

**A Study of Land Reform and Its Impact in the Greater Letaba Local  
Municipality of the Mopani District in the Limpopo Province.**

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for the degree of

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## Declaration

I Tebogo Malahlela declare that

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- (iii) This thesis does not contain other persons' data, pictures, graphs or other information, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other persons.
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## **Abstract**

Since the dawn of democracy in South Africa, numerous land reform projects have been approved by the Minister of Rural Development and Land Reform. This dissertation focuses on the Greater Letaba Local Municipality in the Limpopo Province of South Africa. The study seeks to establish the extent to which land redistribution contributes to community development and poverty reduction in the Greater Letaba Local Municipality. In addition, the study evaluates the extent to which public administration processes and functions impact on the objectives of the Land Redistribution Programme.

To achieve the research objectives, this study adopted a qualitative and quantitative approach. Using appropriate sampling techniques, the study sample was selected from land reform beneficiaries, traditional authorities, municipal council members and government officials in the Departments of Agriculture and of Rural Development and Land Reform.

The major finding of this research is that the land reform policy needs to be reviewed, particularly the willing buyer willing seller programme. There is also a need for monitoring and evaluation on public projects, including the land redistribution projects. This was evident when some redistribution projects collapsed. It was noted that the land reform projects did not provide adequate income to the beneficiaries. Most of the land redistribution projects lacked the aftercare services. In the end, it can be mentioned that the department can enhance its land redistribution process by engaging stakeholders such as, non-governmental organisations, private institutions and municipalities.

The conclusions and recommendations indicate that there is a need for capacity building among beneficiaries to further the programme's objectives. Furthermore, public administration processes in implementation of this programme ought to be based on a sound all-inclusive planning process. Such a process should be acutely aware of the importance of aftercare service in all land redistribution projects. Aftercare services should include such control measures such as inspection, auditing and regular reporting on project performance.

This study may be valuable to all stakeholders that have an interest in fundamental social change in rural areas. These are, notably, the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform; the Department of Agriculture; non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and rural-based municipalities.

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# Table of Contents

DECLARATION.....	II
ABSTRACT.....	III
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	V
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	VI
LIST OF TABLES.....	X
LIST OF FIGURES.....	X
ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS.....	XI
CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION AND STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY.....	1
1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2 Public Administration and Management: Theoretical Perspective.....	9
1.2.1 The classical approach.....	13
1.2.2 Neo-classical organisation theories and perspectives.....	14
1.2.3 The contemporary approach.....	14
1.3 Rationale for the Study.....	15
1.4 Significance of the Study.....	17
1.5 Objectives of the Study.....	17
1.6 Research Approach.....	18
1.7 Literature Survey.....	19
1.8 Empirical Research.....	19
1.9 Questionnaires.....	19
1.10 Interviews.....	19
1.11 Observation Method (Izimbizo).....	20
1.12 Key Terms in the Study.....	20
1.13 Organisation of Chapters.....	21
1.14 Delimitations and Limitations of the Research.....	22
1.15 Conclusion.....	23
CHAPTER 2 CONCEPTUAL AND LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK.....	24
2.1 Introduction.....	24
2.2 The Constitutional Mandate.....	24
2.3 A Conceptual Model.....	25
2.4 The Land Legislative Framework.....	26
2.4.1 The Restitution of Land Rights Act, 22 of 1994.....	27
2.4.2 The Restitution of Land Rights Amendment Act, 22 of 2003.....	28
2.4.3 The Communal Land Rights Act, 11 of 2004.....	29
2.4.4 Extension of Security of Tenure Act, 1997.....	29
2.5 Public Administration and Public Management.....	30
2.6 The Evolution of Public Administration.....	31
2.6.1 The classical approach.....	31
2.6.2 The scientific management approach.....	31
2.6.3 Administrative theories.....	32
2.6.4 Administrative bureaucracy.....	33
2.6.5 New Public Management.....	34
2.7 Public Policy and Development.....	37
2.8 Public Accountability of Public Administration and Management.....	39
2.9 The Role of a Public Manager.....	46
2.10 Municipality and Land Reform.....	47
2.10.1 Delivering land services at a local level.....	47
2.10.2 Institutional arrangements.....	49
2.10.3 Municipal commonage.....	50
2.10.4 Building capacity for sustainable local government in land reform.....	53
2.10.5 Human capital training for municipal land reform.....	55
2.10.6 Strengthening municipal financial resources.....	55
2.10.7 Non-governmental organisations (NGOs).....	56
2.10.8 Municipal-community partnerships.....	58

2.11 Policy for Land and Agriculture .....	59
2.12 Conclusion .....	62
CHAPTER 3 LAND REFORM AND ITS IMPACT: THE SOUTH AFRICAN PERSPECTIVE.....	65
3.1 Introduction .....	65
3.2 Background: Spatial and Temporal Aspects of Land Reform.....	66
3.3 South African Land Policy Framework .....	68
3.4 Land Acquisition Models Governing Land Reform.....	69
3.4.1 Expropriation with some compensation (non-market-related).....	69
3.4.2 Expropriation paying market-related prices.....	70
3.4.3 Expropriation without compensation .....	71
3.4.4 Market-based land reform (MBLR) model .....	71
3.5 Progress on Land Reform .....	74
3.6 Challenges Facing Land Reform in South Africa .....	77
3.6.1 Legislation and policies .....	78
3.6.2 Slow pace of the Land Reform Programme .....	79
3.6.3 Capacity of the public service.....	83
3.6.4 Capacity of the new farmers.....	84
3.7 Lack of Access to Credit and Other Support Systems .....	85
3.8 Civil Society Organisations' Views on Land Reform .....	86
3.9 Land Reform and Post-settlement Implementation Support.....	89
3.10 The Impact of the Land Redistribution Programme .....	90
3.11 The Role of the State in Land and Agrarian Reform .....	92
3.12 Conclusion .....	95
CHAPTER 4 INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE: FIRST AND SECOND WORLD PERSPECTIVES ON LAND REFORM.....	97
4.1 Introduction .....	97
4.2 Land Reform in China .....	97
4.2.1 Historical perspectives and land-related challenges.....	97
4.2.2 Land reform model.....	98
4.2.3 Merits .....	102
4.2.4 Demerits .....	103
4.3 Land Reform in Zimbabwe.....	104
4.3.1 Historical perspectives and land-related challenges.....	104
4.3.2 Policy framework .....	106
4.4 Land Reform in Namibia.....	109
4.4.1 Historical perspectives and land-related challenges.....	110
4.4.2 Policy framework for land reform .....	110
4.4.3 Merits .....	111
4.4.4 Demerits .....	112
4.5 Ethiopia's Land Reform .....	113
4.5.1 Historical perspectives and land-related challenges.....	113
4.5.2 Policy framework .....	113
4.5.3 Merits .....	114
4.5.4 Demerits.....	115
4.6 Thailand's Land Programme.....	116
4.6.1 Historical perspective and land-related challenges .....	116
4.6.2 Policy framework .....	117
4.6.3 Merits .....	118
4.6.4 Demerits.....	118
4.7 Land Reform in India .....	119
4.7.1 Historical perspective and land-related challenges .....	119
4.7.2 Policy framework .....	120
4.7.3 Merits .....	122
4.7.4 Demerits.....	122
4.8 Land Reform in Brazil.....	123
4.8.1 Historical perspectives and land-related challenges.....	123
4.8.2 Policy framework .....	124
4.8.3 Merits .....	125

