013, 128) claims that land should be regarded as economic capital because its ownership or access creates employment and generates income for the farmer and can furthermore go as far as generating access to political power.

According to Quan (2002, 2), the poorest of the poor are found in Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), and they depend on the productive use of land for their livelihoods and food security. Kay (2006, 475) and Lipton (1985, 8) concur and suggest that limited access to land by the poor and unequal land distribution are the basis for persistent rural impoverishment. Similarly, Cotula et al. (2006, 7) state that poor access to land is strongly linked with deprivation. However, improving land access has a direct effect on poverty reduction and increased household food security. Furthermore, IFAD (2001, 72) reports that the poor have been systematically excluded from land access and other related services such as healthcare, extension services and education.

IFAD (2001, 75) argues that if the amount of land held as an asset by poor households declines, the incidence of poverty will increase amongst them. Similarly, improving tenure rights for the poor becomes an important process in reducing poverty and under-development (Rakodi 1999, 323). Above all, Rigg (2006, 13) states that for land redistribution to have a significant impact on livelihoods for the rural poor, each must

have a sizable plot of land sufficient to sustain their livelihoods at a reasonable level. On the other hand, Foster et al. (2011, 540) and Winters (2009, 1437) claim that access to land determines whether households remain in farm-related activities or shift to non-agricultural activities.

Kay (2006, 475) argues that although land access is crucial in ensuring that broad-based rural development, equity and poverty reduction is realised, it is not adequate. Land usually allocated to the poor is of poor quality and is accompanied by unsecured land and water use rights (IFAD 2001, 75). For this reason, Cotula et al. (2006, 8) state that the nexus between land access and poverty reduction cannot be viewed in isolation from broader agrarian and economic policies. Land alone without improved access to complimentary services such as health, education, skills, transport, technologies and markets will not make the poor escape poverty by improving their livelihoods (DFID 2002, 1).

3.2.2 Physical Capital

Physical capital comprises the basic infrastructure and production equipment essential for people to pursue and support their livelihood strategies in order to alleviate household poverty (DFID 1999, 13; Rakodi 1999, 317). Production equipment enables people to function better and more productively, while infrastructure is crucial in sustaining livelihoods. Accordingly, DFID (1999, 13) identified the following components of infrastructure as the basis for sustainable livelihoods: “affordable transport; secure shelter and buildings; adequate water supply and sanitation; clean affordable energy and access to information”.

Infrastructure does not only improve service provision to the general public, but also enables them to lead their normal lives and meet their basic needs (DFID 199, 14). In agreement, Winters et al. (2009, 1437) state that access to infrastructure creates

opportunities of participating in non-agricultural activities by rural households. Access to electricity for instance is significant for undertaking non-agricultural economic activities. Infrastructure such as roads is important for the development of non-farm economic activities in rural towns. However, DFID (1999, 14) claims that infrastructure is very costly as it requires not only huge initial capital investment, but also the continuous commitment of resources to maintain it and ensure its longevity.

Foster et al. (2011, 553) state that access to infrastructure plays a pivotal role in poverty reduction. In the event where land access is not the main cause of poverty, inadequate investments in physical capital limit farmers' opportunities to access markets (Rakodi 1999, 326). For instance, poor access to transport infrastructure, implies that essential agricultural inputs and outputs cannot be distributed to various destinations, resulting in low farm returns (DFID 1999, 13). Conversely, Rahman and Westley 2001 (560) argue that access to road infrastructure does not guarantee that poorly resourced farmers will benefit from market access, particularly in areas with low population densities which do not attract traders from outside. Additionally, poor access to services such as water and electricity may lead households to engage in non-productive activities such as the collection of firewood and water (DFID 1999, 13).

Bhandari (2013, 129) states that "farmers located closer to urban centers and markets; nearer transportation arteries; community services, including education and health facilities; and off-farm employment possibilities have a number of options open to them that are lacking in many other communities". In addition, Winters et al. (2009, 1437) state that proximity to markets enables rural households engaged in agriculture and the poor to have access to spaces where they can sell their produce as well as procure inputs and opportunities for off-farm wage employment. Equally, Foster (2011, 540) agrees that proximity to markets improves opportunities for profitability. Households that are closer to infrastructure and urban centers may also be influenced in their decision to switch from agriculture to non-agricultural activities, including employment (Bhandari 2013, 129).

Being located in far-flung areas is a disadvantage to the poor as transaction costs become higher and few options are available to them, except for being exploited by marketing boards and private traders (Rahman and Westley 1999, 560). The correlation between proximity to urban settings and access to infrastructure is strong. Households that have access to both urban areas and infrastructure have higher chances of engaging in non-agricultural employment (Foster 2011, 540). According to Winters et al. (2009, 1438), a hypothesis exists that positively links greater access to infrastructure with off-farm activities and negatively relates poor access to on-farm activities. Lastly, Bhandari (2013, 129) states that poor households located closer to urban areas are most likely to exit agricultural-related activities.

3.2.3 Social capital

The meaning of ‘social capital’ has been the subject of debate amongst scholars and institutions. Narayan (1997, 50) refers to social capital as ‘the rules, norms obligations, reciprocity and trust embedded in social relations, social structures, and society’s institutional arrangements which enable its members to achieve their individual and community objectives’. Putnam (1993, 167) states that “social capital refers to features of social organization, such as trust, norms and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions”. On the other hand, Woolcock and Narayan (2000, 225) simplify the concept of social capital when they referred to it as “it’s not what you know, it’s who you know”.

The World Bank defines social capital as “the institutions, relationships and norms that shape the quality and quantity of a society’s social interactions. Increasing evidence shows that social cohesion is critical for societies to prosper economically and for development to be sustainable. Social capital is not just the sum of the institutions which underpin a society, it is the glue that holds them together” (World Bank 1999). DFID (1999, 9) states that in the context of livelihoods, social capital means “the social resources upon which people draw in pursuit of their livelihood objectives”. In simple terms, according to DFID (1999, 9), social capital is developed through:

- Networks and connectedness: either vertical or horizontal, that increase people's trust and ability to work together and expand their access to wider institutions, such as political or civic bodies;
- Membership of more formalized groups: which often entails adherence to mutually-agreed or commonly accepted rules, norms and sanctions; and
- Relationships of trust, reciprocity and exchanges: that facilitate co-operation, reduce transaction costs and may provide the basis for informal safety nets amongst the poor.

Several characteristics set social capital apart from other forms of capital (Grootaert and van Bastelaer 2002, 1). For example, Woolcock and Narayan (2000, 229) say that social capital can be viewed from different perspectives: first is the communitarian perspective, which considers social capital as similar to local associations such as community groups and civil groups; and second is the networks perspective, which emphasizes the need for horizontal and vertical relationships amongst local community organisations and between people.

Kay (2006, 462) states that while the other four types of capital are important, social capital becomes significant in terms of poverty alleviation when it paves the way to access other capital. Furthermore, Kay (2006, 462) claims that it is widely accepted that the poor have limited access to other forms of capital but have higher access to social capital in the form of social networks, association membership, which not only affords them the opportunity to navigate through storms, but also offers them the possible accumulation of other capital and an exit from poverty.

DFID (1999, 9) claims that social capital has a positive impact on other capitals. It can minimize problems associated with 'free riding', particularly of common resources, thus leading to greater use and maintenance of infrastructure (*physical capital*). Through social networks, knowledge is shared amongst the people (*human capital*). Incomes and

savings (*financial capital*) can increase through social capital as it improves economic relations amongst the people. When difficult times arrive, people know that their families and friends will be their safety nets to fall back on. This applies to communities endowed with different types of social networks and civic groups in their quest to tackle poverty and vulnerability (Woolcock and Narayan 2000, 225).

3.2.4 Human capital

DFID (1999,7) states that “human capital represents the skills, knowledge, ability to labour and good health that together enable people to pursue different livelihood strategies and achieve their livelihood objectives”. Human capital is represented by schooling; age and gender of the household head; and family labour size (Winters et al. 2009, 1441). According to DFID (1999, 7), the effective utilisation of other assets (natural, physical, financial and social) to achieve positive livelihoods depends on human capital. Human capital can be accumulated if people are able to attend schools and training sessions and are also able to obtain preventative medical services (DFID 1999, 7).

Rakodi (1999, 317) states that a household’s health status poses a serious challenge to its ability to take advantage of economic opportunities. Individuals, families and society as a whole reap the benefits from investments made in health, nutrition, education and other social services. The interrelations between these different aspects of human capital result in multiple positive effects, such as healthcare and balanced nutrition that improve the general wellbeing of the people by reducing their chances of contracting diseases, thereby improving their life expectancy (Psacharopoulos 1995, 4). Improving women’s access to education has not benefited them only, but has consequently improved their children’s nutrition, health, development and education (Rahman and Wistley 2001, 557).

Education is strongly correlated to non-agricultural economic activities and negatively linked to farm incomes (Winters et al. 2009, 1437 and Foster 2011, 540). The lack of or

inadequate education is one of the barriers preventing rural people from participating in different non-agricultural opportunities (Winters et al. 2009, 1437). Hence, Rakodi (1999, 317) points out that due to their lack of educational attainment and skills, the poor are excluded from well-paying employment outside of agriculture. In addition, Ellis (1998, 27) states that insufficient education and poor skills are strongly correlated to the lack of rural livelihood diversification (Ellis 1998, 27).

Psacharopoulos (1995, 4) states that education enables individuals to utilise other assets particularly physical capital in order to advance their livelihoods. In the same way, Bhandari (2013, 128) postulates that a high level of education enables farmers to acquire more information to improve their production and increase income. Thus, a high level of income motivates them to remain in farming, although, increased education also creates opportunities for employment away from agriculture.

Higher levels of education are associated with non-agricultural income and low levels of poverty (Foster et al. 2011, 553, 561). Similarly, De Janvry and Sadoulet (2000, 402) state that educated members of poor rural households seek better paying employment outside agriculture and rural areas. However, Bhandari (2013, 128) claims that unskilled family members of working age find it difficult to secure employment in a non-agricultural sector. The lack of opportunities to secure labour in urban markets as compared to rural areas is greatly exacerbated by inadequate schooling (Rokodi 2002, 10).

Bhandari (2013, 127) states that the available quantity and quality of labour is key in acquiring and sustaining livelihoods. However, the use of family labour is determined by a number of factors, such as the available number of working age individuals within the family. Those younger in age are most likely to be attracted to non-farm employment, whereas in developing countries, it is women who are more involved in agriculture (Bhandari 2013, 128).

3.2.5 Financial capital

DFID (1999, 15) defines financial capital as the financial resources required by people to realise their livelihood objectives. The two main sources of financial capital are available stocks such as savings and regular inflows of money. Savings are the most reliable type of financial capital as they do not have liabilities attached to them. They are held in different forms such as livestock, cash and bank deposits. State social transfers and remittances are most common types of inflows and are some of the most reliable sources of financial capital available to the poor (DFID 1999, 15).

Moser (2006, 19) states that financial capital is one of the greatest instruments for poverty alleviation and its accumulation is arguably one of the best indicators used to measure poverty reduction. However, De Janvry and Sadoulet (2000, 396) claim that credit access and other form of technical assistance is very limited amongst the rural poor. Hence, Ellis (1998, 26) contends that the lack of access to credit is one of the impediments for potential livelihood diversification amongst rural households. Direct financial capital support to the poor is generally limited. Instead, support is dispersed indirectly through other means, namely organizational, institutional and legislative.

Institutional support available to the poor assists them by removing barriers to access to human capital associated with a lack of collateral. The other support is offered using legislative instruments to bring necessary changes to the way financial services operate (DFID 1999, 15). Furthermore, Moser (2006, 21) states that legislation should ensure that financial capital support is not only limited to the provision of a social protection safety net to the poor, but is extended to form the basis for their economic development. He further emphasises that financial capital is critical in the accumulation of other assets such as human capital and natural capital, which will enable the poor to break free from the cycle of poverty.

However, Mahajan (2006, 5) strongly disagrees with the popular notion that the only financial service required by the poor is access to credit. Instead, the poor are more interested in savings than borrowing and protecting themselves against risks through insurance. Additionally, Mahajan (2006, 7) states that given the high level of vulnerability to shocks by the poor, insurance is a vital financial service. He further argues that savings enables the building of other types of assets critical for their livelihoods. It is therefore important for the micro-finance sector to promote other financial services such as investments and insurance other than financial credit products. Furthermore, Mahajan (2006, 6) argues that credit is not an asset but a liability. However, when it is used to initiate an economic activity that will generate income, it becomes a liability turned into an asset over a certain period.

Indeed, Mahajan (2006, 3) argues that financial capital is increasingly becoming central to the other four capitals that have become financialised as all have monetary value attached to them and are now tradeable. Assets that were traditionally held in common and traded differently in other systems have now become monetised. In some part of sub-Saharan Africa, land was communally owned, but has since been privatised through private titling and is tradable. Access to education and healthcare facilities in most countries is through a charge, increasingly making human capital financialised (Mahajan 2006, 4).

The buying of club membership and joining fees paid to become a member of an organization has ensured that without money, access to social capital is limited. The use of public infrastructure such as roads is charged through tolling and license fees, making physical capital increasingly financialised. Both DFID (1999, 16) and Mahajan (2006, 3) contend that while access to capital is a requisite for the poor to improve their livelihood, is not adequate and is not a silver bullet to the problems associated with rural poverty.

3.3 Complementarity

A single asset has the potential to generate benefits, but the combination of different types of assets yields even more benefits for households (Kim and Sumberg 2015, 126). However, McKay (2009, 4) states that the inability of households or individuals to utilise assets effectively has the potential to contribute to their poverty. Holding more assets can serve as an indication for social status. More importantly, Kay (2006, 476) argues that land access is a necessary start to poverty reduction. However, adequate access to other capital assets becomes increasingly important in enabling the poor to generate their livelihoods. Access to land is as important as access to infrastructure and finance. However, access to education is equally important if the effective use of these aforementioned assets is to be realised (DFID 1999, 7).

Winters et al. (2001, 1451) suggest that the promotion of a single asset confines households to a specific “out of poverty pathway” as each asset is linked to a particular economic activity. Instead, a combined investment of assets based on the prevailing conditions at the local level should be considered for rural development. Access to different levels and combinations of assets plays a major role in influencing the choice of livelihood strategies (DFID 1999, 23). Additionally, Siegel (2005, 9) submits that some assets are more productive if combined with others. Land alone without improved access to complimentary services such as health, education, skills, transport, technologies and markets is unlikely to make a positive contribution to the wellbeing of the poor (DFID 2002, 1). The rural poor should have access to multiple asset combinations as a comprehensive approach to rural development and poverty reduction initiatives if sustainable rural livelihoods are to be achieved (DFID 1999, 7).

3.4 Livelihoods

According to Carney (1998, 4), livelihoods are comprised of “capabilities, assets (material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living”. Thus, Carter and May (1999, 5) have listed a number of income generating activities undertaken by

members of rural households. These include: farming for both consumption and sale; wage labour which includes commuter and migrant labour; state transfers such as old age grant (pension); remittances sent by migrants are very important livelihood; non-wage labour which is largely performed by women; and illicit activities which include drug-trafficking and prostitution.

In many cases, land is the most prominent rural asset (IFAD 2001, 73). Its importance is not limited to livelihoods only, but includes spiritual and social relations as well (Batterbury et al. 2015, 622). As a result, Shackleton et al. (2001, 593) state that land-based livelihoods are more vital in rural areas than usually imagined. More importantly, Kepe and Cousins (2002, 1) emphasise that despite unfavourable conditions, land-based livelihoods continue to be of significance to the rural poor. Land-based activities such as livestock, cropping and the harvesting of natural resources constitute about 56 percent of rural annual value per households compared to other income, including remittances (Shackleton et al. 2001, 593).

However, Jacobs (2004, 3) reports that agriculture has declined over the years in SSA as land access has become stagnant. Indeed, Kepe and Cousins (2002, 1) point out that the lack of support for agriculture and natural based livelihoods through restricted access to both input and output markets has resulted in a lack of farming interest by rural folk, young people in particular. On the other hand, IFAD (2001, 73) states that the lack of economic development opportunities in rural areas are largely complicated by biased urban policies that were adopted in the past which encouraged the unequal distribution of resources against rural areas.

Bhandari (2013, 129) warns that farmers who are not incorporating modern inputs into their farming operations are likely to receive small profit margins, making them uncompetitive against their counterparts who have adopted modern farming practices and they will eventually exit agriculture. Shackleton et al. (2001, 590) state that agriculture

plays a notable economic role in rural livelihoods. Furthermore, Shackleton et al. (2001, 595) argue that if farmers can be given support such as infrastructure, transport, access to credit, storage, marketing extension support and research, their productivity can increase remarkably.