4.8.4 Demerits .....	125
4.9 Conclusion .....	126
CHAPTER 5 REVIEW OF LAND REFORM IN LIMPOPO-MOPANI DISTRICT/GREATER LETABA LOCAL MUNICIPALITY .....	130
5.1 Introduction .....	130
5.2 The Mandate of the Provincial Department of Rural Development and Land Reform .....	130
5.3 Implementing Land Reform Processes .....	132
5.4 The Case of the Bophelo ke Semphekgo Project .....	133
5.5 Community Support in Understanding Land Reform in Limpopo .....	136
5.6 Capacity Building for Land Reform Beneficiaries in Limpopo Province .....	137
5.7 The Pace of Land Reform in Limpopo .....	138
5.8 Dept of Rural Development and Land Reform and NGO Initiatives in Limpopo Province .....	139
5.9 Perspectives on Limpopo Land Reform Status .....	143
5.10 Approved Projects on Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development (Lrad) (1 April 2005- 31 March 2006) .....	145
5.11 Conclusion .....	147
CHAPTER 6 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY .....	148
6.1 Introduction .....	148
6.2 Geographical Background of the Research Area .....	148
6.2.1 Description of the area .....	148
6.2.2 Availability of land .....	149
6.2.3 Income and employment .....	149
6.3 The Research Problem .....	150
6.4 Research Questions .....	151
6.5 Research Instruments .....	153
6.5.1 Theoretical search .....	153
6.5.2 Data collection .....	154
6.5.3 Structured questionnaires .....	154
6.5.4 Research interviews .....	154
6.6 Population, Sampling and Data Analysis .....	156
6.6.1 Population .....	157
6.6.2 Sampling frame .....	157
6.6.3 Sampling technique and sample size .....	158
6.7 Conclusion .....	160
CHAPTER 7 PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION .....	162
7.1 Introduction .....	162
7.2 Data Categories .....	162
7.3 Category 1: Data From Beneficiary Questionnaires .....	163
7.4 Beneficiary Demographics .....	163
7.4.1 Gender .....	163
7.4.2 Marital status of respondents .....	164
7.4.3 Number of household heads among respondents .....	165
7.4.4 Respondents' level of education .....	166
7.4.5 Income analysis .....	167
7.5 Beneficiary Responses on Land Reform Issues .....	167
7.5.1 Income received from land reform projects .....	169
7.5.2 Motivation to encourage others to participate in land reform projects .....	169
7.5.3 Support by agricultural extension officers .....	170
7.5.4 Suggestions by land reform beneficiaries to the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform .....	170
7.6 Policy and Conceptual Issues on Land Reform .....	171
7.6.1 Application of the land reform legislation .....	171
7.6.2 Reviewed policy on land acquisition .....	172
7.6.3 Legislative review .....	172
7.6.4 Information about Land Reform programme .....	172
7.6.5 Proposals for information sharing .....	173
7.7 Impact of Land Reform on Key Community Determinants .....	174

7.7.1 Acquisition of new skills .....	174
7.7.2 Reduced unemployment .....	175
7.7.3 Access to financial assistance.....	175
7.7.4 Consequences of inadequate financial assistance.....	176
7.8 Extent of Satisfaction with the Pace of Change .....	178
7.8.1 Satisfaction with the implementation of land reform policy .....	178
7.9 Category 2: Interviews.....	181
7.10 Interviews with Government Officials .....	182
7.11 Interviews with Municipal Council Members in the Land and Infrastructure Portfolio .....	183
7.12 Interviews with Traditional Authorities in the Greater Letaba Local Municipality .....	184
7.13 Conclusion .....	185
CHAPTER 8 SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	186
8.1 Introduction .....	186
8.2 Summary and Conclusions.....	186
8.2.1 The extent to which the South African legislative and policy framework addressed the land reform issue: .....	186
8.2.2 Gaps discovered in the implementation of the land redistribution programme: .....	190
8.2.3 What lessons could the main stakeholders in land reform learn to improve the implementation strategy? The following conclusions were drawn: .....	190
8.3 Recommendations .....	192
8.3.1 Incorporate land reform in Municipal Integrated Development Plans.....	192
8.3.2 Financial Support.....	193
8.3.3 The Role of political leadership .....	193
8.3.4 Aftercare needed for land reform.....	194
8.3.5 Agricultural infrastructure required.....	194
8.3.6 Extension officers accounting to politicians.....	195
8.3.7 Increasing the Department of Agriculture staff complement .....	195
8.3.8 Sufficient training in agricultural production .....	196
8.3.9 Need for financial resources.....	196
8.3.10 Need for strict control measures.....	197
8.3.11 Disregard of business plans by land reform beneficiaries.....	197
8.3.12 Increase extension services .....	198
8.3.13 Problems with the willing-seller willing-buyer principle .....	198
8.3.14 Communication.....	198
8.3.15 Need for community support .....	199
8.3.16 Capacity building for beneficiaries.....	199
8.3.17 Partnerships .....	199
8.3.18 Strong coordination between Municipality and department .....	199
8.3.19 Strategic support from traditional authorities.....	200
8.4 Conclusion.....	200
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	201
APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS: IMPACT OF LAND REFORM IN THE GREATER LETABA LOCAL MUNICIPALITY.....	219
APPENDIX B: QUESTIONNAIRE ON THE IMPACT OF LAND REFORM IN THE GREATER LETABA LOCAL MUNICIPALITY.....	232
APPENDIX C: MAP – GREATER LETABA MUNICIPALITY .....	252
APPENDIX D: ETHICAL CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE .....	253

## **List of Tables**

Table 3.1: Progress in implementing the land reform programme

Table 3.2: Land redistributed to various beneficiaries

Table 5.1: Approved LRAD projects April 2005-March 2006

Table 7.1: Gender Analysis

Table 7.2: Marital Status

Table 7.3: Education Level

Table 7.4: Beneficiary responses on land reform issues

## **List of Figures**

Figure 7.1: Age analysis of the respondents

Figure 7.2: Number of household heads

Figure 7.3: Income Analysis

## **Abbreviations and Acronyms**

PLAAS	Institute for Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies
ANC	African National Congress
TIPS	Trade and Industrial Policy Secretariat
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
SLAG	Settlement/ Land Acquisition Grant
LRAD	Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development
DBSA	Development Bank of Southern Africa
BATAT	Broadening Access to Agriculture Trust
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
CBOs	Community-Based Organisations
NCOP	National Council of Provinces
CPA	Communal Property Association
PTO	Permission to Occupy
CLARA	Communal land Rights Act
ACLA	Advisory Commission on Land Allocation
DFA	Development Facilitation Act 67 of 1995
IDPs	Integrated Development Plans
NLC	National Land Committee
MBLR	Market-Based Land Reform
LPM	Landless People's Movement
MAFISA	Micro Agricultural Financial Institutions of South Africa
AET	Agricultural Education and Training

AgriSETA	Agricultural Sector education and Training Authority
CASP	Comprehensive Agricultural Support Programme
ANCRA	Association of Northern Cape Rural Association
ESTA	Extension of security of Tenure Act, 62 of 1997
ICRW	International Centre for Research on Women
TRAC	Rural Action Committee
URS	Umhlanga Rural Services
SACC	South African Council of Churches
PLAS	Proactive Land Acquisition
LED	Local Economic Development
ZANU (PF)	Zimbabwe African National Union (Patriotic Front)
SWAPO	South West African People's Organisation
AALS	Affirmative Action Loans Scheme
MLR	Market Land Reform
SACP	South African Communist Party
GLM	Greater Letaba Local Municipality
SMMEs	Small Medium Micro Enterprises

# Chapter 1

## Introduction and Structure of the Study

### 1.1 Introduction

One of the harsh realities of apartheid South Africa was the disparity in land ownership between Black and White South Africans which resulted from Black South Africans having been dispossessed of their land by Dutch and British settlers. This dispossession occurred on a larger scale in South Africa than in any other African country (Lahiff, 2007: 1).

Apartheid legislation negatively affected the development of South African law. The result was a skewed land distribution, and as such land is an emotional matter in South Africa. The land distribution programme is an attempt to provide agricultural land to people in need and to confirm ownership of those who lost their land (Van Der Waldt, 1995: 179). Prior to the introduction of the Land Reform Programme in 1995, White people owned 87% of the country's land while land ownership by Black people, who constituted the majority of the population, was confined to the remaining 13%. In addition, most Blacks were relocated from White areas to settlement camps or reserves which in the late 1950s were repackaged into ten Bantustans or homelands for the black population (Walker, 2003: 116).

The majority of rural South Africans lived in poverty. When the new democratic government took office in 1994, its primary task was to redress the imbalances of the past. The eradication of poverty became one of its main focus areas. Poverty was found to be growing faster than the economy and as a result, the poor did not benefit from economic growth. By 1996, the poverty gap between the rich and poor was 6.7% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and rose to 8.3% in 2001 (Lahiff, 2007: 4).

In the 1960s, a land reform programme in Latin America resulted in the redistribution of property and land-use rights, which benefited landless agricultural workers (Dorner, 1992 in EL Ghonemy, no date). Similarly, South Africa's new democratic government saw the redistribution of substantial tracts

of land to the landless as an important mechanism for redressing past inequalities.

The government of South Africa viewed the land reform programme as the central driving force in rural development (White Paper on South African Land Policy, 1997: 8). It adopted land reform as a means to transform rural social and economic relations. Land is a source of food, income and social identity, and as such is an important and critical resource for poor, rural people. A report by the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) (no date) concluded that when poor people gained access to land, it reduced their vulnerability to poverty and hunger. When people acquired land, they were able to improve their social and economic standing. They could grow vegetables to feed their families, and emerging farmers were able to produce goods for sale and in this way contribute to the economy of the country. This provided a basis for pro-poor development against a backdrop of chronic rural poverty. This conclusion was supported by Anseeuw and Mathebula (2008: 4) who noted that land reform impacted on economic growth, and hence poverty alleviation was one of the objectives of land reform. According to Carter (no date: 3), access to land contributes to the livelihoods of poor people and poverty alleviation through:

- increased food security;
- excess income gains;
- safety net and investment effects; and
- income distribution.

Delius and Schirmer (2001: 20) warned, however, that land reform on its own could not overcome the existing rural crisis.

The importance of land ownership and access to land was emphasised by the African National Congress (ANC) in its 1994 policy document, the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). The objective was to redistribute 30% of agricultural land to the poor and landless within five years (RDP, 1994). This target was found to be feasible by World Bank advisors, as

6% of agricultural land was sold annually (Department of Land Affairs, 1997a, in SA Labour Bulletin, Oct/Nov, 2004: 36). The challenge, however, was whether the government would be able to access part of the 6% of the land being sold, since many land transactions took place between a private seller and a private buyer.

The government's land reform programme was given added impetus by the militancy of communities determined to correct the wrongs of forced removals to impoverished reserves (White Paper on South African Land Policy, 1997: 8). Advice from the World Bank, which promoted a 'market-led' model of land reform, also played a role. The World Bank argued that redistributing land and creating a class of black smallholders helped both to avoid social and political instability and to promote rural development (Hall, 1998 in SA Labour Bulletin, October/November, 2004: 36).

The ANC-led government continued to pursue a policy of land reform. The policy respected existing property rights and provided for just and equitable compensation as prescribed by the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996. In 1994 the Department of Land Affairs and Agriculture<sup>1</sup> was created and given responsibility for developing and implementing a policy of land reform that would address the injustice of forced removals, historical imbalances in access to land, and lack of secure tenure (DLA, White Paper on South African Land Policy, 1997).

The land reform programme was comprised of the following three components:

- **Land Restitution.** Land restitution involved returning, or otherwise compensating the victims for, land that had been lost since 19 June 1913 due to racially discriminatory laws. The restitution policy aimed to restore land to the dispossessed and included provision for reconciliation, reconstruction and development (White Paper on South

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<sup>1</sup> The Department was renamed the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform in 2009.

African Land Policy, 1997: 52). This was undertaken on the understanding that restitution might not be welcomed by both parties, particularly those from whom the land was recovered. Arguments regarding the value of the land were responsible for many delays in the conclusion of transactions.

- **Land Redistribution.** Land Redistribution made it possible for poor and disadvantaged people to buy land for both residential and productive use with the help of a Settlement/Land Acquisition Grant (SLAG) (White Paper on South African Land Policy, 1997: 9). The aim was to close the gap in land ownership resulting from apartheid laws. This was intended among other objectives, to alleviate overcrowding in urban areas.
- **Land tenure reform.** Land tenure reform sought to bring all people occupying land under a unitary and legally validated system of landholding which would help to secure and upgrade the rights of those whose rights to land were insecure and thereby address racially skewed land ownership patterns (DLA 1997a in SA Labour Bulletin, Oct/Nov, 2004: 36). This involved putting in place new systems of land holding, land rights, and ownership types (White Paper on South African Land Policy, 1997: 60). Before 1997, many people occupied land through permits rather than rights. The land tenure reform programme was meant to address this issue.

In his State of the Nation Address (8 February 2002), the State President Thabo Mbeki indicated that 444 000 hectares had been redistributed through the land reform programme in the five years to the end of 1998. Thereafter, the number had increased by a further 600 000 hectares, bringing the total to more than one million hectares. Land restitution has accelerated over the years. While just 48 claims had been settled by the end of 1998, by the end of 2001 the total number of settlements had increased to 29 000 (Thabo Mbeki: State of the Nation Address, 2002). On average, 9 667 land cases were settled per year since 1998. According to Greenberg (2010: 4), by the end of 2009 at least 5 667 567 hectares of land had been transferred, benefiting 1 783 085 beneficiaries. This amounted to an increase of 4 623 567 hectares over a

period of eight years. The government set itself a target of 30% of agricultural land to be transferred to Black farmers by 2014.<sup>2</sup> This showed that the South African government viewed land reform as a critical strategy for addressing the developmental challenges facing the country.