In rural villages, food production is done in close vicinity to the homesteads on a scale of small patches of a few square metres to larger patches of up to five hectares. Cultivation of large arable land closer or far from the homesteads where cash crops are grown is still being done, although it is dependent on agro-ecological zones (Shackleton et al. 2001, 590). However, Foster et al. (2011, 541) state that rural households are confronted with three different sets of constraints in pursuit of their livelihoods. The first set of limitations includes the lack of machinery and implements, few livestock, poor land access, low educational attainment and poor family health.

He further points out the other set of constraints pertaining to the context and environment in which households make use of the assets available to them. This can be attributed to erratic climatic conditions, the quality of infrastructure, the selling of family labour, proximity to markets and access to schools and healthcare facilities. Given the above-mentioned set of constraints, households are faced with the third set of challenges to decide on which level and combinations of assets can be best used to pursue their livelihoods (Foster et al. 2011, 541).

Foster et al. (2011, 539) argue that even though agriculture is still an important economic activity, it is not the only occupation in which rural poor households are engaged. Martin and Lorenzen (2016, 231) state that livelihoods are now complex, constituted by a wide-range of activities that contribute to family wellbeing. In agreement, Rigg (2009, 5) states that farming is now one of many activities that people are pursuing in the rural areas, which makes land access no longer a requirement for poverty reduction. For example, Winters et al. (2001, 1451) report studies that suggest that several rural households are

involved in various activities. Therefore, a land-based approach to development focusing on agriculture is misplaced and does not reflect the current reality. Admittedly, Shackleton et al. (2001, 596) assert that most rural people whose livelihoods are land-based are not full-time farmers.

Foster et al. (2011, 540) state that households engaged in agricultural activities have access to land, but are located far from infrastructure. They have a low educational attainment and are headed by an older male. Conversely, non-agricultural households live closer to infrastructure, have better educational achievement, are engaged in off-farm wage labour and the household's head is younger in age. Households who depends on agricultural wage labour are located far from infrastructure and have inadequate education. They either own small plots or have no access to land and are headed by a younger male.

3.4.1 Livelihood diversification

Ellis (1998, 4) define livelihood diversification as “the process by which rural families construct a diverse portfolio of activities and social support capabilities in their struggle for survival in order to improve their standards of living”. Additionally, Loison (2015, 1125) refers to this phenomenon as a switch from farm activities to non-farm activities with a view to expanding the rural agrarian economy (Table 1).

Table 1: Classification of the components of rural livelihood diversification

Classification	Category	Definition
By sector	Farm (Agricultural)	Production of unprocessed crops, livestock, forest or fish products from natural resources. This category also includes farm wage labour, sale of farm output and consumption-in-kind of own farm output.
	Non-Farm (non-agricultural)	Includes all income-generating activities other than the production of primary agricultural commodities. Examples include mining, manufacturing, utilities, construction, commerce, transport and government services, amongst others. It also includes agro-processing, transport or trading of unprocessed crop, livestock, forest and fish products.
By function	Wage employment	Involves an employer-employee relationship, where the employee sells labour services to the employer in exchange for a wage or salary.
	Self- employment	Involves the sale of labour services to oneself, rather than working for an employer that pays a wage or salary. Income is earned through activities operated directly by the owner.
By location	On farm	Income activity takes place on the farm. For example, crop and livestock production, hunting, fishing or gathering from natural resources.
	Off-farm	Income activity takes place away from the farm (rural or urban, local or foreign). Typically includes all in the non-farm category. Also refers to wage or exchange labour on the farms and labour payments in kind, such as harvesting sharing and other non-wage labour contracts.

Source: Loison (2015, 1126)

Ellis (1998, 5) argues that livelihood diversification is not the same as income diversification. Instead, Loison (2015, 1128) states that the diversification of livelihood is associated with survival strategies and risk mitigation under strained economic conditions, and livelihood security when things improve. In SSA, rural households are engaged in different income-generating activities as a coping mechanism to reduce levels of uncertainty (Hilson 2016, 553).

Loison (2015, 1130) states that households and individuals may diversify their assets as a response to push and pull factors. Push factors are climatic uncertainty such as droughts, flooding and environmental degradation. Furthermore, Loison (2015, 1131) contends that unlike push factors, pull factors incentivise households and individuals to pursue other livelihood activities in order to raise their living standards. Indeed, Ellis (1999, 5) states that different families and individuals have different potential sources of income, which will impact them differently in terms of income distribution and poverty based on their sources. In addition, Loison (2015, 1130) posits that women have limited access to land and other productive assets, hence they often embrace different livelihoods strategies.

Winters et al. (2001, 1438) note that land access is positively correlated to agriculturally related incomes and negatively related to off-farm activities. Secondly, education is positively linked to non-agricultural income generating activities and negatively associated with agricultural activities. Thirdly, infrastructure and adjacency to urban areas are positively linked with non-farm activities and negatively associated with agriculturally related activities. Furthermore, Loison (2015, 1125) claims that infrastructure development, increased access to urban areas and the development of rural towns have made it possible for small-scale farmers to diversify their livelihoods.

3.4.2 Livelihood Outcome

DFID (1999, 25) states that livelihood outcomes “are the achievements or outputs of livelihood strategies”. According to DFID (1999, 25) and Rakodi (2002, 16), livelihood outcomes are:

- **More income:** although income is disputed by some scholars and policy-makers as the sole poverty measurement, it is still used. People always seek to increase household income based on the activities they have undertaken. Increased household income is linked to the economic wellbeing and sustainability of livelihoods.
- **Increased wellbeing:** While the economic wellbeing of the people and households is important, there are valuable non-material goods that money cannot buy which contribute to their sense of wellbeing, namely: physical security, self-esteem, cultural heritage, sense of control, political participation and health status.
- **Increased food security:** Access to asset capital including land increases household incomes and the ability to produce and access food is improved.

3.5 Conclusion

Access to assets has numerous benefits for the poor in general. Assets play a critical role in enabling the poor to get out of poverty and improve their wellbeing. Assets increase the income of the poor, cushion them against shocks and widen their options for livelihood strategies. Increasing asset access to the poor has a positive impact on economic growth as more people are able to participate in the mainstream economy. However, access to a single asset is not adequate to increase poor households' wellbeing. It is access to a combination of different assets that can achieve a positive livelihood outcome.

This chapter has discussed in detail how different assets are complemented by each other to achieve a desired livelihood outcome. In the following chapter, the methodology that adopted to conduct this study will be outlined.

Chapter 4: Research Design and Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the research methodology used to conduct research and analyse the study findings. It provides justification for the methodology used and the activities that were undertaken in this research. The reader is taken through different sections which include the study design, study area, study population, sampling methods, research methods, data analysis, validity, reliability and ethical considerations. The chapter concludes by discussing the limitations of the study and the challenges encountered during fieldwork.

4.2 Study Design

Patton (1990, 165) states that the major trade-off between qualitative and quantitative research is between the depth and breadth of the study. Quantitative research requires the use of a standardized approach which limits people's experiences to some pre-planned responses. Conversely, qualitative approaches allow issues to be studied and in great detail and as Kumar (2014, 132) contends, qualitative research's main focus is to "understand, explain, explore, discover and clarify situations, feelings, perceptions, attitudes, values, beliefs and experiences of a group of people".

I adopted a qualitative approach for this research study in order to gain an in-depth understanding of the relationship between land access and poverty reduction. Given the intricate nature of this work, a case study approach became the most appropriate method adopted. The case study approach is useful to obtain a better understanding of a community, situation, site, phenomenon and episode. Case studies are more relevant when the study objective is explorative rather than quantifying; giving an in-depth understating of dynamics within the study unit (Kumar 2011, 127).

A case study approach allows the researcher to examine a particular case in-depth while simultaneously allowing some degree of flexibility and versatility. It is more manageable than wide-reaching surveys because of its singularity of focus (Rule and John 2011, 8). Furthermore, multiple data collection methods such as in-depth interviews, observations, focus groups and group interviews can be used, including secondary records (Kumar 2011, 127). The case study is appropriate when “you cannot manipulate the behavior of those involved in the study and when you want to cover contextual conditions because you believe they are relevant to the phenomenon and context; or the boundaries are not clear between the phenomenon and the context” (Yin 2003).

4.3 Study Area

The area in which this study was conducted is KwaDukuza Local Municipality within ILembe District Municipality, 20 km north of Stanger in Ward 25. According to the census data of 2011, the area has a population of 8 211 people of which 54% are females and 46% males (StatsSA 2013). The youth constitutes approximately 53% of the entire population within the ward. The area has a strong sugarcane farming background, housing commercial sugarcane growers. Sugarcane is the most practiced enterprise within the area.

HCT owns the farm, registered as the remainder of the farm Esseina No. 3, No. 6307, Registration division FU, Province of KwaZulu-Natal in the extent of 278, 9521 hectares (ha). The sugarcane farm is 91 ha in size, while the area designated for human settlement is 50 ha. It is nested within the valleys of the great Uthukela River, which used to be a boundary separating the Natal Colony and the former KwaZulu Bantustan. Although the area is located within a rural setting, modern three-bedroom houses exist alongside a traditional Zulu hut type of settlement. This makes Hlomendlini a dual society where visible poverty exists alongside affluence. Good road networks connect the area with towns such as Stanger, which is the closest and Mandeni and Maphumulo, which are within a 50 km radius (Figure 1).



Figure 1: The location of HCT

Source: Rooms for Africa

The reasons that led to the selection of HCT as a case study are: Firstly, the area is surrounded by the Traditional Authorities (T A) of the Gumede, Mathonsi and Ngcobo communities, making it a unique restitution case. The relationship between the HCT and these traditional authorities raises interest as traditional leaders are generally not comfortable with Trusts owning the land, which in their view belongs to them. Secondly, my familiarity with the area played an important role in selecting it for the purposes of this study. This afforded me easier access to the area to conduct this study and gave me some legitimacy and rapid embrace by the study participants, including community leadership.

4.4 Study Population

HCT has 250 households, who are direct beneficiaries. Initially, 25 beneficiaries from different households were earmarked as participants. However, only 16 participated in the study. The other nine participants to achieve the targeted sample of 25 beneficiaries could not be reached as some had relocated to different areas and were not easily traceable. Amongst the 16 who participated, four were beneficiaries who did not relocate to the new HCT land post-settlement. The study population comprised men, women and youth representing all the demographics of the area.

I also targeted two participants each from the Department of Agriculture and Rural Development (DARD) and Tongaat Hulett (TH) respectively. However, only three were interviewed, two were from the sugar industry. In total, 19 participants were interviewed, all of whom were selected based on their availability, knowledge and the information they possessed about the case.

4.5 Sampling Methods

Sampling is the process of selecting a few from a larger group to become the basis for understanding the prevalence of an unknown piece of information, situation or outcome regarding the bigger group (Kumar 2012, 193). In choosing an appropriate sampling method for this work, a balance was created between the limitations, reliability and validity of the study. There are a number of strategies for “purposefully selecting information-rich cases”, and this study employed snowball or chain sampling (Patton 1990, 169). Initially, I identified and selected knowledgeable individuals best suited to advance the purpose of the research based on the information they possess and their willingness to share it in an expressive and reflective manner (Kumar 2011, 190).

The selected participants were direct beneficiaries of the HCT (see Table 2), representative of government and the private sector. After interviewing the first few information-rich key informants, each of them was asked the following question at the

end of the interview: “Who do you think knows a lot about the subject and who else should I talk to?” They all referred other beneficiaries directly involved with the case. I appropriately applied snowball sampling (Kumar 2011, 190). The sample consisted of 16 HCT beneficiaries and three private and government officials, making a total of 19 participants.

Table 2: Profile of interviewees

Name and Surname (pseudonyms)	Gender	Age	Level of education	Position	Relocated/ not relocated to the land
Themba Mkhize	Male	45	Matric	BoT	relocated
FikelephMbambo	Female	50	Secondary	General member	relocated
Boneni Mncube	Female	55	Primary	BoT	Not relocated
Muziwakhe Cele	Male	67	Primary	General member	Not relocated
Ben Hlophe	Male	62	Primary	BoT	Not relocated
Frans Bhengu	Male	58	Matric	General member	Not relocated
Jeffrey Zondi	Male	56	Secondary	General member	Not relocated
Mandla Zuma	Male	54	Secondary	General member	Not relocated
Jetro Chili	Male	66	Primary	General member	Not relocated
Njabulo Hlongwa	Male	30	Secondary	General member	Not relocated
Gcinile Gasa	Female	72	Primary	General member	relocated
Christina Nxele	Female	69	Primary	General memebr	relocated
Philani Thabethe	Male	34	Matric	General member	Not relocated
Velaphi Zulu	Male	67	Primary	General memebr	relocated
Thabane Dube	Male	32	Secondary	BoT	Not relocated

Source: Author

4.6 Research Methods

Fieldwork comprised two types of methods, namely primary data and secondary data. The primary data collection consisted of interviews, observations and transect walks, whilst existing documents and records were used as secondary data (Stuwing and Stead 2001, 80).

4.6.1 Interviews

Interviews are one of the most prominent strategies used to collect qualitative data (DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree 2006, 314). Given that the case study methodology was used, the complexity and the uniqueness of the study required some flexibility. Therefore, semi-structured interviews were used to collect primary data from participants. Longhurst (2016, 143) states that semi-structured interviews remain the most preferably used qualitative method for data collection. They are verbal interchange between the interviewer and the interviewee in which the interviewer elicits information from the interviewee by asking questions.

Interviews were conducted in the homes and offices of the participants. I used an interview guide that was developed before the interviews were conducted. The guide contains carefully worded pre-determined but open-ended questions or lists of topics to be covered during the interview (Ayres, 2008:2). The questions in the interview guide were developed to target a specific group of participants. There were questions that targeted women, youth, beneficiaries that did not relocate to new settlements, general beneficiaries and private sector and government officials. All targeted participants were asked similar questions with some degree of flexibility in the approach (Van Teijlingen, 2014:20).

During the interview sessions, the logical sequence of questions was followed, and in some instances, I moved back and forth through the list of questions depending on the interviewee's responses (Ayres, 2008:2). Interviews lasted between 30 and 60 minutes. The duration of the interviews was largely determined by the content of the discussions and the participant's responses. Interviews were conducted in either IsiZulu or English, depending on the respondent's understanding of either language.

Interviews were recorded using an electronic recording device, which allowed the interviewer to focus on non-verbal cues and indicators as they assist in evaluating the

truthfulness or the validity of responses (Van Teijlingen, 2014:21). Permission to record the interviews was sought from the participants before the interview session. The voice recordings in IsiZulu were first translated into English before they were transcribed into text format.

4.6.2 Observation

Creswell (2017, 190) states that qualitative observation “is when the researcher takes field notes on the behavior and activities of individuals at the research site, the researcher’s records are unstructured or semi-structured”. According to Patton (2002,262), the purpose of observational data is to describe the ‘setting’ observed, the key activities within the setting, people partaking in those activities and the meaning of what is being observed. Struwing and Stead (2001, 96) contend that the observational method, provides a researcher the advantage of not relying on participants’ willingness to share and respond accurately to questions.

According to Rule and John (2011, 81), observations can be conducted as an additional data collection method, such as brief visits to the area of study. Observation can be done using records which can include observation checklists or schedules and the researcher’s detailed notes on what has been observed. In this study, unstructured observations complemented the interviews. Due to the shortage of time, I could not conduct the participant-observation methods common in classical ethnographic studies. Therefore, these observations were limited to observing the ‘setting’, focusing on the physical environment such as the state of the farm, the type of houses in the new settlement and the physical infrastructure namely roads and water sources. These observations were made after the interviews in order to confirm some of the information shared by the participants. In addition, occasional visits to the area of study and detailed observations were made by the researcher. The notes were recorded immediately after the observation in order to avoid distortion through memory loss.

4.6.3 Transect walking

A transect walk is but one of the wider methods of data collection known as Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA). PRA entails more participation of the community being studied making the information collected more likely to be accurate than other methods (Ahmed et al. 2010, 559). A transect walk then signifies the process of taking a walk through the area under study with a knowledgeable local person. During the walk, the researcher asks questions, observing, discussing and identifying diverse physical features and land uses (Chambers 1994, 960). I undertook two transect walks together with two different participants, traversing the HCT area asking questions emanating from the observations and prior engagement with them during the semi-structured interviews. The information gathered was documented in my notes to avoid misrepresentations as a result of lapses in memory.