There were several factors that drove governments to adopt and implement land reform. According to Anseeuw and Mathebula (2008: 2), the objectives of land reform in South Africa were redress, social justice and reconciliation. However, these objectives would only be achieved if the land acquired through the land reform programme was developed.

The rationale behind the adoption of the land reform programme was to a large extent informed by the belief that increased access to land by the disadvantaged and marginalised sector of the population would address developmental challenges, namely poverty, inequality and unemployment.

According to Andrew and Jacobs (2009: 9), the programme had not significantly benefited the poor, either in quantitative or qualitative terms. They noted that 15 years after the advent of democracy, only a minimal amount of land had been transferred to beneficiaries. Furthermore, even where land was successfully transferred, the new farmers were finding it extremely difficult to adapt into commercial farming. This view was supported by a number of researchers. Lahiff (2008: 1), for example, noted that the land reform programme had since its inception faced many challenges and had been unable to attain its objectives of redressing historical imbalances, redistribution of wealth and opportunities, and economic growth. In its initial conceptualisation, land reform was seen as one of the pillars of increased economic growth that would benefit the previously disadvantaged through access to land. The programme was to ensure that historically disenfranchised individuals gained access to the wealth of the country, benefiting from the various economic opportunities that access to land opened up.

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<sup>2</sup> The initial target was to transfer 30% of agricultural land to Black farmers by 1999. This target date was subsequently extended to 2014.

The slow pace of land redistribution was a serious concern. Other concerns related to the failure of the land reform programme to impact significantly on the land tenure systems that prevailed in communal areas and on commercial farms. It was argued that the redistribution of land did not result in improved agricultural productivity, or an improvement in the livelihoods of the beneficiaries who were usually poor and marginalised (Lahiff, 2008: 1). The debates and resolutions of the National Land Summit<sup>3</sup> held in 2005 were evidence of concern with regard to the slow pace of the land reform programme and its inability in its current state to attain the multiple objectives outlined in the White Paper on South African Land Policy (1997).

Although the land reform programme has three components, this thesis focuses solely on the land redistribution programme, and in particular on the impact of redistribution on beneficiaries. The objective was to determine whether provision of access to land through the redistribution programme achieved the objectives of wealth creation and economic growth. Among the critical questions the research aimed to answer were: Were the beneficiaries better off than they had been previously? Was there a change for the better in their livelihoods? Were jobs created for community members who were not beneficiaries?

The impact of land redistribution is clearly also an issue of public administration, since it is public managers who execute the redistribution programme and must ensure that there are proper systems, processes and procedures in place for its objectives to be achieved. In the South African context, public managers should apply and be guided by the public management principles of Batho Pele, which include honesty, accountability and value for money.

There were arguments that the land reform programme in general, and the redistribution programme, in particular, failed to address the plight of the rural

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<sup>3</sup> The National Land Summit was held in 2005 to assess the state of the land reform programme in South Africa.

poor and other targeted groups. According to Adams, Sibanda and Turner (1999), in most Southern African countries, the focus was on repossessing and redistributing land, with insufficient attention to post-settlement planning and support to the beneficiaries. The consequence of this approach was that the livelihoods of most beneficiaries remained unchanged. The response by former Minister of Agriculture and Land Affairs' to criticisms of the land redistribution programme was to place a moratorium on land reform in 1999, pending an internal policy review. In February 2000, the state announced a 30% redistribution target to be pursued over 15 years (from 2000 to 2014). This would be achieved through the introduction of an integrated redistribution programme that aimed to establish a class of Black commercial farmers (Department of Rural Development and Land Reform; 2000 in the South African Labour Bulletin, Oct/Nov 2004: 37). This new programme was called Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development (LRAD)<sup>4</sup> and was designed for people with capital to invest, particularly those with agricultural diplomas. Applicants had to contribute between R5 000 and R400 000. This contribution would make them eligible for a matching grant of between R20 000 and R100 000, on a sliding scale (DLA 2000 in the South African Labour Bulletin, Oct/Nov 2004: 37). Among other things, LRAD aimed to:

- speed up the process of land redistribution;
- improve the quality of life of the rural poor;
- provide disadvantaged people with the capability to develop into successful, commercial farmers; and
- guarantee usage of land by the beneficiaries (Delius and Schimer, 2001: 18).

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<sup>4</sup> From 1995-1999, the government adopted the Settlement Land Acquisition Grants (SLAG) approach, granting R16 000 to poor households to enable them to purchase land. Noting the limitations of the policy, the SLAG was replaced by the Land Redistribution and Agricultural Development.

LRAD was criticised extensively. Although the programme offered bigger grants than the Settlement Land Acquisition Grant (SLAG) programme which had preceded it, it benefited few people. It was argued that although there were some gains in terms of delivery, both the rich and the poor competed for limited resources (Jacobs, Lahiff & Hall, 2003). According to Delius and Schimer (2001: 18), the principles of LRAD would do little to help government to address the challenges encountered by previous land redistribution programmes such as the Farmer Support Programme of the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA) and the Broadening Access to Agriculture Trust (BATAT). The National Land Committee, on the other hand, viewed the introduction of LRAD as an "abandonment of the poor". In response to this criticism, government did away with the R5 000 cash contribution. Instead the poor could contribute in the form of sweat equity, though applicants were still expected to comply with commercial criteria. Although applicants were now able to contribute in cash or in kind, most applicants were men. Women were likely to be side-lined because of inability to provide either cash or in kind contribution. This worked against the notion of women's empowerment and the empowerment of other marginalised groups such as the youth and the disabled.

It is common knowledge that owners of large tracts of productive land are among the wealthiest in society. Similarly, multinational companies and investment banks actively acquire millions of hectares in developing countries for food production, which exacerbates the poverty of emerging farmers and indigenous people whose land rights are unsecured. It would thus be reasonable to assume that enabling poor people to access land or acquire security of land tenure could help them to escape poverty (IFAD, no date: 1). The present study seeks to establish whether communities were indeed developed and poverty was reduced as a result of the South African land redistribution programme. A further consideration for policy makers was that land redistribution should take place within a developmental context that would create conditions conducive to sustainable farming and enable beneficiaries to integrate into South Africa's mainstream economy.

Acknowledging the rural poverty levels caused by skewed distribution of resources during apartheid, the government adopted a multi-pronged development approach in which building an economy would be supported by an elaborate human resource strategy that would introduce new skills, capacities and attitudes. It was hoped that this would deliver vital economic benefits to rural society. More households would be able to obtain sufficient food, and they would raise cash incomes through the sale of surpluses. This empowerment of communities put land reform within the context of integrated, sustainable rural development. While the concept looks good on paper, this study seeks to establish whether the government, in particular the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform, has managed to build the capacity of the beneficiaries, and whether the beneficiaries were afforded the skills they required for the ultimate achievement of integrated and sustainable rural development.