4.6.4 Secondary data collection

Stuwing and Stead (2001, 80) state that secondary data can be categories of raw data, summaries of numbers and written treatises. Written treatises can be in the form of books, theses and articles which can be gathered from various sources such as from libraries, government departments and any other credible source of information. However, the reliability of such data must be determined.

Several secondary sources of information in the form of documents pertaining to the case study were explored. An evaluation report from Parliament Portfolio Committee on Land Reform and Rural Development, information from TH and a speech by the then Minister of Agriculture and Land Affairs Ms. Lulu Xingwane, delivered during the land handover ceremony to Hlomendlini Community Trust were used. Newspaper articles from a reputable daily English newspaper regarding the case were also used as a source of information.

4.7 Data analysis

The analysis of interview data was done using thematic analysis or content analysis. This process entails generating codes, identifying themes, analyzing and reporting themes within data which cover the complex and interlinked aspects of the research topic (Boyatzis 1998). The analysis of data was done in two stages, namely coding and thematic analysis. Firstly, interviews were conducted in IsiZulu as 79% of the participants were more comfortable being interviewed in their mother tongue. After the interviews were conducted, they were translated into English and transcribed into verbatim transcripts.

I verified the transcripts against the recorded interviews in order to identify gaps and ensure that translation was done properly. Identifiers were removed from the raw data to ensure the anonymity of the participants. After correcting and cleaning the data, I familiarized myself with the dataset by reading it repeatedly before coding. John and Rule (2011, 77) define coding as “the process of choosing labels and assigning them to differently parts of data”. Instead of using a computer programme to generate codes, I opted for manually coding, despite that being a long and tedious process.

Initially, the data was allowed to ‘speak for itself, telling its own story’ by using open coding or inductive coding. This requires the researcher to scuba dive into the data, searching for issues raised by the participants and trying to formulate the significant meaning behind these issues. Secondly, some of the pre-chosen codes emanating from the theoretical framework were brought into the data. These are referred to as deductive codes. Qualitative research does allow for codes to be imported into the data without crowding the space for data to speak (John and Rule 2011, 77).

Both inductive and deductive codes were assigned to some sections of the document, such as paragraphs and sentences, to assist in categorising crucial concepts within the context in which these ideas occur. The coding process was not limited to interview

transcripts only, but included secondary documents and observation notes. After the completion of coding, thematic analysis was done. Codes were used to identify patterns such as similarities or dissimilarities in the data.

Codes were grouped together into categories to form potential themes, some of the themes became overarching themes and others sub-themes. Some of the initial codes were discarded in the process, while others became main and sub-themes respectively. Themes were reviewed to check if they were supported by the data. This process led to collapsing some of the themes into one, breaking down others into separate themes. The role of sub-themes was to give structure to larger and complex themes. The essence of each theme and the aspect of the data it captures was determined.

4.8 Trustworthiness of the study

To ensure quality, Guba's four criteria for trustworthiness was adopted (Shenton 2004, 73), namely credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability.

4.8.1 Credibility

The research method (including the data collection method and sampling) adopted in this study are recognized and well-established in qualitative research (Shenton 2004, 64). Stakeholders were engaged before they participated in the study in order to build good rapport and trust. Participants were not forced to participate in the study, they did it out of their own free will and were willing to share information and their experiences without compensation of any sort. My independent status was declared prior to the commencement of interviews, thus enabling participants to freely share information without any fear. Iterative questioning was employed to ensure that deliberate lies and contradictions detected during interviews were disregarded as unreliable information. Due to time and financial constraints, "member checking" as described by Rule and John (2011, 108) was not done for the purposes of this study.

4.8.2 Transferability

A case study, according to Rule and John (2011, 105), “by its very nature is a study of an individual case, and cannot make valid claims about patterns and the frequency of such patterns beyond the case”. The researcher opted for the case study method in order to gain an in-depth understanding about this particular case. The findings of this case were not intended to be generalized elsewhere.

4.8.3 Dependability

An in-depth analysis/critique of the methodology was conducted to ascertain that proper research practices were followed in the study (Shenton 2004, 71). Accuracy and objectivity of the study were ensured through the recording and transcription of interviews. Statements made by the participants during the interviews were not changed during the discussion of the study’s findings.

4.8.4 Confirmability

The researcher has provided a full description of the research process that was undertaken in this study. The limitations of this study and ethical issues are fully described in the following section (Shenton 2004, 71; Rule and John 2011, 107).

4.9 Limitations and Challenges

Rule and John (2011, 105) assert that “a case study which by its very nature is a study of an individual case, cannot make valid claims about patterns and frequency of such patterns beyond the case”. The study methodology was limiting because of its singularity; hence the findings of this study cannot be generalized to other cases nationally, despite its possible contribution to policy-making (Rule and John 2011, 111).

4.10 Ethical considerations

The researcher submitted the application for ethics approval to the University of KwaZulu-Natal's Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee. I was granted permission to conduct this study by the research ethical committee (see Appendix II). Informed permission for conducting this study was obtained from appropriate authorities and gatekeepers (See Appendix III). Furthermore, informed consent was obtained from participants prior to every interview. Consent was obtained using the informed consent form provided by the Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee. The informed consent form was used to inform prospective participants about the nature of the study, their right to withdraw their participation in the study at any point and to guarantee their anonymity. The informed consent form was translated from English to IsiZulu. The IsiZulu version of the consent form was given to all participants, with the exception of officials from government and the private sector. The participants signed the informed consent form as a demonstration of their understanding of the nature and objectives of the study and their willingness to partake voluntarily.

I recognized the sensitivity of this study by ensuring that the autonomy of the participants was upheld at all material times. Participants were treated with respect and their right to voluntary participation was observed. Interviews were conducted in the participants' households and offices, places where all of them were most comfortable. No direct attribution to any individual either by name or characteristics was recorded in the transcriptions or in the write up. Interviews were recorded using a digital recording after notifying the participants and permission being granted to proceed. Hard and soft copies of the transcription will be safely secured and stored in a locked storage cupboard in the supervisor's office for the five-year duration prescribed by the University of KwaZulu-Natal's policy, after which they will be destroyed. It can be ascertained that this study did not cause any harm to the lives of the participants, nor did it lead to any regrets of any kind.

4.11 Conclusion

This chapter outlined the methodology used to collect data for this study. It provided a good description of the area of study and the participants. It also explained the analysis of data that was undertaken. The chapter explained the quality considerations undertaken in this study. It concludes by discussing the limitations of the study and the challenges that were encountered by the researcher during data collection. The following chapter draws from the data and the analysis made in this chapter and presents the findings of this study.

Chapter 5: Research findings, Discussion and Analysis

5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses and analyses the research findings with the aim of answering the research questions in line with the study objectives. The results are discussed in relation to the literature as reviewed in Chapter Two and the conceptual framework in the third chapter respectively. At this stage of the study, it is important to revisit the objectives as outlined in Chapter One. The main research objectives are to assess the relationship between land access and poverty alleviation; to determine the types of ancillary services and support available to beneficiaries; and to uncover the psychological impact of land restitution on beneficiaries. The research questions are as follows:

1. How do gender, age and educational levels of beneficiaries impact on access to land?
2. What is the relationship between land size, productivity and livelihoods?
3. What is the impact of land access on livelihoods?
4. What type, size and duration of support do beneficiaries receive, if any?
5. How do beneficiaries perceive the psychological impacts of land restitution?

Notably, this chapter focuses on preconceived themes based on the research questions and those that emerged from the data during content analysis. The headings are discussed in the following sequence: demographics and land access; land use and productivity; land access and impact on livelihoods; post-settlement support; and the psychological impact of land access. Discussions and analysis of the findings based on the participants' views are done under each theme.

5.2 How do gender, age and educational levels of beneficiaries impact on access to land?

The study discovered that the participants are not a homogenous group, but are differentiated along gender, age and educational lines.

5.2.1 Gender

The Table below summarises the gender distribution of the HCT beneficiaries who were interviewed.

Table 3: Gender distribution

Gender	N	Percentage
Females	4	24%
Males	13	76%
Total	17	100%

Source: Author

From Table 3 above, it can be deduced that land access in HCT is skewed along gender lines. In the sample, the percentage of female participants at 24% indicates a significant disparity between women and men in relation to land rights ownership. The high percentage of male participants at 76% signifies that males have more access to land than their female counterparts. It must be mentioned that during interviews, in some households that were supposedly headed by females, but given their age, they requested that a male representative participate in the interviews on their behalf. When I enquired about this decision, their response was that males were the heirs of their late fathers' estates. Hence, it was proper for them to represent the household. It was clear that in this community, land rights are handled by men, a clear sign that they are the 'household heads' despite the presence of their mothers. These intra-family land right transfers are biased against the female child within the household (De Janvry and Sadoulet 2001, 2).

Moreover, according to the demographics of Ward 25 in KDM where HCT is located and based on the 2011 census data, females constitute 54% of the population while males

make up 46%. Furthermore, 55% of households are headed by females as compared to males at 45% (Statistics South Africa, 2011). This further affirmed the finding of Jacob's (2009, 1675), Moyo's (2013, 5394) and Meer's (1997, 142) observations that land reform programmes have rarely been considered along gender lines, despite women being the most rural dwellers and the rural poor. Instead, land rights are highly concentrated in the hands of 'household heads' who happen to be males, which leads to the lack of female voices and representation, compromising both their interests and rights in the process.

5.2.2 Age

Unsurprisingly, the participants were differentiated along age lines. The table below shows the age distribution of the participants who were interviewed as part of this study.

Table 4: Age distribution

Age	N	Percentage
15-35	3	18%
36-45	1	6%
46- 55	4	23%
56- 59	3	18%
60+	6	35%
Total	17	100%

Source: Author

According to Table 4 above, 82 % of the participants within the sample are above the age of 35 years. The percentage of participants that are within the youth category of between 18 and 35 years of age is 18%. This indicates that the largest section of participants are considered to be older and holds the higher share of land rights than young people. This finding suggests that in HCT, access to land is largely determined by age, whereby land rights are more concentrated in the hands of the older section of the population. My findings are consistent with the study conducted by Chinsinga and Chasukwa (2012, 71) in Malawi, where the youth is marginalized in terms of land access. Instead, only the elderly and married people have access to land despite agriculture being the principal source of livelihoods. Youth have no access to land, input and output markets which has

further alienated them from farming. Furthermore, White (2012) argues that de-skilling, the neglect of farming by governments and limited access to land are main the reasons behind the youth eschewing agriculture. However, scholars such as Bryceson (1996, 105) have berated the youth in Africa for not showing interest in agriculture while ignoring these glaring facts, particularly the lack of land access as a key reason that they seek off-farm opportunities.

5.2.3 Education level

The table below depicts, in-depth, the educational levels of participants in the study.

Table 5: Level of education

Grade level	N	Percentage
0-7	8	47%
11-Aug	6	35%
12	3	18%
Post matric	0	0
Total	17	100%

Source: Author

From Table 5 above, it can be observed that 47% of participants have either not been to school or gone beyond primary level. Whilst 35% of the participants attended high school, they did not reach grade 12. The 18% of the participants who completed grade 12 did not further their education beyond matric. In total, 82% of the participants that did not make it to matric level command a big share of land rights. This discovery suggests that participants' level of education is not a determinant of land access. There is no single reference in any literature that has found that low educational levels of the landless poor limit their access to land. Instead, literature discussed in Chapter Three states that low levels of education prevents the rural poor from partaking in high paying non-agricultural jobs (Winters et al. 2009, 1437 and Rakodi 1999, 317).

5.3 Relationship between land use, productivity and livelihoods

5.3.1 Land Use

The case established that government allocated a total land area of 278, 9 ha to the HCT. The approved land use plan entailed that 50 ha would be for human settlement, three ha for the beneficiaries' food security garden, 110 ha be set aside for sugarcane production and the balance is an uninhabitable thorny bushy area (Figure 2).



Figure 2: The HCT map showing the farm, settlement and thorn tree veld

Source: Author

5.3.1.1 Human settlement

The study found that despite the allocation of 50 ha for human settlement, many beneficiaries did not relocate to the new land. Of the 250 households listed as beneficiaries, only 5 relocated to HCT land. Upon further enquiry, it was established that most beneficiaries had settled in areas such as Maphumulo, Mandeni and Ethekwini, to mention but a few. Therefore, relocating to HCT land was virtually impossible after

enormous investments in property in these areas. According to participants, the land is populated by ‘outsiders’. In an interview, Jeffrey Zondi, who lives 2 km from the trust land, decried the ‘invasion’ of their land by ‘outsiders’ through the Board of Trustees (BoT) chairperson. He reported that “only one or two” of the dispossessed have resettled on the land, citing the ‘relocation fee’ of up to R2 000 demanded by the board chairperson as a reason for not moving onto the new land.

His statement was confirmed by Thabani Dube, the only young person to serve as a member of the BoT. He stated that the required payment for re-settlement was an outrageous demand made by the chairperson. Their refusal to comply with this order has now rendered them landless in their own land:

This is our land; we are the ones who should be occupying the land as it belongs to the trust. So, we do not know who allocated land to those people. I do not live where the government allocated me as a beneficiary as those in charge said only rich people must live there. Those beneficiaries who managed to relocate paid the chairperson, yet according to the deed of trust one should not pay if they are beneficiaries. Now people that are not beneficiaries have occupied every space, there is no space for us. The only land left is where sugarcane is planted (Dube, KwaDukuza, 19/03/2017).

The land set aside for human settlement is populated by ‘outsiders’. There is no land available to accommodate the beneficiaries. Comparatively, the houses built by the non-beneficiaries are modern houses resembling those commonly found in the former white suburbs in towns, whilst those belonging to the legitimate owners of the land are less elegant houses normally found in poor rural areas of KwaZulu-Natal.

The largest area of land available is the thorny bushveld which will require massive land clearance before it can be used for any purpose. Christina Nxele, one of the elderlies who re-settled on the new land, confirmed that she paid the relocation fee to the chairperson

and had a receipt as proof of this transaction. According to her, she thought the government wanted them to pay this money, though she felt that it was not necessary since the land was a compensation for their loss.

From the above findings, it appears that the disputed 're-settlement fee' demanded by the chairperson of the board was the cause of the beneficiaries not relocating. Ironically, none of the participants that raised this issue seem to have any knowledge of what the chairperson did with the said relocation fee. The illegal occupation of trust land by non-beneficiaries is a critical case amongst participants. It seems like a case of double dispossession as the beneficiaries' right to land has now been negated by the chairperson selling their land. These actions by the chairperson have serious legal repercussions for her, and by extension the entire board, if pursued by trustees. Moreover, this could lead to potential conflict and unrest in the area. These findings confirm the argument raised by Cousins (2016, 16) in Chapter Two. He contends that in many land restitution cases such as this one, the legitimacy of Community Trusts has been called into question by the trustees based on allegations of corruption, poor governance and collusion with outside interests levelled against them.

5.3.1.2 Farming

In her address during the land handover ceremony, the then Minister of Land Affairs Ms. Lulu Xingwane declared that the new landowners were expected to continue with sugarcane production on the 91ha farm bought by the state for them:

As we seek various ways to address poverty, we look upon communities like this one to take advantage of the new opportunities presented by government. Sugarcane remains one of the important commodities that creates employment opportunities whilst also generating revenue for the country. This government is committed to ensuring that blacks benefit from the entire value chain in the sugar industry (Minister Xingwane, 2006).

The above excerpt bears testimony to the determination of government to strong-arm the new landowners to continue with previous land use characterised by commercial agriculture. In engagement with the interviewees, I discovered that the current sugarcane production was held in contempt by most participants. Instead, they wanted to explore other non-agricultural land-based activities as alternatives. This became clear during the interview with Thabani Dube, who stated that participants have low confidence in sugarcane as a business based on its past failures. For him, the next logical step is to do away with sugarcane altogether and introduce other land-based business initiatives that can contribute to their wellbeing as claimants:

The trust must stop using the land for sugarcane plantation now. We can accept development such as malls and other things. That is because we have not benefitted anything from the sugarcane. Sappi has come up with a proposal to have a cultural village that will create jobs, but people want to carry on with the sugar plantations which block opportunities (Dube, KwaDukuza, 19/03/2017).

The above narrative provided by Thabane Dube reflects the level of frustration towards the current sugarcane production that other participants shared during engagement. They believe that the current land use imposed on them by government does not work for them, as none amongst them has ever received their share of dividends since the inception of the project more than a decade ago. They think it is irrelevant and a stumbling block to the development they imagined, and they are now agitating for a change. The continuation with sugarcane production was meant not to disrupt the business operations of TH, which is desperately in need of sugarcane to remain competitive in the industry.