While land reform policy falls within the political realm, implementing this policy and realising the policy objectives falls within the realm of public administration and management theories and processes, to which the discussion will now focus.

## **1.2 Public Administration and Management: Theoretical Perspective**

The ushering in of the new democratic dispensation led to the establishment of new institutions to implement the mandate of the democratic government. New public institutions were established and a range of policies were developed to guide the new administration. The White Paper on Transforming the Public Service (1997) emphasised the need for responsive public institutions. Furthermore, the fact that the Constitution (1996) dedicated a whole chapter (Chapter 10) to public administration is an acknowledgement of the importance of public administrators in ensuring the successful implementation of programmes and strategies. Accordingly, the success or failure of land reform, as a strategic intervention conceptualised by the ANC in the RDP document,

and consolidated in LRAD, was dependent on the institutions established to implement it.

Public administration evolved over time, with various approaches and principles having influenced the structure of present-day public institutions. According to Fox, Bayat and Ferreira (2006: 11), public administration as a discipline can be traced back to Woodrow Wilson, who in 1886 described the field of administration as a field of business, removed from the bustle and strife of politics. Goodnow (1900), cited in Fox et al, (2006: 110), posited a distinction between two separate functions in government – the judicial and the administrative, with the judicial function concentrating on the formulation and proclamation of policy, and the administrative function being concerned with the impartial and apolitical administration of policy. In Goodnow's distinction, administration was regarded as simply value-free; later came recognition that administration is, on the contrary, a value-laden dimension of politics in which both legislators and administrators make political decisions and public policy (Fox et al, 2006: 11). This has been the case in South Africa's land reform programme. Although politicians in the ruling party have been pressing for land acquisition targets to be achieved, those who designed the policies and implement them have been unable to realise the desired objectives and further have to contend with interference from the politicians who may change decisions without consulting them. The result will be delay in achieving the set goals.

### **1.2.1 ADMINISTRATION OR MANAGEMENT?**

According to Hughes (2003: 45) administration simply involves following instructions, while management entails achieving results and taking personal responsibility. Shadrift, Russel and Borick (2011: 215) define management as the personnel in charge of running an institution, together with the associated process involving resources. Public administration, meanwhile, focuses on equity, fairness and the rule of law when dealing with issues. In the view of Woodrow Wilson (no date in Stillman II, 2010: 6), administration is government in action, the executive, the operative and most visible part of government.

Kooiman and Van Vliet (in Eliassen & Kooiman, 1993, 59), maintained that the notion of public management owes its origins to the idea of using management principles developed in the private sector, and applying them in public sector institutions. Hughes (2003: 45) argued that Public Management serves as a new paradigm and this makes it different from Public Administration. Considering the various definitions, it can be concluded that underpinning administration and management are the principles of effectiveness, efficiency and cost benefit analysis.

### **1.2.2 NEW PUBLIC MANAGEMENT**

New Public Management (NPM) refers to the set of principles and practices in the public service that emerged in the past decade (Lynn, 2006). According to Lynn (2006: 107), Christopher Hood coined the concept of New Public Management in 1989 to indicate administrative reform of public management. It signalled a shift from an emphasis on policy development to emphasising measurable performance. The NPM is viewed as a doctrine that emerges as managerialism continues to evolve. Pollitt (no date in Shafritz et al, 2011: 310) highlights four key aspects of NPM:

- bolder, large scale use of market based strategies in the public sector;
- intensifying organisational decentralisation of management and services;
- an emphasis on the need to qualify service
- an emphasis on the consumer's needs.

According to Dieffenbach (2009: 894), the primary objective of NPM was to provide public sector organisations with a new orientation in order to change how they operated. Dieffenbach maintained that this paradigm was both radical and total in its scope, and had been introduced in many public service sectors and professional services institutions. In Switzerland, for example, the NPM approach was introduced in the early 1990s and covered all spheres of government. It was applied to performance contracts, decentralised budgets, group structures and all controlling measures (Ladner *et al.* cited in Ritz &

Sager, 2010: 120). The Swiss referred to NPM as 'outcome-based public management', a term that was coined by Burchard and developed by Schedler (cited in Ritz & Sager, 2010: 120).

Ferlie *et al.* (1996) identified various models that would characterise an ideal NPM, namely:

- Efficiency Drive: this model is concerned with value for money; financial controls; getting more for less; transparency; a customer-oriented culture, the shift of power to senior management; and other forms of corporate governance.
- Downsizing and Decentralisation. Downsizing refers to a reduction in the number of the staff members to a manageable size, whereas decentralisation refers to the shifting of power from the central body to the sub-units or operational units or agencies.
- In Search of Excellence: This is linked to the balanced scorecard approach. According to McAdam and Walker (2003: 877), Kaplan and Norton initiated and refined the balanced scorecard, providing a framework for assessing management decisions and measuring improvements in the organisation. This approach hinges on four perspectives: the customer, internal business, innovation and learning and finance.
- Public Service Orientation-focused on Service Quality, Citizenship (Ferlie *et al.*, 1996). This calls for the public to receive value for money when they approach government institutions. Such service should be responsive to their needs and consistent at all times (Rose & Lawton, 1999: 317). In South African, the *Batho Pele*<sup>5</sup> principles are the primary guidelines for the

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<sup>5</sup> The concept of Batho Pele, which means "Putting People First" emanates from The White Paper on Transforming Service Delivery and is aimed at introducing the "customer" concept in the public service by introducing eight principles to guide interactions between officials and the citizens.

public service. These are viewed as service standards for performance, laid down by the government (Ferlie *et al.*, 1996).

Financial management legislation such as the Municipal Finance Management Act 56 of 2003 (MFMA) and the Public Finance Management Act 1 of 1999 (PFMA) are connected to *Batho Pele* principles. The introduction of a performance-driven culture, where senior management are appointed on a performance-based contract is also an indication of the alignment of the South African public administration with the NPM ideology. The evolution of NPM is discussed in the next section.

### **1.2.3 PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION: EVOLUTION**

Public institutions are organisations established to perform a certain function. A discussion of public administration would be incomplete without considering its evolution. The structures of present-day public institutions are the result of various theories and practices that evolved over the years. This evolutionary development stems from a number of prominent theories and approaches that are discussed hereunder:

#### **1.2.1 The classical approach**

This approach dates back to approximately 1900-1920, and combined three perspectives: the scientific management approach, administrative theories and the bureaucratic approach. According to Roux *et al.* (1997: 19), the classical approach was characterised by its emphasis on formal aspects of the organisation along with closed organisational systems to deal with the inefficiencies that characterise organisations. This approach is associated with scholars such as Frederick Taylor, Henri Fayol, James Mooney and Max Weber, who emphasised the linkage between the formal aspects of organisations and their ultimate success. For example, given its formal structure, it would be important to assess whether the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform has been efficient in implementing the LRAD programme. Were the objectives of the programme met because the appropriate structure supported the strategy? In terms of the classical approach, an appropriate structure with clear roles and levels of authority

would make institutions more effective and efficient. This research seeks to establish whether proper institutional mechanisms have been in place to enable the Department to fulfil its mandate.