The above finding is in accordance with studies conducted by Winters et al. (2001, 1451) and Ferguson (2013) who state that rural households are engaged in various activities. Therefore, focusing on agriculture alone is misplaced and does not reflect the current

reality. Additionally, Cousins (2007, 225) and Hall (2003, 15) assert that claimants are not homogenous, but are differentiated along social, class and gender lines, dependent on various livelihood strategies.

Additionally, it resonates with the arguments raised by Cousins (2007, 225) and Puttergill et al. (2011, 597) who appropriately contend that the state expects the new landowners to continue with largely unworkable projects that are not aligned to their aspirations. They submit that government is quick to finalise claims that are best positioned to maintain large-scale commercial farming, ignoring the livelihood aspirations of the claimants in the process.

5.3.2 Productivity of the farm

The sentiments of interviewees from TH and the DARD regarding the productivity of the HCT sugarcane farm were mutual. They argued that the farm is not on par with others in the region in terms of productivity. They pointed out that the locality of the farm is characterised by unfavourable climatic conditions such as erratic rainfall and poor soils. Rodger Motala, a government official who once worked closely with the project at the infant stage, painted a gloomy picture about the prospects of the farm being turned around and becoming more productive:

The quality of the farm in terms of the soils, topography and the rainfall is not one of the best land reform success stories. It is a very difficult farm, a very dry erratic area. The soils are very shallow. Even with sugarcane as the major crop, you are going to have a serious problem if there was the slightest dry spell, not even drought. Your winters show you a big difference in that farm because of the poor quality of the soils (Motala, KwaDukuza, 17/01/2017).

The astute analysis provided by Rodger is supported by data obtained from the soil survey conducted by the South African Sugarcane Research Institute. It states that the HCT farm's soils are shallow with a 500mm – 750mm rooting depth. While the topsoil is fertile, soil depth is the biggest problem as the soils tend to dry off quickly when there is no rain for a while. Furthermore, another sugarcane extension specialist that I interviewed concurred that the farm was of poor quality compared to other farms within their jurisdiction. It was also observed that the farm has a dam but has no irrigation system in place. Interestingly, Rodger claims that the appalling state of the farm was the main reason the previous white owner disposed of it. Apparently, Rodger is also a sugarcane farmer in his private capacity within the same district. He knew all the farmers who belonged to the Darnall Sugar Mill Association.

The productivity of the farm is directly proportional to both climatic and soil conditions. The farm was attained swiftly by the DRDLR without any of the agronomic considerations stated above. I established through Rodger that a land capability assessment was not done before the acquisition of the farm. Hence, government's money was spent on a poor-quality farm by DRDLR. Acquiring a farm that is expected to lift people out of poverty without doing a basic but important assessment is the highest order of negligence. It is a sad indictment of government that poor black Africans are set up for failure in this manner. This finding fits well with the assertion by IFAD (2001, 75) and Foster et al. (2011, 541), discussed in Chapter Three, that the state usually allocates land of poor quality to the rural poor. This becomes a constraint to rural households who are unable to best use the assets available to them to improve their livelihoods.

5.3.2.1 Land size

There was general discontent amongst participants that relocated to the 50ha land designated for residential purposes. This was discovered during the interviews conducted with participants who relocated to the new settlement.

Gcinile Gasa, an elderly woman, recounted her story about the desire of working the land in order to support her family. She is a breadwinner who is neither employed nor engaged in any business but is fully dependant on government social transfers. She stated that the extent of the land allocated to her became smaller as ‘outsiders’ were allocated land closer to her, significantly reducing her land in the process:

There is no space here, as you can see behind the house. I had planned the perimeters of the area where I would farm as we were told that the land is ours and we must live on it. As time went by, other people we do not know were put in that land where I had planned to farm. When they were placed, my boundaries became smaller (Gasa, Hlomendlini, 14/03.2017).

The narrative provided by Gcinile Gasa shows that the land allocated to individual beneficiaries was well below their expectations. It was observed that their plot sizes were almost equivalent to those allocated to the non-beneficiaries by the chairperson. During a transect walk of the area, I spotted a garden with a sugar beans crop behind Gcinile’s compound. She jokingly pointed out that her garden resembles those that are found in township settings (Figure 3). It is evident that the small land plots allocated to participants by the BoT have negatively affected their ambitions of producing sufficient food from their land to improve their welfare.



Figure 3: The backyard garden belonging to Gcinile Gasa

Source: Author

The presence of backyard gardens in most participants' households confirm the observations made by Shackleton et al. (2001, 590) that in rural spaces, food production is done in close vicinity to homesteads and is done in small patches of a few square metres. These findings are also in line with the argument raised by Kay (2006, 475) and Lipton (1985, 8) that inadequate access to land by the rural poor is strongly associated with continuous rural impoverishment.

The study also discovered that from the 278, 9 ha of the HCT total land extent, 110 ha was set aside for sugarcane. However, since the inception of the project, only 94 ha have been planted. In an interview with Sizwe Gumede, an extension specialist for sugarcane from TH, he questioned the logic of expecting 250 households to benefit from such a small project:

Hlomendlini is a very small project, planting 94 ha of sugarcane, which cannot really support the number of beneficiaries within

the project. So, government needs to do an analysis and understand what is required by these beneficiaries. You cannot just give 250 household beneficiaries a 94 ha farm which can produce about 5000 tons per or less depending on environmental conditions. So, in terms of gross proceeds, we are looking at about R2.5 million and a net profit of about R200 000, so that is nothing for 250 households. A simple calculation shows that per individual family, you are looking at less than R3000 per annum, which is really nothing (Gumede, Tongaat, 13/01/2017).

The views of Sizwe Gumede are supported by the business plan prepared for HCT by the South African Cane Growers Association (SACGA), which projected a net farm income of R249, 984 after 18 months from the cane planted on 110 ha of land. From the above findings, it appears that the farm is too small to improve the economic wellbeing of beneficiaries. Indeed, participants did not anticipate that a democratic government that claims to be committed to redress will fail miserably to deliver justice to them. The question begs therefore: How can a small poor, performing farm alleviate the poverty of so many households? This finding confirms the assertion by Rigg (2006, 13) as discussed in Chapter Three, that for land reforms to have a substantial impact on the livelihoods of the rural poor, beneficiaries must be given adequate land that is enough to support their livelihoods at a reasonable level.

5.4 Land access and its impact on livelihoods

Most participants alluded that land dispossession severely disrupted their family structures and livelihoods. When participants were engaged about their livelihood strategies after dispossession, different responses were received. For example, Gcinile Gasas stated that her father was working in the city while her mother and siblings were based in the rural village. They were dependent on subsistence farming to supplement the

small remittances sent by her father. Velaphi Zulu, an elderly man, was working as a labour tenant on one of the Indian sugarcane farms in KwaDukuza:

On the farm, I was working under a boss selling my labour. One was basically renting himself because I did not love the work I was doing. I had to work for an Indian farmer to live there, paying with my labour (Zulu, Hlomendlini, 20/03/17).

Like Velaphi, most male participants pointed out that they were engaged in some form of wage-employment in various places. However, none of the female participants indicated that they were formally employed in wage labour. The majority stated that they were looking after their families and doing some subsistence farming while their fathers and husbands were away in towns and cities. This finding confirms the assertion made by Du Toit (2012) that land dispossession subjected Africans to conditions that were characterised by under-development and small family land plots which made it difficult for them to depend on agriculture as a livelihood. For survival, many African males had to sell their labour in low-paying farm and white industrial jobs to send remittances back home (Du Toit, 2012).

5.4.1 Benefits of land access

According to some of the participants, access to land is the only way of lessening the burden of poverty and improving wellbeing. The interviewees, particularly women, claimed that they were household heads entrusted with the responsibility of ensuring welfare within their respective households. This was strongly stated by Christina Nxele, an ordinary land beneficiary, for whom the issue of concern was the influx of outsiders to their land, negatively affecting the extent of her land:

I wanted to farm and have cattle, but this did not happen because the houses here are too close to each other. Then I decided to get rid of my cattle. As you can see the small garden that I have

here, it's just a township garden which I cannot live on. I must think now of other things to do besides farming. I am dependent on government and the money sent by my children (Nxele, Hlomendlini, 14/03/2017).

The joy of being reunited with the land was cut short by the arrival of new settlers on the land. The proximity of her land to that of new people forced Nxele to alter her plans and settle for a backyard garden (see Figure 4). Her entire household now depends on her old age grant, child grants and small remittances that come in drips and drabs from her children engaged in temporary jobs in the cities.

It is evident from the above findings that besides having access to the land she called her own, Christina and other participants have not derived the benefits that ought to come with land access. Like most female participants, her experiences resonate with the assertion made by Loison (2015, 1130) that women have limited access to land and as a result, they often embrace different livelihood strategies. Loison's point matches the findings emerging from the study, such as Christina's dependence on social transfers and remittances as an alternative livelihood strategy because of her inadequate land access.



Figure 4: The household garden belonging to Christina Nxele

Source: Author

Njabulo Hlongwa, a young man who runs a small makeshift tuckshop in the area, welcomed land access as a step in the right direction. He was hopeful that access to land could create opportunities and platforms for development in the future:

Yes, I can say that I am better off than those who do not own the land, they do not have anything. I say this because I have the land and for others, the journey is still rather long. So perhaps when the area is further developed than this, things will get better and we will benefit as well (Hlongwa, Hlomendlini, 21/02/2017).

Njabulo's views contradict those shared by most young people who participated in the study. For instance, Philani Thabethe is an unemployed young man. While he acknowledged the significance of having access to land, he was less optimistic about the prospects of deriving material benefits from their land, laying the blame squarely on the BoT for the lack of development in their area. Philani mentioned that the board was self-serving and has forgotten about their plight as young people. He

decried that a decade has elapsed since receiving their land, but they are still waiting to get their share of dividends from the sugarcane proceeds. He alleged that some people within the board, as he put it, “have been eating” on their behalf:

In my opinion, people are serving their own interests, benefiting alone and using us as a front while we are not benefiting. We are an integral part of this project, but we have nothing to show, no work here and no development. We are the same as people without land of their own (Thabethe, KwaDukuza, 21/03/2017).

The largest portion of young people believes that land access has not benefited them. Instead, they are being marginalized by the current board which has excluded them from employment opportunities on the farm. Assertions by some young people, including Thabethe, clearly points out the failure of the Trust board to communicate the facts as explained by Gumede above. Their failure to explain the inability of the farm to yield expected outcomes due to reasons already articulated in this chapter has created a strong suspicion amongst the beneficiaries of corruption and embezzlement of the trust’s funds. This has led to growing disillusionment amongst young people, who have resolved to find employment in the nearby towns rather than languishing in poverty. This finding contradicts the assertion by Puttergill et al. (2011, 608), Bryceson (1996, 105) and Bhandari (2013, 128) that young people in rural areas prefer employment outside farming as their chosen livelihood.

For the largest contingent of participants that did not relocate to the new land, there was no difference between them and the few that relocated to the trust land. Muziwakhe Cele, one of the beneficiaries who remained at Esidlidlini stated that as things stands, he is not contemplating relocating to HCT:

No, I think it is all the same. I do not see any difference at all. Why would I even go there? They are like us, no one has received anything from the committee (Cele, KwaDukuza, 07/02/2017).

Apart from Njabulo, there was consensus among these participants that their land access has not benefited them because of the failure of the board to pay their share of dividends. Their sentiment was also shared by Boneni Mncube, the chairperson of the BoT, who conceded that since their assumption of the project, not a single trustee has benefited because of various reasons:

I don't think that the quality of life for everyone has improved. As chairperson, I am not coping due to the pressure from beneficiaries. I do not know what to do anymore. We have not gained anything from this project since the beginning. There is no progress because of the sugarcane's under-performance and the instability within the trust (Mncube, KwaDukuza, 02/02/2017).

According to Mncube, poor productivity of the farm and the ongoing conflict amongst the trustees threatens the sustainability of the project. The difficulties faced by this restitution project were also confirmed by an agricultural extension specialist from the sugar industry, who admitted that the challenges within the project have undermined the potential gains from land access. However, some of the challenges are self-created, whereby the BoT should not have accepted the responsibility for the productive failure of the farm. Instead, they should have presented audited financial statements to the beneficiaries in a formally convened meeting. Telling concerned beneficiaries to go to TH to check the trust's account balance as claimed by Mncube was inadequate.

The above findings contradict the popular notion that landlessness is the major cause of endemic poverty amongst the dispossessed as stated by Terreblanche (2002), Du Toit (2012), Modise and Mtshiselwa (2013), politicians and policy-makers. Given the challenges mentioned above by participants, they are however consistent with reports by Kepe (2012, 397), Dikgang and Muchapondwa (2013) and Kewell and Carter (2014) that most restitution beneficiaries across the board have derived no material

benefits from the programme. Additionally, the findings confirm the fears of the then parliamentary committee on Rural Development and Land Reform, as early as 2010, which raised concerns that the HCT restitution project seemed unable to benefit 250 beneficiary households, given its size (Parliamentary Monitoring Group, 2010).

In Chapter Three, I cited DFID (1999) and Rakodi (1999) who state that physical capital comprises the basic infrastructure and production equipment essential for people to pursue and support their livelihood strategies in order to alleviate household poverty. My engagement with Fikelephi Mbambo, a single female beneficiary, revealed that re-settling on the new land enabled her to get closer to certain facilities that she could not access previously:

Yes, it has made it easier because before we only had one primary school. Then if you want to go to high school, you would have to travel out to other schools or even live at another area for the duration of your schooling. Transport was also very bad, but now everything here is easily accessible. The clinic is also close, and plenty of churches. There is a police station, even if it is a bit far from us. There is a possibility that another one could be built here (Mbambo, KwaDukuza, 02/02/2017).

The relocation of Fikelephi to HCT has enabled her access to basic services that are essential to leading a normal life. Through observations, it was established that most households in the area are electrified. While schools and the clinic are located at KwaMathonsi TA, they are within a short distance from HCT. The area is connected to nearby towns through good road networks. There is plenty of public transport in the form of minibuses, making life easy for commuters. This finding confirms the assertion by DFID (1999, 14) as cited in Chapter Three that access to infrastructure improves service provision to the public and enables them to meet their basic needs.

However, I discovered that in HCT, residents have no access to piped water. Participants indicated that they get their water supply through water tankers from KwaDukuza Municipality. Like most participants, Christina Nxele complained about the inconsistent supply of water services from the municipality. This poor service forced Christina to illegally connect water to the neighbouring village's main pipe across the road to her house through the storm water pipe. She used the water to irrigate her small backyard garden and for household consumption. However, the pipe was later cut off after being discovered by the authorities. The case also found that there is a dam within the sugarcane farm, but the absence of an irrigation system makes it impossible to use it when there is a serious dry spell, particularly in winter.

The interviews also established that the restitution project lacks implements such as ploughs, rakes, discs and boom sprayers essential for farming. The shortage of such crucial equipment is one of the serious challenges facing the restitution project. During the interview, Boneni Mncube, who also acts as a farm manager, raised serious concerns about the lack of such critical farm equipment. She stated that the equipment they are currently using has been borrowed from another generous farmer through her connections.

Their challenge is that they must wait for the other farmer to finish using it before lending them. According to her, this delays the implementation of their production plans, which negatively affects their work schedules. Boneni's views were supported by Themba Mkhize who works closely with her. He mentioned that the lack of farming equipment makes it difficult for them to operate the farm productively and profitably. The findings seem to be in line with the work of Foster et al. (2011, 553) and Rakodi (1999, 326), cited in Chapter Three above, which claims that landlessness is not the only cause of poverty. The above findings seem to resonate with this view, as inadequate investment in physical assets seem to limit the opportunities for poor farmers to pursue their livelihoods.

5.5 Post-settlement support

Study findings show that upon assuming ownership, the state expected new land entrants to continue with the previous commercial production plans. This required a significant capital investment for infrastructure and technical assistance, as well as other related support in order to ensure that operations were sustained.

5.5.1 Financial support

The study established that HCT received an amount of R2 628 224 in Re-capitalisation and Development Programme funding between 2014 and 2015 from DRDLR. This funding was used for planting; grading and gravelling the farm road; fencing and purchasing a new tractor. Themba Mkhize confirmed that DRDLR made available this financial support to them for the re-capitalisation of the farm:

Yes, the DRDLR supported us with money. We also bought a tractor. In fact, it was supposed to be a tractor and trailer, but the money was not enough. The thing is, whenever we submit a business plan now, it takes three years for the money to be approved. Then in three years' time the price has gone up. Now we ended up buying only a tractor and we had to add more money. We still need a trailer. And we also get fertilizer from the Department of Agriculture (Mkhize, KwaDukuza, 01.02/2017).

The study discovered that their business plan was developed by the SACGA on behalf of the Trust as early as 2010. However, the first tranche of payments to the Trust was transferred in 2014 by DRDLR. It took the government three full years to transfer the first grant funding to a project which became operational in 2005. From conversations with the participants, it was also established that the period between the submission of the business plan and the transfer of grant funding was too long. This has serious costing

implications for the project as input prices are subject to inflation increases annually. Interviewees also extended their critique to the private sector. Specifically, they accused the sugar industry of overlooking emerging black farmers' capital challenges:

We are not satisfied with the support from the sugar industry. The people who get the most support from them are white people. But for us black people, nothing happens. The funds are given to the already established companies (Mncube, KwaDukuza, 02/02/2017).

In an interview with Sam Mchunu who works for the sugar industry, he mentioned that as the industry, they do not give financial support to any farmer. Instead, they assist them to access credit through accredited entities such as the Small Enterprise Finance Agency. Instead, Sam was critical of the financial support provided by the state, given that the new land entrants have no access to financial assets and other capital to run the farm sustainably:

I do not think the government has given enough support in terms of restitution. The government gives the land and after that they take longer in terms of financial assistance. Some of these restitution farms are in a very poor state. Sometimes there is no cane and the new entrants have to start from scratch. It takes four to five years for government funding to come through. You must remember that the new people have no experience and lack equipment, and they have nothing to do the business. I think the government must give the land and the financial support concurrently (Mchunu, Tongaat, 13/01/2017).

The insightful analysis provided by Sam Mchunu reveals the lack of a clear post-transfer plan by the government. The period between the land transfer and the payment of grant funding to claimants is too lengthy for beneficiaries to make considerable progress. After

the land has been transferred, the farm is not operating at full capacity due to a lack of capital. New landowners struggle to keep up with the demands of running the commercial farm due to delayed financial support. As a result, the land is under-utilised by new farmers.



Figure 5: Under-utilised sugarcane farm

Source: Author

Figure 5 above shows the section of the farm that had not been planted in the 2017 planting season due to the unavailability of funds. The largest segment of the farm is uncultivated due to shortages in finance to plant the entire farm. According to Boneni, the total land planted this season is less than 20 ha of the 110 ha total land area. It appears that while the state is committed to supporting land restitution projects, the implementation of its funding model is flawed. Once-off government financial capital support is not adequate given the lack of capital and experience by beneficiaries to run the farm commercially.

These findings resonate with the assertions by Borras (2003, 385), Hall (2007, 16), Kepe (2012, 397) and DFID (1999, 15) cited in Chapter Two and Three respectively. They contend that although the state includes funding support in its project plans before land is transferred to the claimants, it is the failure to implement these development plans by its actors that leads to the collapse of restitution projects. They further argue that when it comes to direct financial capital support to the poor, it is generally limited.

5.5.2 Advisory support

The BoT considered agricultural advisory support as one of the key services required by novice farmers like themselves. Their lack of knowledge and experience in sugarcane production was one of their concerns. In an interview with Sizwe Gumede, the sugarcane specialist from Darnall Sugar Mill, I realised that advisory services were in the main provided by their organisation and, to a lesser extent, by agricultural advisors from DARD:

The sugar industry has given land reform or restitution projects support. We provide free extension services daily. We teach them how to manage the farm and the correct methods on how to produce sugarcane (Gumede, Tongaat, 13/01/2017).

Gumede's narrative was supported by Boneni Mncube, who admitted that the sugarcane project was receiving extensive advisory support from DSM. She further clarified that the nature of support includes technical assistance in relation to the entire production process of sugarcane from planting to harvest. She also conceded that extension officers from DARD play a minimal role in the sugarcane farm as their mandate covers the wider community. The study established that there is collaboration between the sugar industry and government in the provision of extension services in sugarcane production, which eliminates duplication and unnecessary competition. It can be concluded that HCT is receiving adequate

technical support from the sugar industry, which is complemented by DARD's extension services. This finding supports the assertion by Hall (2003, 18) that new land entrants must be given comprehensive agricultural support, which includes extension services as post-settlement support.

5.5.3 Human development

Most of the participants indicated that since the sugarcane farm was transferred to them, they have not been trained in sugarcane production, mechanization or farm management. I learned through an interview with Themba Mkhize that the training organised by DRDLR for beneficiaries did not address subjects such as sugarcane production, but focused on business management. Themba added that the training was also not open to all beneficiaries, but limited to a few:

We are receiving training conducted by a company called *Ubuqotho*. They are being paid by SASA and DRDLR. The training is on business management, workshopping the trustees, although it is not open to everyone (Mkhize, KwaDukuza, 01/02/2017).

The logic of organizing a business management workshop for beneficiaries who are not competent even on the basic principles of sugarcane production did not sit well with Sizwe Gumede. He was opposed to training that does not address the fundamental principles of farming, particularly sugarcane. He further complained about the 'I do not care' attitude displayed by some of the beneficiaries towards farming:

They need to get a basic education about farming for a start because the attitude that we see out there as extension officers is not good for farming. They need to know what farming is all about before they could even start thinking about making money. In fact, that should have happened before they were given the farm. If that was

done, probably this farm would have been put to better use (Gumede, Tongaat, 13/01/2017).



Figure 6: The hired tractor driver inspecting the boom sprayer

Source: Author

The interviewed beneficiaries conceded that they lack basic knowledge in operating farm machinery such as the tractor and other implements (see Figure 6 above). The project is incurring the costs of hiring a tractor driver to assist during ploughing and other activities requiring the use of machinery, such as spraying. The inability by government to train beneficiaries before land is transferred to them is at best negligent and at worst myopic. The state insisted that beneficiaries continue with sugarcane production but did not equip them with the requisite skills. They were set up for failure from the start. Their lack of farming skills has curbed their involvement in farming operations, which limits their participation in employment opportunities. They have the land, tractor and other resources but they are unable to utilize them productively.

These findings are closely aligned to the arguments raised by DFID (1999, 7), Psacharopoulos (1995, 4), Bhandari (2013, 128) and Ellis (1998, 27) as discussed in Chapter Three. These scholars appropriately argue that the effective utilisation of other assets to achieve positive livelihoods depends on human capital, which can be accumulated through schools and training session attendance. They further argue that appropriate training will enable rural people to acquire more information, improve productivity, increase incomes and expand their livelihoods.

5.5.4 Commercial partnerships

The study discovered that before the land transfer agreement came into effect, HCT entered into a co-management arrangement with TH as a strategic partner. In my engagement with Boneni Mncube, she stated that the state endorses strategic partnership deals as part of the land transfer agreement, particularly in projects involving commercial farming. According to her, the agreement required that the manager nominated by the HCT beneficiaries work closely with a white management contractor chosen by TH. She said that during this period, the skills essential for running the sugarcane farm profitably were going to be transferred to the beneficiaries.

The agreement stipulated that operational responsibilities were going to be shared between the HCT and management contractor based on their capacity. However, beneficiaries were not happy with the implementation of the agreement. Thabani Dube pulled no punches when quizzed about the HCT dealings with Dunlop, the white management contractor:

Dunlop charged a lot of money from the sugarcane earnings and he was not hiring the beneficiaries. He used his own labour force and we decided to chase him out of our land (Dube, KwaDukuza, 19/03/2017).

The management contractor reneged on his contractual obligations of working closely with beneficiaries by using his own staff. The despondency of Thabani was similarly shared by Themba Mkhize, who also complained about the exorbitant fees charged by Dunlop. The steep management fee paid to Dunlop had a devastating effect on the HCT farm. It was pointed out to Boneni Mncube that given the huge financial implications posed by their co-management agreement with Dunlop, why did they continue on this path? She highlighted their lack of capacity to manage a commercial sugarcane farm as the reason they elected to enter into a strategic partnership, as recommended by the state together with TH:

We sourced Dunlop because we could not handle the work on our own. It was the right decision at that time because the farm had no life. It was restored by Dunlop. We paid Dunlop R5000 a year per hectare (Mncube, KwaDukuza, 02/02/2017).

This means the BoT paid the contractor an estimated R470 000 per harvest of sugarcane using a rate of R5000 per ha. The management fee was paid from the farm's gross income, irrespective of whether the farm made a profit or loss in that season. Instead of sharing the little leftovers with beneficiaries, the board elected to re-invest the money in the farm to avoid its total collapse. When the rate charged by Dunlop became untenable, beneficiaries violently threatened his life and chased him away from the farm.

By this time, the funding grant from DARDLR was already exhausted and the trustees were deeply divided amongst themselves. From the start, the co-management arrangement was not ideal for the HCT farm given its size and productivity challenges. The government should have invested in building the capacity of the beneficiaries instead of facilitating this deal. Alternatively, the state should have borne the cost of this management structure rather than burdening the new land entrants with unsustainable agreements that perpetuate colonial social relations.

The use of the management contractor in this case study is consistent with the assertions by Fraser (2007, 840), Hall (2007, 17) and Basu (2016, 734) that the presence of white management contractors and their involvement in restitution projects is shaped by the 'colonial present'. The state insists that claimants work with a white strategic partner because of their neo-monopoly in technical agriculture. They suggest that management contractors are there more to ensure the continuation of white privilege and the commercial large-scale farm model than for the livelihood benefits of claimants. Accordingly, the joint ventures have left claimants with debts, farm decline and social conflicts.

5.5.5 Governance

During the interviews, it appeared that the HCT was established as a legal entity to hold land rights on behalf of the claimants. This process occurred before the land was transferred to the community. In the early years, nine members were elected to serve on the BoT, entrusted with the administration of land rights on behalf of the community. However, during the time in which this study was conducted, the board was left with three active members, the rest had since resigned for various reasons.

Therefore, the board does not constitute a quorum, which makes its existence and decisions taken on behalf of the trust legally questionable. To form a quorum, the board should have 50% plus one active members (about six) during the meetings where crucial decisions are taken. The remaining members of the board have been accused by the participants for, amongst other things, failure to convene an annual general meeting and to account on many issues such as unpaid dividends, as well as key decisions taken over the years, which include the allocation of trust land to non-trustees by the chairperson. In my engagement with Mandla Zuma, he angrily pointed out that since the inception of the project, they have been kept in the dark by the board around the circumstances leading to the non-payment of their share dividends:

To be honest, I have no idea why we are not receiving our portion of money from the sugarcane. There is no feedback from

the committee. They are supposed to brief us about developments on the farm, but they are quiet (Zuma, KwaDukuza, 19/03/2018).

Mandla's sentiments were also shared by Ben Hlophe, who criticized the BoT and, by extension the chairperson for their failure to consult them on matters concerning the HCT. He also cited the allocation of land to non-beneficiaries and non-payment of their shares from sugarcane proceeds as some of the burning issues that are being avoided. The elephant in the room is the chairperson, whom the beneficiaries are accusing of turning the HCT into her personal fiefdom. Allegations of mismanagement and corruption have been levelled against her by most participants. They believe that her actions are to be blamed for the dysfunctionality of the Trust and the poverty they are now trapped in.

Adding to the woes of the trust is a family feud between the chairperson and her brother serving as a traditional leader of the Mncube clan. I established that the two have serious differences regarding family issues. However, their issues are now playing out within the trust. HCT is now divided between the faction of the chairperson and that of her brother. Those behind the chairperson are three remaining members of the BoT, while her brother's backers are the disgruntled members opposed to the current status quo.

From the above findings, it seems that there is a serious institutional failure at HCT. The board is characterised by poor governance. As a result, it is dysfunctional. There are no accountability mechanisms in place. There is no communication between the board and the trustees. The failure to hold constitutionally mandated meetings by the board further gives credence to this. There is a serious social conflict brewing on the land and the systems are about to collapse. Given the capacity challenges facing this legal entity, the government's failure to provide required support is astounding.

The literature seems to suggest that this is a common problem in land restitution. For example, Cousins (2016) argues that CPAs and CTs are not adequately supported by government, rendering them dysfunctional and exposed to social conflicts, including legal challenges. He further points out that the question of land use and dividends from the land proceeds remain unresolved and contested between legal entities and beneficiaries. This has led to the legitimacy of these entities being questioned by beneficiaries, accusing these entities of corruption, poor governance and collusion with outside interests.

5.6 Contested land

This research also revealed that the HCT is enclaved by the Gumede and Mathonsi communities. The cattle from the KwaMathonsi community from Ohlange are causing serious havoc in the sugarcane plantation. After fruitless engagement with the KwaMathonsi TA, the BoT resolved to fence the entire farm to prevent the cattle from destroying the cane. In retaliation, the community cut the fence open and moved their cattle inside the farm at night. This act of lawlessness has caused serious distress to the sugarcane as the productivity has plummeted further. Most participants have expressed their disgust at this provocation from the KwaMathonsi community. Ben Hlophe, one of the participants, believes that this is a deliberate act of criminality aimed at sabotaging the Trust:

There is something that is worrying us as the Trust, which is done by the people of Ohlange. They are letting their cattle graze on the sugarcane area. They do this at night while we are sleeping. By the time we wake up, they have already removed their cattle and the sugarcane is depleted. Therefore, things are not going right. I cannot even tell you why they are doing this. It puzzles me as to why do people think or behave this way. The people of Ohlange are not part of the trust (Hlophe, KwaDukuza, 08/02/1918).



Figure 7: Cattle grazing within the unplanted parts of the HCT sugarcane farm

Source: Author

However, I discovered that the cattle from Ohlange are no longer grazing the cane at night but during broad daylight. This was captured in Figure 7 above, where several cattle were spotted inside the farm. The herder of the cattle confirmed that their owner is from Ohlange. This has now forced the BoT not to plant sugarcane in the parts of the farm close to Ohlange, which has led to the vast farm land being under-utilised.

According to Themba Mkhize, these are deliberate acts of sabotage waged against them by a neighbouring traditional leader using his subjects. Themba alleges that the traditional leader has lodged a claim over the Trust's land with CRLR. He claims that this covetous Traditional leader wants the HCT to be incorporated under his authority. The Traditional leader has successfully claimed other farm properties around the area and is now gunning for the HCT land. The contestation between the HCT and Traditional leader is contributing further to the dysfunction of the restitution project, which once carried the aspirations of the beneficiaries to escape poverty.

According to Themba Mkhize, these are deliberate acts of sabotage waged against them by a neighbouring traditional leader using his subjects. Themba alleges that the traditional leader has lodged a claim over the Trust's land with CRLR. He claims that this covetous Traditional leader wants the HCT to be incorporated under his authority. The Traditional leader has successfully claimed other farm properties around the area and is now gunning for the HCT land. The contestation between the HCT and Traditional leader is contributing further to the dysfunction of the restitution project, which once carried the aspirations of the beneficiaries to escape poverty.

Such conflicts between land restitution beneficiaries and surrounding traditional authorities is examined by a few studies. Fraser (2007, 841) contends that traditional leaders are wielding the same power today as they did during apartheid, representing another aspect of the 'colonial present'. Traditional leaders insist that the land held by the Trusts through restitution programmes should be under their own administration. Furthermore, some traditional leaders have been undermining the authority of elected trustees over land ownership and administration (Cousins, 2006).

5.7 Psychological impact and land access

The study discovered that the incidence of forced removals that took place in 1971 is still vividly clear in the minds of the dispossessed. They were not only dispossessed of their land and livelihoods, but also of their dignity and identity. Their expectations were set very high by the government when they were restored to the land. In interviews with the beneficiaries who participated in the study, the majority felt disillusioned by the events that has been unfolding since they were returned to the land.

During the interviews with beneficiaries, I gathered that there was a sense of

divergence from the participants when it came to the psychological impact of land restitution. It became apparent that to a small section of the participants (about a quarter), having access to land alone had a significant impact on restoring their dignity. This became clear during engagement with Velaphi Zulu, who admitted that despite the flaws within the HCT, having access to the land had returned his self-respect:

The plain truth is that I would not have been able to build the house I have now if it was not for this land that I own. Even if I have nothing, but when I go out and walk in the streets, I feel like a Mr., Mr Zulu! (Zulu, KwaDukuza, 20/03/2018).

The sentiments of Mr Zulu were also shared by Themba Mkhize, who stated that despite the various challenges that have robbed them of their possible gains, he was feeling elated about having access to the land. Yet, about three quarters of the interviewees stated that land access came with a lot of promises that were not fulfilled. Hence, access to land is less significant if it does not change their lives and improve their wellbeing.