### **1.2.2 Neo-classical organisation theories and perspectives**

The neo-classical school of thought focused on interpersonal relationships and human behaviour and gave rise to the human relations approach and the behavioural scientific approach. These theories analyse the informal dimensions of organisational manifestations. One of the proponents of this approach, Elton Mayo, developed the human relations approach. This called into question most of the findings of the classical approach, putting the human context at the centre of efficiency and productivity.

### **1.2.3 The contemporary approach**

The changing global business environment prompted researchers to look at new models and theories on how organisations could survive. Contemporary theorists study organisations with greater consideration of environmental issues and demands, in an effort to explain contemporary organisations in an encompassing systems approach.

Roux *et al.* (1997, 29) regard a system as consisting of specialised and differentiated parts or elements that are integrated and function within a particular environment to form a whole. Accordingly, a government department has certain inputs or demands from the environment.

How did each of these organisational theories and approaches contribute to the current structures and systems in public institutions? As Marais (in Brynard & Erasmus 1995, 119) summed it up, it was Woodrow Wilson who proposed the separation of public administration from political science. The classical approach highlighted decentralisation, hierarchy and discipline as prerequisites for increasing operational efficiency (Denhardt, 1993: 51). The neo-classical approach, on the other hand, emphasised the role of informal organisations on individual behaviour and performance (Roux *et al.*, 1997: 26).

This research assesses the impact of the land reform programme on its beneficiaries. One of the elements of the assessment is to determine the efficiency of the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform, as this would have an effect on the success of the programme. For example, the study assesses whether the department has put in place the necessary structure(s) as advocated by the classical approach, as well as the implications of having or not having such a structure in place.

### **1.3 Rationale for the Study**

South Africa's rural areas are characterised by high levels of poverty, unemployment and inequality. One of the factors contributing to this state of affairs was denial, under apartheid policies, of ownership and control of productive resources such as land. One of the strategies adopted by the democratically elected government of South Africa for redressing the imbalances of the past was to increase access to land by redistributing 30% of agricultural land to Black farmers through the adoption of a land reform policy (ANC, 1994: 22). The approach was based on the belief that radical land reform was key to the sustainable development of rural areas.

Although the South African government has implemented the land reform programme, with over 5 667 567 hectares of land having been redistributed to date, the crucial question for this research was whether the programme was attaining its objective of redressing historical imbalances, redistributing wealth, and facilitating economic growth. Informed by these objectives, this study aimed to assess whether the quality of life of poor, rural communities that benefited from land redistribution had improved. The study was prompted by arguments that the land redistribution programme had not necessarily translated into improved agricultural productivity or livelihood benefits for the majority of the population.

There was consensus that the land reform programme was crucial if the issue of rural poverty was to be addressed. It was therefore important to assess how the implementation of land redistribution progressed, the related public

administration process that might have contributed (or failed to contribute) to the progress, and the challenges faced by the public sector in this regard.

#### **1.4 RESEARCH PROBLEM**

The apartheid government made sure that black people remained inferior to their white counterparts. To enforce this, one of the strategies was to deny black people access to economic and productive resources, especially land, through measures such as the Black Land Act 27 passed in 1913. The purpose of the Act was to regulate access of land by Black people through monitoring land transactions between Blacks and non-Blacks.

As part of ensuring the implementation and attainment of the overall objectives, Section 1 of the Act maintains for example that except with the approval of the Minister of Plural Relations and Development:

1(a) a Black shall not enter into any agreement or transaction for the purchase, hire, or other acquisition from a person other than a Black, of any such land or of any right thereto, interest therein, or servitude thereover; and

(b) a person other than a Black shall not enter into any agreement or transaction for the purchase, hire, or other acquisition from a Black of any such land or of any right thereto, interest therein, or servitude.

The above sections meant that Blacks could not access land without the Minister approving, which in most cases would be denied; or very stringent conditions would have been offered making the transaction very difficult or not even worth pursuing. The fact that blacks could only transact among themselves is an interesting condition considering that Blacks had nothing to transact among themselves due to the dispossessions. This meant that Blacks could engage in land transactions only minimally if at all.

Lack of access to land meant that Blacks could no longer engage in agriculture and livestock that was a source of livelihood. In the modern context, it also meant that they could not benefit from participating in economic activities due to lack of land, an input that they could use to change their economic status.

As a result of the provisions of this Act, Blacks were denied access to this crucial economic resource (land). The majority of black people find themselves in poverty as they do not own this important economic resource. This statement is supported by the African National Congress (RDP, 1994: 19) which maintains that the apartheid policies pushed millions of blacks in South Africa into overcrowded and impoverished homelands and reserves. In addition, capitalist-based agricultural policies caused the eviction of farm dwellers from their land and homes.

It is therefore not surprising that the majority of blacks live in abject poverty, which to a large extent relates to lack of access to land. It is on this basis that the democratic government prioritised land reform as a means towards community development and also to deal with the challenges of poverty and inequality. The land reform programme and the land redistribution programme in particular, provide hope for an improvement on the quality of life of the previously disadvantaged.

#### **1.4 Significance of the Study**

Governments develop policies in order to address certain societal problems. The South African government also adopted the Land Reform Policy in order to address the problems of poverty and inequality in Black communities caused by past policies. It is envisaged that implementation of the various programmes identified by the policy will assist communities to get out of the poverty trap. It is therefore important to assess whether the policy objectives are being attained. In assessing the impact of the land redistribution programme on the beneficiaries of the GLM, it is believed that the findings of the present research will assist government to see whether the intended outcomes are being achieved, as well as identifying areas that it can improve on.

#### **1.5 Objectives of the Study**

The objective of the land reform programme was to redress historical imbalances, redistribute wealth, and facilitate economic growth. This was to be

achieved by redistributing agricultural land to poor and marginalised people. The objectives of this research were:

- to assess the extent to which the South African legislative and regulatory framework addressed the land reform issue;
- to evaluate if the public administration processes and functions followed in implementing the land redistribution programme enabled it to attain the objectives of the programme;
- to assess whether the land redistribution programme had contributed to community development and poverty reduction;
- to determine the gaps in the implementation of the land redistribution programme that affected the attainment of the programme's objectives; and
- to establish lessons that stakeholders such as the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and municipalities could learn in order to improve the implementation strategy.

## **1.6 Research Approach**

The research was qualitative in nature and relied on primary data collection methods in conjunction with secondary data and a literature survey. Books and journals in the field of public administration were examined to get detailed information. Other sources that were examined included government reports, policies, legislation, unpublished dissertations and newspaper articles. The literature was also examined to identify successful implementation of the land reform programme at an international level. The roles of community-based organisations, non-governmental organisations and other stakeholders in land reform were examined in detail.