For Gcinile Gasa, the small plot of land allocated to her was equivalent to nothing. She felt that the land did not restore any dignity to her because the land that was dispossessed by the racist government was more than the one she received. According to other participants, the non-payment of dividends; hiring of non-beneficiaries at the farm. The upfront payment fee for relocation to their land; and the allocation of land to non-trustees were serious issues that negatively affected their self-esteem as people. They feel that because of these issues, land access has no meaning to them. Frans Bhengu, one of the interviewees, became emotional when he was engaged on the question of land access and dignity restoration. He stated that:

Our lives have not changed. It is all the same as if we have never

received any land because we are receiving nothing. Even if job opportunities become available, members of the Trust are not hired, but outsiders. So, you might as well say that we were not given back the land (Bhengu, KwaDukuza, 08/02/2018).

From the above findings, it is apparent that to many participants, land access alone is not enough to restore their dignity. The failure of the project to deliver the expected material benefits has overshadowed the spiritual and cultural meaning of the land. This finding is contrary to the assertion by Koopman (2014, 6) that the dignity of the dispossessed can be restored if they are reunited with the land. It confirms the neoliberal and European thinking that underpins land reform in South Africa, which regard land as a commodity over and above other aspects as mentioned above.

5.8 Livelihood outcomes

I analysed the livelihood outcomes using the measures suggested by DFID (1999, 25) and Rakodi (2002, 16) as discussed in Chapter Three. In terms of additional income, except for Boneni Mncube and Themba Mkhize who both reportedly earned income as farm manager and owner of the goat production business respectively, none of the beneficiaries was involved in any income-generating activity using the land to support their livelihoods. Instead, most of the older participants reported that they rely on government social transfers and remittances sent by their children as sources of income.

Regarding increased food security, although three hectares were set aside for a food security garden, this did not materialise. Whereas many of the beneficiaries did not relocate to the land designated for their settlement, the minority that resettled received small plots of land where only small backyard gardens can be kept. Their ambitions of working the land to increase food access for their households were dashed.

Concerning their increased wellbeing, whereas all participants were owners of the sugarcane farm, none of them reportedly benefited from its proceeds through share dividends. Those of working age were also excluded from the employment opportunities that were available on the farm. Instead, non-beneficiaries were brought in as general labour. Many of the participants felt that land access did not increase their self-esteem, sense of control and cultural heritage based on the reasons discussed above.

5.9 Conclusion

Land access appears to be largely more influenced by gender and age than the education level of the participants. Most beneficiaries opted not to relocate to the HCT land, deterred by the relocation fee demanded by the board chairperson. The second dispossession of legitimate landowners through corruption and entitlement by the chairperson, as well as the occupation of their land by outsiders, negatively affected the livelihood aspirations of some participants. Furthermore, the new land claimants were expected to continue with the previous land use, namely sugarcane production, by the state and to the benefit of the private sector. On the other hand, the sugarcane farm allocated to them was of poor quality, leading to low productivity and profitability. Moreover, the land allocated to residents and the farm were quite small in size to realise any material gains that participants were meant to receive.

Since the inception of the restitution project, participants have not benefited materially, as also reported in literature. However, resettling to the new land has enabled some beneficiaries' access to essential infrastructure. Most beneficiaries do not derive their livelihoods from the land, but are relying on multiple sources of income such as social transfers and remittances. Although the state provided some form of post-settlement support, it was inadequate. The involvement of management contractor in the running of the farm as reported by participants, came at a huge cost to the previously disadvantaged black African community, whilst advancing white

privilege at the same time.

The continuing sense of entitlement by traditional leaders claiming land that does not belong to them is cause for concern. This has contributed immensely to the unending problems at HCT. In this case, the government's 'quiet diplomacy' in this regard is not helping the poor new landowner against the powerful traditional leaders. Due to a plethora of challenges associated with this land restitution project, it is not surprising therefore that only a few participants feel that land access has restored their dignity, whilst the majority believe that no dignity has been restored as their access to land has yielded nothing to show.

Chapter 6: Summary of Findings and Implications of Study

6.1 Introduction

The overarching aim of this dissertation was to assess the relationship between land access and poverty alleviation in HCT. The study also set to determine the types of ancillary services and support available to the claimants from both the government and the private sector. Moreover, the dissertation intended to uncover the psychological impact of land restitution for beneficiaries. The study was conducted using semi-structured interviews, observations and documents as secondary material. A total of 16 beneficiaries participated in this research, including three representatives from the private sector and government officials. The research was guided by assets, complementarity and livelihoods outcomes as the conceptual framework. This chapter presents a summary of the research findings and their implications. It concludes with possible future research areas that can be pursued based on these research findings.

6.2 Summary of findings

6.2.1 Demographics and land access

In terms of gender balance and comparison, males (76%) had more access to land than their female (24%) counterparts. Participants that were 60 years of age and older constituted 35 %, had the highest share of land rights over any other age group, while the youth (18 %) had the least access to land compared to all other age brackets. However, a significant majority (or 82 % of the participants) who were older, had lower educational attainment than younger beneficiaries. The study found that access to land was skewed along age and gender lines, while participants' level of education had no bearing in determining their share of land rights.

6.2.2 Land use and productivity

Most participants did not relocate to the 50ha land that was designated for their settlement. The interviewed beneficiaries cited the upfront relocation payment demanded by the chairperson of the board as a reason for their non-relocation. The study uncovered that HCT's land was populated by 'outsiders' after buying plots from the chairperson, rendering rightful beneficiaries as pariahs on their own land. Overwhelmingly, the majority of the beneficiaries had limited access to their own land. They could only lay claim of ownership at the sugarcane farm and not at the residential area which is also their rightful land.

Existing documents showed evidence that government imposed a decision on the new land claimants to continue with the previous owner's land use. Most participants were opposed to the pursuit of sugarcane production by the Trust. Many interviewees viewed sugarcane as an impediment to their ambitions. Instead, they preferred non-agricultural land-based developments such as malls and cultural villages as possible investments that could generate livelihoods for them.

The narrative given by officials from DSM and DARD vindicated the beneficiaries' resentment towards sugarcane. They contended that the quality of the HCT farm was very poor. The farm was acquired without a land capability assessment being conducted. They argued that had it been done, the farm would have been not acquired by the government in the first place. Therefore, the inability of the farm to fulfill its fundamental objective of alleviating the poverty of beneficiaries could be attributed to its poor soils and local climatic conditions. Additionally, the research discovered that the size of the sugarcane farm (110 ha) was inadequate to lift 250 households out of poverty, especially in light of its poor state of productivity.

The case also discovered that the few participants who managed to pay the relocation fee to the chairperson were allocated insignificant plot sizes of land compared to what they

imagined. Initially, their plots of land were sizable enough to live off the land. However, the influx of non-beneficiaries to the area pushed back their boundaries. I also observed that their land was now equivalent in size to those of the ‘outsiders’, derailing their plans of producing food crops for their households.

6.2.3 Land access and livelihoods

The research found that most participants were engaged in various livelihoods strategies such as labour tenants, subsistence farming and wage labour, before land access. While most participants did not relocate to HCT, the few that re-settled were confronted by different challenges. Many of these participants, especially women, regarded land access as the only way that they can lessen their households’ burden of poverty. However, their optimism dissipated after the BoT continued to allocate more non-beneficiaries to the land. For instance, one of the female participants who is a widow highlighted that her plans of living off the land did not materialize after the influx of ‘outsiders’ greatly reduced the land set aside for farming. As a result, her household was now dependent on state social transfers.

There were mixed feelings about the benefits of land access amongst young participants. One youth running a makeshift tuck-shop in the area was more optimistic about the opportunities that come with land access. He pointed out that although he was not reaping tangible benefits thus far, having access to land alone is a big step. However, most young participants argued that they were being marginalized by the board, particularly in terms of employment opportunities created on their sugarcane farm. Moreover, they had received no dividends from the share of profits made from sugarcane. Hence, access to land for them was meaningless.

Their sentiment was shared by all participants that did not relocate to HCT. They argued that there was no fundamental difference between them and their counterparts who relocated in terms of material benefits from land access. The BoT chairperson conceded

that beneficiaries have not received their dividends since the inception of the project owing to pedestrian performance by the farm and other social challenges. This astounding finding challenges the conventional thinking that mere access to land will mitigate poverty. It also confirms the assertion by DFID (2002, 1) that giving people access to land cannot single-handedly move them out of poverty unless being accompanied by comprehensive support.

Although participants were dismissive about the benefits of their land access, they admitted that relocating to the land enabled them closer access to various infrastructure such as roads, electricity, clinic, schools and other amenities. According to them, their lives have been improved remarkably since their relocation. Participants highlighted some drawbacks, such as the lack of access to piped water essential for household consumption. Interestingly, they also stated that a nearby village which is adjacent to them had access to piped water for years. For a supply of water, they were dependent on unreliable water tankers from KDM. The study discovered that the sugarcane farm was under-resourced. Besides the tractor bought through a government funding grant, they had no other essential implements required to farm productively and profitably. However, through social capital, they were able to borrow some implements such as a boom sprayer and a plough from the neighboring farmer in order to work on their farm.

My research also shows that aside from a few BoT members, none of the participants derived their livelihoods directly or indirectly from the land. These two individual members were running the goat production project and the sugarcane farm respectively. Despite being keen to work, none of the participants was considered for an employment opportunity on the farm by the board. Instead, opportunities were given to non-beneficiaries. The despondent young interviewees were seriously considering seeking employment in the nearby towns, while the elderly had resigned themselves to being social grants recipients for their source of income. The findings affirm state social transfers as the most reliable inflows available to the rural poor, despite having access to land.

6.2.4 Post-settlement support

The claimants assumed ownership of the farm in 2005. However, the financial support of R2.6 million from the government was transferred to the Trust in 2014, despite the business plan being developed in 2010. The period between the submission of the business plan and the transfer of the grant payment had serious costing implications due to inflation. For instance, the business plan listed two tractors, ploughs and a trailer for acquisition, but due to the delay in receiving financial support from the state, only one tractor was purchased.

The beneficiaries' critique also extended to the sugar industry. While beneficiaries raised concerns about the bias of the private sector towards white sugarcane commercial farmers regarding financial support, this was dismissed by the sugar industry representative. The interviewee explained that they do not give financial support to farmers. Instead, they help them with the business plan development and to access credit in micro-lending institution. An observation was made that a small portion of the farm was planted. Upon enquiry, it emerged that the Trust had did not have adequate funds to plant the entire farm. The financial support received from the state was a once-off grant payment. I have argued in Chapter Five, to support this finding, that the state financial support model is flawed given the inability of the claimants to access private finance from commercial lending institutions without the assistance of the government.

Extension services were mainly provided by the private sector and to a lesser extent by DARD. Claimants were all in praise of the quality of the services rendered by these institutions. However, many contended that as new landowners, they have not been put through any skills development programme related to agriculture in general and sugarcane in particular. Instead, a business management workshop was organized by DRLR and only a few individuals attended. Other participants questioned the logic of holding such a workshop when claimants were not even competent in basic sugarcane production and mechanization. The lack of training resulted in non-beneficiaries being employed by the board, instead of claimants, to perform basic farm tasks.

The state and TH entered into an agreement that required new landowners to work closely with a white management contractor. The arrangement entailed that operational responsibilities be shared between the partners. Most participants felt that they were hoodwinked by the state to enter into this agreement as the white contractor charged an exorbitant management fee from the farm's gross income, regardless of whether the farm made profit or not. I have challenged the logic of this arrangement in Chapter Five, given the size of this project. For instance, one respondent stated that the agreement left them with nothing to share amongst themselves. Instead, they opted to re-invest the leftovers from the white contractor back into the farm. This led to serious discontentment amongst the participants. Eventually, the contractor exited the project after the state grant was exhausted and him being threatened by the disgruntled beneficiaries.

There were numerous governance related challenges at the level of the BoT that set it on a collision course with the beneficiaries. It emerged from the interviews that the upfront relocation fee demanded by the chairperson from the beneficiaries, allocation of the Trust's land to non-beneficiaries by the chairperson, unpaid dividends due to claimants and the exclusion of beneficiaries from employment opportunities were amongst the most contentious issues that brought the HCT to near collapse. Some of the participants felt that the current BoT has no legitimacy as it is no longer constituted according to the deeds of Trusts.

The family squabbles between the BoT chairperson and her brother, who is also a traditional leader, are now affecting the functionality of the Trust. The Trustees are now divided between the two and it is threatening to tear the Trust apart.

6.2.5 Contested land

It also emerged from the study that people from Ohlange village, which is adjacent to the sugarcane farm, were deliberately letting their cattle graze the cane from the HCT farm. Even after numerous engagements with the community leadership, this act of criminality

continued unabated. One respondent reported that their land is said to be under a claim lodged by the traditional leader whose jurisdiction includes Ohlange. He alleged that this best explains the onslaught unleashed on them by the cattle owners from Ohlange.

6.2.6 Psychological impact and land access

There were mixed emotions amongst the participants regarding the restoration of land and their dignity. A minority felt that owning the land alone had boosted their self-confidence and social standing, despite the challenges that continue to engulf the HCT. They pointed out that access to land has enabled them to build their houses and other projects that would have been impossible without owning the land. However, most of the participants, particularly those who did not relocate to the Trust's land, suggested that having mere access to land that does not improve your wellbeing is equivalent to nothing. They cited the upfront relocation fee, small land plots allocated to them, non-payment of sugarcane dividends and the illegal occupation of their land by outsiders through their chairperson as factors that contributed to their demise. They contend that for them, land ownership has failed to change their lives and, by extension, to restore their dignity lost through the dispossession of their land by the former racist government.

6.2.7 Livelihood outcomes

Besides the two beneficiaries who earned income directly from land-based economic activities in HCT, the rest of the participants were not engaged in any land activity that generated income for them. Some of the HCT youth were unemployed, while most of the elderly depended on state social transfers and remittances for survival. Despite the 3 ha and R40 000 set aside for food security, this did not happen. Moreover, participants were allocated very small plots of land to produce anything substantial for their household's wellbeing. Most beneficiaries contended that the restitution project did not contribute to their economic and non-economic wellbeing. In their own words, they had nothing to show as land beneficiaries. Therefore, their self-esteem is still at the lowest.

6.3 Implications of the findings

The unequal land access based on gender and age as discovered by this study requires a review of the current land reform household model which is biased against women and youth. The youth constitute the largest section of the population. Therefore, land policies should be cognizant of the country's demographic features by ensuring that land is redistributed equitably. The insistence by the state that new landowners continue with the previous owner's land use also undermines the aspirations of the claimants to use their land the way they see fit. Land policies must recognize that land has multiple meanings to different people and therefore cannot be confined singularly to an agricultural commodity (Ferguson 2013).

The expectation by the state that 110 ha of sugarcane farmland located in a low agricultural potential area would lift 250 households out of poverty was far-fetched. Despite the social and financial challenges that bedeviled the HCT later, the project had all the hallmarks of failure from the onset. The all-important land capability assessment of the farm was not done before its acquisition. Thus, its production potential was a closed book. Apart from its poor productivity, the size of the farm was too small to support so many beneficiaries. Policy must ensure that restitution projects earmarked for developmental programmes such as poverty reduction realise this objective by ensuring that land capability assessments of farms earmarked for restitution and poverty alleviation of claimants is done before acquisition. The size of the farm must be able to sustain the livelihoods of the claimants.

The working arrangement between the white management contractor and the HCT embraced by the government was skewed towards the commercial partner. Given the size of the farm and its poor productivity, the farm had very low returns margins, practically all of which went to the management contractor. The claimants were left with nothing to share amongst themselves. Instead of forcing new landowners to partner with white strategic partners in a parasitic relationship in the name of skills transfer, the state must invest in upskilling the claimants through training before land is transfer to them. This

will enable them to operate farms on their own, supported by the government's extension services.

The government's post-settlement support to the new landowners is flawed. Land is transferred without any clear financial support to re-capitalize the farm back into production. After transfer of ownership, the land is expected to be under production, yet no financial provisions are made to meet this target. There must be a re-alignment of policies to ensure that land transfer and financial support are packaged into a single programme, which must be implemented simultaneously to avoid discrepancies in post-settlement support.

The unlawful occupation of HCT's land by non-claimants is a case of 'double dispossession'. The first dispossession was by the racist white government through apartheid and the second one is by black elites through corruption. The selling of the Trust's land to outsiders by the BoT chairperson, which denied the majority of the Trustees access to their land, is a serious indictment of DRDLR as the custodian of land in the country. There is no mechanism in place to hold those responsible for the administration of land rights to account to both the beneficiaries and government. Upon assuming office, the BoT has never undergone any form of workshop on governance. The dysfunctionality of the Board is just one amongst other reasons that has led to the failure of this restitution project to alleviate poverty amongst its beneficiaries. In cases where land rights are to be held through legal entities, the state must ensure that proper governance system is in place to ensure the sustainability of the restitution projects.