## **1.7 Literature Survey**

A literature survey requires that the researcher engages with and provides informed commentary on readings in the given field (Macniff and Whitehead, 2011: 117). In this study, it comprised consultation of various books, journals and unpublished dissertations. The sources contributed various perspectives and viewpoints on land reform from politicians, academics and other stakeholders. Literature on community-based organisations (CBOs), NGOs and trade unions at both international and local level was consulted to get a civil society perspective on land reform

## **1.8 Empirical Research**

For triangulation purposes, a variety of methods were used in data collection in order to make the study more intensive and comprehensive for quality results. This was intended to accommodate any information that could assist in arriving at satisfactory results. The following methods were used:

## **1.9 Questionnaires**

Questionnaires comprising of both closed and open-ended questions were used. The questionnaires were administered to the beneficiaries. The questions were structured in such a way that they probed the respondents on various issues, including their personal status, legislation and regulations, poverty alleviation, the extent of their satisfaction with the pace of land reform, and the aftercare support provided to them. In addition, the questionnaires measured the extent to which these aspects impacted on the beneficiaries' livelihoods.

## **1.10 Interviews**

One-on-one interviews were conducted with government officials, traditional leaders and municipal councillors. This afforded the interviewees an opportunity to freely express their viewpoints. The geographical coverage for

the study area extended throughout the Greater Letaba Local Municipality (GLM) of the Mopani District in the Limpopo Province.

### **1.11 Observation Method (Izimbizo)**

The researcher attended some *imbizos* (traditional/cultural gatherings) organised by the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform in order to obtain first-hand information from the perspectives of both the public and the beneficiaries regarding the impact of land redistribution.

### **1.12 Key Terms in the Study**

Key terms associated with the research project include the following:

- **LAND REFORM:** This entails a redistribution of the rights of ownership and/or use of land of large landowners in favour of cultivators with very limited or no landholding.
- **PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION:** Entails decision-making, planning and formulating objectives and goals for government programmes.
- **PUBLIC MANAGEMENT:** The use of scarce resources to achieve the objectives set in public policy.
- **IMPACT:** The effect that results from the practice of a particular action or activity. This effect may be either positive or negative.
- **LAND REDISTRIBUTION:** The component of land reform where the state acquires land through the willing- seller, willing-buyer process.
- **LAND RESTITUTION:** The component of land reform which enables communities whose land was dispossessed after 1913 to lodge their claims. The claims are adjudicated through the Land Claims Court.
- **STAKEHOLDER:** A person (or persons) playing a role/having a vested interest in an activity.
- **BENEFICIARIES:** Any person that receives benefits.
- **LEGISLATION:** The act or process of making laws.

- REGULATION: Control by rule, principle or system.
- POLICY: The decisions and actions that are taken primarily by government ministers and public officials for the implementation of programmes.
- OBJECTIVES: Something aimed at, or a set of things that are to be achieved.
- SUPPORT SERVICES: A form of assistance, either agricultural or non-agricultural, that can be accessed by the land reform programme beneficiaries.
- ADMINISTRATION : The management of public affairs, the conducting or carrying out of the details of government. An administrator is one who manages, carries out or directs the affairs of any establishment or institution.
- COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT: Development that involves a community by ensuring that their inputs are considered.
- TRADITIONAL LEADER: The traditional leader is the head of the traditional authority
- TRADITIONAL AUTHORITY: The traditional authority is an institution that governs in a certain geographical area
- HEADMAN: The headman is the head of the section within the geographical area of the traditional authority.

### **1.13 Organisation of Chapters**

**Chapter One** provides the introduction to this dissertation and sets out the parameters of the study. It provides an overview of the theoretical framework, research objectives and the research design.

**Chapter Two** begins with the constitutional mandate and the legislative framework. It considers the legislation and statutory bodies that the state has put together in order to address land issues in South Africa. The chapter

further explores the role of public administration in addressing land reform and analyses the role of local government in land reform.

**Chapter Three** contains a literature review on land reform and the impact thereof. It discusses various efforts that the state has embarked upon in promoting the land reform process and explores various partnership options.

**Chapter Four** focuses on international perspectives with regard to land reform. It draws on experiences from countries in Africa, Asia, Europe and Latin America.

**Chapter Five** focuses on the state of land reform in Limpopo Province, particularly in the area of Greater Letaba Local Municipality. It examines the role played by NGOs and their interaction with the provincial Department of Rural Development and Land Reform. The role of a particular NGO, Nkuzi Development, is assessed through case studies. The role of state organs such as the National Council of Provinces (NCOP) and the *imbizos* convened to consult local communities, are also highlighted.

**Chapter Six** focuses on the methodology used in this research. The chapter clarifies the sampling techniques used and the way data were collected and analysed.

**Chapter Seven** focuses on the presentation of the research results, using tables and figures.

**Chapter Eight** provides conclusions and recommendations.

#### **1.14 Delimitations and Limitations of the Research**

The purpose of stating the delimitation is to provide and identify potential deficiencies in the study. Although over 3 970 land redistribution projects were implemented nationally, the study focused only on four projects implemented within the GLM of the Mopani District Municipality in the Limpopo Province. Due to financial and time constraints, it was not possible to study all the redistribution projects in South Africa. The findings of the research project

should, nonetheless, be sufficient to provide insight into the status and impact of the land redistribution programme.

The primary objective of the research is to assess the impact of land reform on the beneficiaries. In order to determine the impact, sensitive information such as the income of the beneficiaries is critical. The following limitations exist:

- Unwillingness of beneficiaries to participate in the research
- Respondents might not want to disclose information related to income
- Non-return of questionnaires
- Misunderstanding of the questionnaires will affect the responses and ultimately the findings

## **1.15 Conclusion**

The chapter provided an introduction and broad orientation to the subject matter to be researched. It highlighted the state of land reform during the first decades of democracy and considered why land reform is needed in South Africa. Current debates and the challenges facing the land reform programme in general, and land redistribution in particular, were discussed.

The chapter also outlined the rationale for the study and the objectives of the research project. The methodology used during the research was explained, as well as the organisation of the chapters. The next chapter focuses on the conceptual framework of the research, analysing the legislative and regulatory framework for land reform.

## **Chapter 2**

### **Conceptual and Legislative Framework**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter examines the policy and legislative framework that informed the land reform process. While numerous pieces of legislation were enacted, challenges emerged with regard to their application. These laws and regulations and the way in which government intended to use them to achieve its land reform objectives, are discussed in this section.

In addition, this chapter explores the role of public administration in the implementation of the enacted laws and regulations. While South Africa might have admirable legislation, if the country's public institutions and processes are not effective, efficient and committed enough to implement it, nothing will be achieved. On the other hand, in the absence of the appropriate public institutions and processes, it might be difficult to determine or identify flaws in the enacted laws and regulations. Public administration and management require resources that enable them to run smoothly. For instance, if there is insufficient capacity in government, particularly the in Department of Rural Development and Land Reform, the administration and management of this crucial process will be difficult.

#### **2.2 The Constitutional Mandate**

Section 25 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 1996, makes explicit provision for land reform and ensures that the protection of existing property rights is balanced against the need for land reform. This is necessary to protect the public interest.

The following provisions in Section 25 promote land reform:

- Section 25(1) provides that no-one may be deprived of property except in terms of the general application of the law, and no law may permit the arbitrary deprivation of property.