The number of claimants who feels that being reunited with the land did little to restore their dignity is disappointing. This calls into question the use of economic indicators such as poverty reduction to measure the impact of land restitution programme on new landowners. In essence, land restitution should exclusively be the dignity restoration programme for Africans who lost their land through colonial conquest and racist laws.

What they do with their land post-settlement, should solely be their own decision. On the contrary, land redistribution must be used as a part of economic empowerment programmes targeting the previously marginalized African people.

6.4 Conclusion and further research

It can be stated that while members of the HCT had access to land as an asset it was not adequate to improve their wellbeing. DFID (2002, 1) contended that land alone without improved access to other complimentary assets will not make the poor to escape poverty by improving their livelihood. The quality of the land and its extent in terms of size restored to the HCT was not adequate to support any farming initiative, particularly sugarcane, for poverty alleviation. Furthermore, inadequate access to other important assets such as farm equipment and machinery, insufficient financial support and the lack of appropriate skills contributed immensely to the under-utilisation of land. However, access to some degree of social networks assisted trustees to borrow some much-needed equipment for use from a neighboring farmer. Therefore, access to land alone without additional support to work it productively cannot lead to veritable poverty alleviation amongst the dispossessed.

The lack of proper governance systems within the HCT appears to be a significant factor. In addition, the lack of access to other capitals impede this restitution project from fulfilling its economic development objective. The lack of mechanisms to hold those in the position of leadership of the trust to account has enabled some to abuse their positions for personal gain. The dysfunctional state of the trust has opened a window to opportunists that seek to divide the Trustees for their selfish gains. The current contestation between the neighboring Traditional leader who wants to further dispossess the Trustees of their land and the HCT is a result of divisions within the latter. It appears that the commodification of land by government is undermining its other multiple meanings that resonate with Africans in particular.

Further research should interrogate the robustness of the institutional arrangements within the legal entities that are responsible for the administration of land rights on behalf of the restitution programme beneficiaries. The psychological impact of land access to new landowners is one area of research that requires more attention.

References

- African National Congress, 2017. "54th Conference report and resolutions". Access. 31 March, 2018. <http://joeslovo.anc.org.za/sites/default/files/docs/ANC54th/Resolutions.pdf>.
- Ahmed, N., Allison, E.H. and Muir, J.F., 2010. "Rice fields to prawn farms: a blue revolution in southwest Bangladesh". *Aquaculture International*, 18(4), 555-574.
- Aliber, Michael, and Ben Cousins. "Livelihoods after Land Reform in South Africa." *Journal of Agrarian Change* 13, no. 1 (2013): 140-165.
- Aliber, Michael. "Chronic poverty in South Africa: Incidence, causes and policies." *World Development* 31, no. 3 (2003): 473-490.
- Alobo Loison, Sarah. "Rural livelihood diversification in sub-Saharan Africa: A literature review." *The Journal of Development Studies* 51, no. 9 (2015): 1125-1138.
- Andrew, M., Shackleton, C. and Ainslie, A., 2003. "Land use and rural livelihoods: Have they been enhanced through land reform" *Policy Brief-PLAAS*, (5).
- Andrews, Mercia. "Struggling for a life in dignity" in *The land question in South Africa: The challenge of transformation and redistribution*, Ntsebeza, Lungisile, and Ruth Hall, eds. *HSRC press*, 2007.
- Attanasio, Orazio, and Miguel Székely. "An asset-based approach to the analysis of poverty in Latin America." (1999).
- Atuahene, Bernadette. "Paying for the Past: Addressing Past Property Violations in South Africa." *Law and Society Review* 45, no. 4 (2011): 955.
- Atuahene, Bernadette. "The importance of conversation in transitional justice: a study of land restitution in South Africa." *Law & Social Inquiry* 39, no. 4 (2014): 902-937.
- Ayres, Lioness. "Semi-structured interview." *The SAGE encyclopedia of qualitative research methods* (2008): 811-813.

- Ballard, Harry, and Esmerelda Reid. "Monetary compensation as land restitution. Impact on the life-styles of the Paarl residents." *IMFO: Official Journal of the Institute of Municipal Finance Officers* 4, no. 4 (2004): 13.
- Basu, Soutrik. "Community, Conflict and Land: Exploring the Strategic Partnership Model of South African Land Restitution." *Journal of International Development* 28, no. 5 (2016): 733-748.
- Batterbury, Simon PJ, Lisa R. Palmer, Thomas R. Reuter, Demetrio do Amaral de Carvalho, Balthasar Kehi, and Alex Cullen. "Land access and livelihoods in post-conflict Timor-Leste: no magic bullets." *International Journal of the Commons* 9, no. 2 (2015): 619-647
- Bebbington, Anthony. "Capitals and capabilities: a framework for analyzing peasant viability, rural livelihoods and poverty." *World development* 27, no. 12 (1999): 2021-2044.
- Bernstein, Henry. "Farewells to the peasantry? And its relevance to recent South African debates." *Transformation: Critical Perspectives on Southern Africa* 75, no. 1 (2011): 44-52.
- Besley, Timothy, and Robin Burgess. "Land reform, poverty reduction, and growth: Evidence from India." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 115, no. 2 (2000): 389-430.
- Beyers, Christiaan, and Derick Fay. "After restitution: Community, litigation and governance in South African land reform." *African Affairs* 114, no. 456 (2015): 432-454.
- Bhandari, Prem B. "Rural livelihood change? Household capital, community resources and livelihood transition." *Journal of rural studies* 32 (2013): 126-136.
- Bohlin, Anna. "A price on the past: Cash as compensation in South African land restitution." *Canadian Journal of African Studies/La Revue canadienne des études africaines* 38, no. 3 (2004): 672-687.

- Borras, Saturnino M. "Questioning market-led agrarian reform: Experiences from Brazil, Colombia and South Africa." *Journal of agrarian change* 3, no. 3 (2003): 367-394.
- Borras, Saturnino M., and Terry McKinley. "The unresolved land reform debate: Beyond state-led or market-led models." (2006).
- Boudreaux, Karol. "Land reform as social justice: the case of South Africa." *Economic Affairs* 30, no. 1 (2010): 13-20.
- Boyatzis, Richard E. "Transforming qualitative information: Thematic analysis and code development". *Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage* (1998).
- Bromley, Daniel W. "South Africa-where land reform meets land restitution." *Land use policy* 12, no. 2 (1995): 99-103.
- Bryant, Coralie. "Property rights for the rural poor: the challenge of landlessness." *Journal of International Affairs* (1998): 181-205.
- Budlender, Debbie, Sibongile Mgweba, Ketleetso Motsepe, and Leilanie Williams. "Women, land and customary law." (2011).
- Bundy, Colin. "The rise and fall of the South African peasantry." *Vol. 28. University of California Press*, 1979.
- Carney, Diana. "Implementing the sustainable rural livelihoods approach." *Sustainable rural livelihoods: What contribution can we make* 3 (1998): 27.
- Carter, Michael R., and Julian May. "Poverty, livelihood and class in rural South Africa." *World Development* 27, no. 1 (1999): 1-20.
- Chambers, Robert. "The origins and practice of participatory rural appraisal." *World development* 22, no. 7 (1994): 953-969.
- Chinsinga, Blessings, and Michael Chasukwa. "Youth, agriculture and land grabs in Malawi." *IDS Bulletin* 43, no. 6 (2012): 67-77.

- Ciamarra, Ugo, Pica. "State-led and market-assisted land reforms: history, theory, and insight from the Philippines." In *Leuven: 8th Spring Meeting of Young Economists*. www.econ.kuleuven.be/smye/abstracts/p435.pdf. 2003.
- Claassens, Aninka. "Recent Changes in Women's Land Rights and Contested Customary Law in South Africa." *Journal of Agrarian Change* 13, no. 1 (2013): 71-92.
- Commeey, Pusch. "Landless blacks: Why the impasse continues." *New African* no. 542 (September 2014): 8-11.
- Cotula, Lorenzo, Camilla Toulmin, and Julian Quan. "Better land access for the rural poor: Lessons from experience and challenges ahead". *IIED*, 2006.
- Cousins, Ben. "Agrarian reform and the 'two economies': transforming South Africa's countryside." *The land question in South Africa: the challenge of transformation and redistribution* (2007): 220-245.
- Cousins, Ben. "Land reform-the solution to rural poverty?" *Rural Focus* 21, March 2016
- Creswell, John W., and J. David Creswell. "Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches". *Sage publications*, 2017.
- De Janvry, Alain, and Elisabeth Sadoulet. "Rural poverty in Latin America: Determinants and exit paths." *Food Policy* 25, no. 4 (2000): 389-409.
- De Janvry, Alain, Elisabeth Sadoulet, and Wendy Wolford. "Access to land and land policy reforms". Vol. 3. Helsinki: *UNU World Institute for Development Economics Research*, 2001.
- Deininger, Klaus, and Julian May. "Can there be growth with equity? An initial assessment of land reform in South Africa". *The World Bank*, 2000.
- Deininger, Klaus, and Hans Binswanger. "The evolution of the World Bank's land policy: principles, experience, and future challenges." *The World Bank Research Observer* 14, no. 2 (1999): 247-276.

- Department of Land Affairs. "White paper on South African land policy." (1997).
- DfID, U.K. "Sustainable livelihoods guidance sheets." *London: DFID* (1999).
- DiCicco-Bloom, Barbara, and Benjamin F. Crabtree. "The qualitative research interview" *Medical education* 40, no 4 (2006): 314-321.
- Dikgang, Johane, and Edwin Muchapondwa. "The effect of land restitution on poverty reduction among the Khomani San "bushmen" in South Africa." *South African Journal of Economics* 84, no. 1 (2016): 63-80.
- Dladla, Ndumiso. "The liberation of history and the end of South Africa: some notes towards an Azanian historiography in Africa, South1." *South African Journal on Human Rights* (2018): 1-26.
- Du Toit, Andries, "The Government of Poverty and The Arts of Survival: responses to structural poverty and inequality in South Africa". *Draft Paper prepared for Towards Carnegie* 3, (2012):1-19.
- Du Toit, Andries, and David Neves. "In Search of South Africa's Second Economy: Chronic Poverty, Economic Marginalisation and Adverse Incorporation in Mt. Frere and Khayelitsha." (2007).
- Du Toit, Andries. "Adverse incorporation and agrarian policy in South Africa, Or, How not to connect the rural poor to growth." (2009).
- Ellis, Frank. "Household strategies and rural livelihood diversification." *The journal of development studies* 35, no. 1 (1998): 1-38.
- Everingham, Mark, and Crystal Jannecke. "Land restitution and democratic citizenship in South Africa." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 32, no. 3 (2006): 545-562.
- Ferguson, James. "How to do things with land: A distributive perspective on rural livelihoods in Southern Africa." *Journal of Agrarian Change* 13, no. 1 (2013): 166-174.

- Fonds International de Développement Agricole (IFAD). Rural poverty report 2001: "The challenge of ending rural poverty ". IFAD, 2001.
- Foster, William, Alberto Valdés, Benjamin Davis, and Gustavo Anríquez. "The constraints to escaping rural poverty: An analysis of the complementarities of assets in developing countries". *Applied Economic Perspectives and Policy* 33, no. 4 (2011): 528-565.
- Fraser, Alistair. "Land reform in South Africa and the colonial present." *Social & Cultural Geography* 8, no. 6 (2007): 835-851.
- Griffin, Keith, Azizur Rahman Khan, and Amy Ickowitz. "Poverty and the Distribution of Land." *Journal of agrarian change* 2, no. 3 (2002): 279-330.
- Grootaert, Christiaan, and Thierry Van Bastelar, eds. "Understanding and measuring social capital: A multi-disciplinary tool for practitioners". *The World Bank*, 2002.
- Hall, Ruth, Peter Jacobs, and Edward Lahiff. "Evaluating land and agrarian reform in South Africa." *Occasional Paper Series* 10 (2003).
- Hall, Ruth. "A political economy of land reform in South Africa." *Review of African Political Economy* 31, no. 100 (2004): 213-227.
- Hall, Ruth. "Land reform for what?" *Another* (2009): 22.
- Hall, Ruth. "Land restitution in South Africa: Rights, development, and the restrained State." *Canadian Journal of African Studies/La Revue canadienne des études africaines* 38, no. 3 (2004): 654-671.
- Hall, Ruth. "Reconciling the Past, Present, and Future." *Land, Memory, Reconstruction and Justice: Perspectives on Land Claims in South Africa (Ohio University Press Athens 2010)* (2010): 17-40.
- Hall, Ruth. "The impact of land restitution and land reform on livelihoods." *PLAAS, University of the Western Cape*, 2007.

- Hilson, Gavin. "Farming, small-scale mining and rural livelihoods in Sub-Saharan Africa: A critical overview." *The Extractive Industries and Society* 3, no. 2 (2016): 547-563.
- Hopkins, Kevin. "Should whites necessarily qualify as 'claimants' for the purposes of land restitution"? *Journal. SA Publiekreg= SA Public Law* 21, no. 1 (2006): 175-184.
- Jacobs, Peter. "Support for agricultural development" (Vol. 4). Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies, *University of the Western Cape*, 2003.
- Jacobs, Susie. "Livelihoods, security and needs: Gender relations and land reform in South Africa." *Journal of International Women's Studies* 6, no. 1 (2004): 1-19.
- Jacobs, Susie. "Gender and land reforms: Comparative perspectives." *Geography compass* 3, no. 5 (2009): 1675-1687.
- Karriem, Abdulrazak, and Mark Hoskins. "From the RDP to the NDP: A critical appraisal of the developmental state, land reform, and rural development in South Africa." *Politikon* 43, no. 3 (2016): 325-343.
- Kay, Cristóbal. "Rural poverty and development strategies in Latin America." *Journal of agrarian change* 6, no. 4 (2006): 455-508.
- Kepe, Thembela, and Ben Cousins. "Radical land reform is key to sustainable rural development in South Africa." *Policy Brief-PLAAS* 3 (2002).
- Kepe, Thembela. "Rural geography research in post-apartheid South Africa: patterns and opportunities." *South African Geographical Journal* 98, no. 3 (2016): 495-504.
- Kim, Sung Kyu, and James Sumberg. "Assets, 'Asset-ness' and Graduation." *IDS Bulletin* 46, no. 2 (2015): 124-133.
- Koopman, Nico. "Inclusive dignity and land reform in South Africa." *Scriptura: International Journal of Bible, Religion and Theology in Southern Africa* 113, no. 1 (2014): 1-8.

- Kumar, Ranjit. *Research Methodology: "A Step-by-step Guide for Beginners"*. Third edition, London: *Sage Publications* (2011).
- Kumar, Ranjit. *Research Methodology: "A Step-by-Step Guide for Beginners"*. Fourth Edition. Thousand Oaks, California: *Sage Publications* (2014).
- Lahiff, Edward, and Ben Cousins. "Smallholder agriculture and land reform in South Africa." *IDS Bulletin* 36, no. 2 (2005): 127-131.
- Lahiff, Edward, Saturnino M. Borrás Jr, and Cristóbal Kay. "Market-led agrarian reform: policies, performance and prospects." *Third World Quarterly* 28, no. 8 (2007): 1417-1436.
- Lahiff, Edward. "From 'willing seller, willing buyer' to a people-driven land reform." *Policy Brief-PLAAS 17* (2005).
- Lahiff, Edward. "Land reform in South Africa: is it meeting the challenge?" *Policy Brief-PLAAS I* (2001).
- Lipton, Michael. "Land assets and rural poverty". No. 04; HD1131, L5. Washington, DC: World Bank, 1985.
- Longhurst, Robyn. "Semi-structured interviews and focus groups." *Key methods in geography* (2003): 143-156.
- Mahajan, Vijay. "Access to Financial Assets and Economic Opportunities for the Poor: The Strengths and Constraints of Micro-finance." See [http://www. broking.edu/global/assets06confrence. htm](http://www.broking.edu/global/assets06confrence.htm) (2006).
- Martin, Sarah M., and K. A. I. Lorenzen. "Livelihood diversification in rural Laos." *World Development* 83 (2016): 231-243.
- Mbuli, Bhekizizwe Ntuthuko. "Poverty reduction strategies in South Africa." PhD diss., 2009. Masters diss., Department of Economics, Collage of Economic and Management Sciences, University of South Africa, 2009.

- McCann, James. "Maize and grace: history, corn, and Africa's new landscapes, 1500–1999." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 43, no. 2 (2001): 246-272.
- McKay, Andy. "Assets and Chronic Poverty." In *Chronic Poverty*, pp. 112-133. *Palgrave Macmillan*, London, 2013.
- Meer, Shamim. "Gender and land rights: the struggle over resources in post-apartheid South Africa." *IDS Bulletin* 28, no. 3 (1997): 133-144.
- Modiri, Joel M. "Conquest and constitutionalism: first thoughts on an alternative jurisprudence." *South African Journal on Human Rights* (2018): 1-26.
- Modise, Leepo, and Ndikho Mtshiselwa. "The Natives Land Act of 1913 engineered the poverty of black South Africans: A historico-ecclesiastical perspective." *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae* 39, no. 2 (2013): 359-378.
- Moser, Caroline. "Asset-based approaches to poverty reduction in a globalized context." *Global Economy and Development Working Paper* 01 (2006).
- Mostert, Hanri. "Land restitution, social justice and development in South Africa." *S. African LJ* 119 (2002): 400.
- Moyo, Christabelle. S., 2013. "Rural women and land, the inseparable twins: A case of South Africa." *Gender and Behaviour*, 11(2), 5393-5401.
- Mutume, Gumisai. "Whose land reform?" *Multinational Monitor* 22, no. 6 (2001): 7.
- Narayan, Deepa. "Voices of the poor: poverty and social capital in Tanzania". The World Bank, 1997.
- Negrão, José. "Land in Africa-an indispensable element towards increasing the wealth of the poor." *Unpublished paper. Maputo: Edoardo Mondlane University* (2002).
- Neto, Frederico. "Innovative approaches to rural development: Moving from state-controlled towards market-based land reform." In *Natural Resources Forum*, vol. 28, no. 1, pp. 50-60. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2004.

- Ngcoya, Mvuselelo, and Narendran Kumarakulasingam. "The Lived Experience of Food Sovereignty: Gender, Indigenous Crops and Small-Scale Farming in Mtubatuba, South Africa." *Journal of Agrarian Change* 17, no. 3 (2017): 480-496.
- Ntsebeza, Lungisile. "Land redistribution in South Africa: the property clause revisited." *in* The land question in South Africa: The challenge of transformation and redistribution. Ntsebeza, Lungisile and Hall, Ruth, eds. Pp.107-131. *HSRC press* (2007): 107-131.
- Parliament of South Africa.2016. "Diagnostic of land reform in South Africa". [Accessed June30,2018]https://www.parliament.gov.za/storage/app/media/Pages/2017/october/HighLevel_Panel/Commissioned_Report_land/Diagnostic_Report_on_Land_Reform_in_South_Africa.pdf.
- Parliamentary Monitoring Group. "Report on oversight visit undertaken on 19-22 April 2010 to Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal". [Accessed May 30, 2018] <https://pmg.org.za/taled-committee-report/915/>
- Patton, Michael Quinn. "Qualitative research and evaluation methods. Sage." *Thousand Oaks, CA* (2002): 688.
- Patton, Michael Quinn. Qualitative evaluation and research methods. *SAGE Publications, Inc.*, 1990.
- Pheko, Liepollo. Lebohang. "Women, land and livelihoods in South Africa's land reform programme". Policy Brief. Cape Town: *The institute for Justice and Reconciliation* (2014).
- Posel, Dorrit, and Michael Rogan. "Measured as poor versus feeling poor: Comparing money-metric and subjective poverty rates in South Africa." *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities* 17, no. 1 (2016): 55-73.
- Psacharopoulos, George. "The profitability of investment in education: concepts and methods". Washington, DC: World Bank, 1995.

- Putnam, Robert D., Robert Leonardi, and Raffaella Y. Nanetti. Making democracy work: Civic traditions in modern Italy. *Princeton university press*, 1993.
- Puttergill, Charles, Nolunkwe Bomela, Janis Grobbelaar, and Khumisho Moguerane. "The limits of land restitution: Livelihoods in three rural communities in South Africa." *Development Southern Africa* 28, no. 5 (2011): 597-611.
- Quan, Julian. "Better livelihoods for poor people: the role of land policy." *Discussion draft, Department for International Development (DFID), London* (2002).
- Rahman, Atiqur, and John Westley. "The challenge of ending rural poverty." *Development Policy Review* 19, no. 4 (2001): 553-562.
- Rakodi, Carole. "A capital assets framework for analysing household livelihood strategies: Implications for Policy." *Development Policy Review* 17, no. 3 (1999): 315-342.
- Rakodi, Carole. "A livelihood approach- Conceptual issues and definitions" in *Urban livelihoods: A people-centred approach to reducing poverty*. Carole Rakodi and Tony Lloyd- Jones, eds. Pp. 3-22. *Routledge*, 2014.
- Ramose, Mogobe Bernard, and Derek Hook. "To whom does the land belong?" Mogobe Bernard Ramose talks to Derek Hook." *Psychology in Society* 50 (2016): 86-98.
- Ramose, Mogobe Bernard. "Towards a post-conquest South Africa: beyond the constitution of 1996." *South African Journal on Human Rights* (2018): 1-16.
- Rankin, Katherine N. "Social capital, microfinance, and the politics of development." *Feminist economics* 8, no. 1 (2002): 1-24.
- Rigg, Jonathan. "Land, farming, livelihoods, and poverty: rethinking the links in the rural South." *World development* 34, no. 1 (2006): 180-202.
- RSA (Republic of South Africa). "Constitution of the Republic of South Africa." (1996).

- Rooms for Africa. "Map of north coast"[Accessed December 13, 2018].
<https://www.roomsforafrica.com/dest/south-africa/kwazulu-natal/regions/north-coast.jsp>
- Rule, Peter, and Vaughn John. "Your guide to case study research". Pretoria: *Van Schaik*, 2011.
- Seekings, Jeremy. "Poverty and inequality after apartheid." *Centre for Social Science Research*, 2007.
- Shackleton, Charlie M., Sheona E. Shackleton, and Ben Cousins. "The role of land-based strategies in rural livelihoods: The contribution of arable production, animal husbandry and natural resource harvesting in communal areas in South Africa." *Development Southern Africa* 18, no. 5 (2001): 581-604.
- Shenton, Andrew K. "Strategies for ensuring trustworthiness in qualitative research projects." *Education for information* 22, no. 2 (2004): 63-75.
- Sidloyi, Sinethemba. . "Elderly, Poor and Resilient: Survival Strategies of Elderly Women in Female-Headed Households: An Intersectionality Perspective". *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* (2016): 379-396.
- Siegel, Paul. "Using an asset-based approach to identify drivers of sustainable rural growth and poverty reduction in Central America: a conceptual framework." Vol. 3475. World Bank Publications, 2005.
- Sinovich, Irene. "Restitution, setting right the past wrong." [Accessed May 1, 2018].<http://www.dpme.gov.za/keyfocusareas/evaluationsSite/pages/Publications.aspx>
- South Africa. Dept. of Land Affairs. "White paper on South African land policy." Dept. of Land Affairs, 1997.

- Statistics South Africa. "Poverty trends in South Africa: An examination of absolute poverty between 2006 and 2015". [Accessed July 20, 2018]. <http://www.statsa.gov.za/publications/Report-03-10-06/Report-03-10-062015.pdf>
- Struwig, Miemie, F. W. Struwig, and G. B. Stead. Planning, reporting & designing research. *Pearson South Africa*, 2001.
- Terreblanche, Solomon Johannes. "A history of inequality in South Africa" 1652-2002. *University of Kwazulu Natal Press*, 2002.
- Van Teijlingen, Edwin. "Semi-structured interviews." In *PGR Workshop December*. 2014.
- Vorster, Jakobus M. "The ethics of land restitution." *Journal of Religious Ethics* 34, no. 4 (2006): 685-707.
- Walker, Cherryl. "Finite land: Challenges institutionalising land restitution in South Africa, 1995–2000." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 38, no. 4 (2012): 809-826.
- Walker, Cherryl. "The limits to land reform: Rethinking 'the land question'." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 31, no. 4 (2005): 805-824.
- Walker, Cherryl. 1996. "Resettling old scores: land restitution in KwaZulu-Natal." *Indicator South Africa*, 13(3), 46-50.
- Weideman, Marinda. "Land Reform, equity and growth in South Africa: A comparative Analysis." PhD diss., Department of Political Studies, Faculty of Arts, University of the Witwatersrand, 2004.
- White, B., Borrás, S. M., Jr., & Hall, R. (2014). "Land reform". In B. Currie-Alder, R. Kanbur, D. M. Malonee, & R. Medhora (Eds.), *International development: Ideas, experience, and prospects* (pp. 479–494). Oxford: Oxford University Press

- White, Ben. "Agriculture and the generation problem: rural youth, employment and the future of farming." *IDS Bulletin* 43, no. 6 (2012): 9-19.
- Winters, Paul, Benjamin Davis, Gero Carletto, Katia Covarrubias, Esteban J. Quiñones, Alberto Zezza, Carlo Azzarri, and Kostas Stamoulis. "Assets, activities and rural income generation: evidence from a multicountry analysis." *World Development* 37, no. 9 (2009): 1435-1452.
- Wolford, Wendy. "Land Reform in the Time of Neoliberalism: A Many-Splendored Thing." *Antipode* 39, no. 3 (2007): 550-570.
- Woolcock, Michael, and Deepa Narayan. "Social capital: Implications for development theory, research, and policy." *The World Bank research observer* 15, no. 2 (2000): 225-249. World Bank.
- World Bank. "Social capital: A multifaceted perspective"[Accessed March 20, 2018]. <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/663341468174869302/pdf/multi-page.pdf>.
- Xingwane, Lulu, Merytheresa. "Land hand-over celebration at Hlomendlini community claim: KwaZulu-Natal. Speech, KwaZulu-Natal, December 03. [Accessed: 01 February2016].https://www.nda.agric.za/docs/speeches/HLOMENDINI_SPEECH.pdf.
- Yin, Robert K. "Case study research design and methods third edition." *Applied social research methods series* 5 (2003).
- Zenker, Olaf. "New Law against an Old State: Land Restitution as a Transition to Justice in Post-Apartheid South Africa?" *Development and Change* 45, no. 3 (2014): 502-523.

Appendix 1:

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR LAND RESTITUTION BENEFICIARIES

General Land Beneficiaries

1. Biographical information:

- a. Gender
 - b. Age
 - c. Level of education
2. How was your quality of life before you received the land?
 3. What was your main source of living then?
 4. After receiving the land, has your occupation changed?
 5. Would you say receiving the land has changed your situation and that of your family for better?
 6. As a land beneficiary, have you received any dividends from the farm since the handed over to you?
 7. What are the main challenges that you think prevent you from making the most out of your land?
 8. Are there any opportunities you see that are not being pursued now but you think may improve your wellbeing?
 9. What do you think must be done by the community trust committee and government to resolve the challenges you are facing?
 10. Having received the land, would you say you are better now in terms of quality of life than those people who are not beneficiaries?
 11. What is the size of the land you were allocated?
 12. What are the main agricultural activities taking place on the land, livestock or crop production and how productive it is?
 13. Are you doing on the land what you intended on it before lodging the claim?
 14. Do you feel that resettling back to this land has restored your dignity?

15. Have you received the following support since the beginning of this project?
- a. Have you received any agricultural and related training?
 - b. Are there any farming implements, machines and irrigation facilities you have received?
 - c. Have you been given support in the form of production inputs?
 - d. Is there any form of assistance that you have received regarding market access?
 - e. Do you think you have received enough assistance regarding credit access facilities?

Women

1. Do you feel that receiving the land has empowered you as women?
2. Are you able to support your family with the income you generate from the land if any?
3. Do you feel that receiving the land has enabled you to be more food secure?
4. Moving to this land, do you think it has made access to schools, clinics, church, transport, police station easy than before?
5. If you have received your dividends from the sugar-cane farm, what have you done with the money received?
6. Has your life and that of your children changed after you have become a beneficiary?
7. What more that needs to be done to further empower women who are land reform beneficiaries

Youth

1. As a young person and a beneficiary, would you say you are better than other young people who have no access to land?
2. What opportunities that were not there before which have been available to you now that you have access to land?

3. What are the main constraints that you are facing as young people which prevent you from making the most out of the land?
4. How much support from government or any other organization that you think will help you sustain benefits from your land?
5. Would you prefer working the land or finding employment elsewhere for a living?
6. What is it that young people would like to be done in order to fully benefit from land reform?

Beneficiaries who did not relocate to new settlements

1. Are there any specific reasons why you did not relocate to the land you received?
2. You do not think you those who relocated to the new settlements are better off than you?
3. Are you prepared to reconsider your pervious decision not to relocate in the near future?
4. By choosing not to relocate to your land, you do not think that your dignity is not fully restored?

Sugar Industry and Government Officials

1. What kind of support have you provided the land restitution beneficiaries?
 - a. If none, what have been the reasons?
 - b. To your knowledge, are they receiving support elsewhere?
 - c. If so, do you think beneficiaries are receiving enough support to realise the objectives of land reform?
 - d. In general, do you think the government has been supportive towards the land recipients?
2. Based on your observations, what has been the impact of the land restitution programme on these beneficiaries?
3. What more that needs to be done in order to ensure that land reform projects become sustainable?

4. Do you think the current land use is working in the favour of beneficiaries and must be continued with?
5. What would you say are the challenges facing this project and how best to resolve them?

Community Trust Leadership

1. Do you think beneficiary's quality of life has improved since receiving the land?
2. Are you happy with the level of support you have received from both government and sugar mills?
3. Do you think that having access to land has opened opportunities that were not there before?
4. What has been your main success and failure since the commencement of the project?
5. What kind of challenges are you facing and how do you plan to resolve them?
6. What do you think must be done differently in order to realise more benefits from your land?

Appendix 2:



21 September 2016

Mr Sandile Ndlovu 215079409
School of Built Environment and Development Studies
Howard College Campus

Dear Mr Ndlovu

Protocol reference number: HSS/0946/016M
Project title: Land restitution and poverty alleviation in KwaZulu-Natal: The case of Hlomendlini Community

Full Approval – Expedited Application

In response to your application received 1 July 2016, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol has been granted **FULL APPROVAL**.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment /modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number.

PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for a period of 3 years from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully


..... text here
Dr Shamila Naidoo (Deputy Chair)
Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

/pm

Cc Supervisor: Dr Mvuselelo Ngcoya
Cc Academic Leader Research: Professor Oliver Mtapuri
Cc School Administrator: Ms Nolundi Mzolo

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)

Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building

Postal Address: Private Bag X54001, Durban 4000

Telephone: +27 (0) 31 260 3567/8350/4557 Facsimile: +27 (0) 31 260 4609 Email: ximbap@ukzn.ac.za / snymacm@ukzn.ac.za / mohunp@ukzn.ac.za

Website: www.ukzn.ac.za



Founding Campuses:  Edgewood  Howard College  Medical School  Pietermaritzburg  Westville

Appendix 3

Hlomendlini Community Trust

P.O. Box 3578

Kwadukuza

4450

Dear Sir/Madam

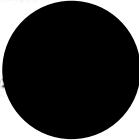
RE: PERMISSION TO CONDUCT STUDY/RESEARCH

This serves to confirm that the Hlomendlini Community Trust leadership has granted **Mr. Sandile Ndlovu** from the University of KwaZulu-Natal, permission to conduct his study / research within the community.

Yours Sincerely

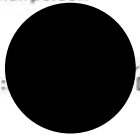
Philisiwe Favours^{re} Ngcobo

Chairperson

Signature:  Date: 07/04/16

Bhekumusa William Ncube

Deputy Chairperson

Signature:  Date: 07/04/16

Type text here

Appendix 4

Dissertation			
ORIGINALITY REPORT			
10%	8%	4%	3%
SIMILARITY INDEX	INTERNET SOURCES	PUBLICATIONS	STUDENT PAPERS
PRIMARY SOURCES			
1	repository.up.ac.za Internet Source		1%
2	Submitted to University of KwaZulu-Natal Student Paper		1%
3	www.tandfonline.com Internet Source		1%
4	uir.unisa.ac.za Internet Source		<1%
5	Submitted to University of Stellenbosch, South Africa Student Paper		<1%
6	open.uct.ac.za Internet Source		<1%
7	scholar.sun.ac.za Internet Source		<1%
8	www.dhan.org Internet Source		<1%
9	Alistair Fraser. "Land reform in South Africa		

Exclude quotes On

Exclude matches < 4 words

Exclude bibliography On