- Section 25(2) authorises and regulates expropriation: all expropriations have to be for a public purpose or in the public interest.
- Section 25(3) states that compensation for expropriated land must be just and equitable, taking into account factors such as the property's current use, its history, the acquisition of the property, its market value, the extent of direct state investment and subsidy in its acquisition, any capital improvement to the property, and the purpose of the expropriation.
- Section 25(4) states that the public interest includes the nation's commitment to land reform to ensure equitable access to all South Africa's natural resources. Property is not limited to land.
- Section 25(5) requires the state to take reasonable legislative and other measures, in terms of its available resources, to foster conditions which enable citizens to equitably gain access to land.
- Section 25(6) obliges the state to improve security of tenure for people or communities who were deprived of or never enjoyed security of tenure because of past injustices (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996: 11).

These provisions clearly indicate a will on the part of the state to ensure successful land reform. The next section focuses on the legislative framework as it relates to land reform and ownership.

### **2.3 A Conceptual Model**

Land is a resource and basic need for rural people (ANC, 1994: 19). It supports people's livelihoods. Besides being used for residential purposes, land can be used for agriculture at both subsistence and commercial levels. Those who use land for subsistence purposes will improve food security and thereby reduce poverty. Land reform is used as a core strategy to improve the status of the poor. It is assumed that well-legislated land reform should impact on growth and poverty amongst the beneficiaries (Besley & Burgess, 1998: 3). Land reform is considered as a significant vehicle for poverty reduction.

Land reform can lead to rural development and poverty reduction, particularly when the beneficiaries access both the land market and credit (World Bank, 2009: 2), but the reform needs the support of both the state and the private sector to enable it to impact positively on the beneficiaries. Experience in the Philippines showed that rural growth reduced rural poverty more than rural-urban migration (World Bank, 2009: 8). Land reform can be used to develop rural areas and reduce poverty. This is further supported by DLA (1997) and Hall (2004), cited in Lahiff, Maluleke, Manenze and Wegerif (2008: 10), who indicated that the South African land reform programme is intended to alleviate poverty and develop the rural economy.

## **2.4 The Land Legislative Framework**

Land reform in South Africa has undergone several phases over the years. The Upgrading of Land Tenure Rights Act of 1991 was an attempt by the previous government, assisted by academics, to convert communal land tenure into freehold ownership. With the present government policy recognising the diversity of land tenure systems, this meant that it did not need upgrading, as its purpose was to achieve equality (Letsoalo, 1996). The Interim Protection of Informal Land Rights Act and the Extension of Security of Tenure Act were both enacted in 1994, but neither of them made any provision for setting rules and regulations for access to and control of communal land.

The Communal Property Associations Act, No. 28 of 1996 (CPA), instituted a community-based land tenure arrangement intended to replace the informal system of land holding, one feature of which had been the Permission to Occupy (PTO) certificates applicable in South African villages. The PTO certificate was a system that granted the occupants lesser rights to land which was rented for life. The occupants paid rent to government through homeland authorities (such as local magistrates: see <http://www.wiredspace.wits.ac.za>) which were set in place in the apartheid era. The new land policy referred to the PTOs as 'old order' rights, which were changed to 'new order' rights and registered. The conversion of these rights was put into effect by the Communal Land Right Act 11 of 2004 (CLARA) (White Paper on South African Land

Policy: 2004). CLARA enabled the Minister of Land Affairs to give communities ownership and title to land within the former homelands. Communities would then own the land as juristic persons according to a set of rules. Administration committees were set up to help with both administration and allocation of such land.

The sections that follow consider the various legislative measures aimed at resolution of the land question. Apart from new laws, new institutions such as the Land Claims Court have been established to apply the law and the role of these institutions is also examined here.

#### **2.4.1 The Restitution of Land Rights Act, 22 of 1994**

The Restitution of Land Rights Act 22 of 1994 (Restitution Act), and its amendments after the promulgation of the Constitution in 1996, covered individuals dispossessed of their rights after 19 June 1913 as a result of past racially discriminatory laws or practices. The Act also established a Commission on Restitution of Land Rights to investigate all claims for the restitution of land rights made by 31 December 1998. The Commission made recommendations to the Chief Land Claims Commissioner (<http://www.southafrica-new-york.net/sacg/land-affairs.htm>).

The Restitution Act required that people entitled to claim restitution of land lodge their claims with the Land Claims Commissioner, observing the procedures laid down for dealing with those claims. Reflecting the complexity of land reform issues, opinions differ on the basic import of the Restitution Act. It means that people have different views on how to apply the Restitution Act. There are those who view the Land Claims Commissioner as the right institution while others consider the Land Claims Court process as too complicated. For Sibanda (2001: 2) this legislation directly confronts the injustices caused by apartheid, whereas Cliffe (2000: 275) sees it as purely a guide for the legal implementation of land reform.

A Land Claims Court was established to determine the right to restitution of land and compensation payable for expropriated land. Section 35(5) of the Restitution Act allowed the Minister of Land Affairs to only expropriate land.

This was done through an order from the Land Claims Court or in terms of an agreement with the parties involved.

#### **2.4.2 The Restitution of Land Rights Amendment Act, 22 of 2003**

The goal of the Restitution Act was to compensate or restore land to people dispossessed after 19 July 1913. The policy intended to provide restitution remedies in a way that supports the vital process of reconciliation, reconstruction and development. Restitution was an integral and primary part of the Land Reform Programme. It was closely linked to both land redistribution and tenure ([www.south-africa-new-york.net/sacg/land-affairs.htm](http://www.south-africa-new-york.net/sacg/land-affairs.htm))

The Restitution of Land Rights Amendment Act, 2003 replaced Section 35(5) of the Restitution Act with a new Section 42(e). The memorandum on the objectives of the Restitution Bill stated that the provisions of the Restitution Act for the acquisition or expropriation of land and recourse to the Land Claims Court were unsatisfactory and delayed the restitution process. The new Section 42 (e) provided that “the Minister might purchase, acquire or in any manner expropriate land for which a claim was lodged under the Restitution Act.” The purpose was to restore or award the land or part of it to the claimant (Farmers’ Weekly, 6/2/2004: 8). In other words, a court order was no longer needed. The Minister might expropriate land on his/her own accord. However, the Minister might only expropriate land for the purpose of awarding it to a claimant who was entitled to the restitution of a right to land.

Furthermore, Section 42(e) required that the expropriation had to be in terms of Section 3 of the Promotion of Administrative Justice Act, 2000. This calls for the Minister’s administrative actions to be procedurally fair. The affected parties must receive adequate notice to make representations with regard to the action. In addition, a new Section 42(e)(1)(6) to be included in the Restitution Act, enabled the Minister to expropriate land over which there was no claim. The purpose was to restore land or a portion thereof to a claimant who was entitled to restitution, or provide alternative relief.

The new Section 42(e) further provided that the Expropriation Act, of 1975 applied to an expropriation under the Restitution Act. The Expropriation Act

required notification of expropriation to be served. It provided for the passing of ownership on the date of expropriation and sets the date on which ownership commenced as the date of expropriation. It set out the requirements for possession of the property, and offered determination of compensation (Farmers' Weekly, 6/2/2004: 8). The following section discusses the Communal Land Rights Act, 2004 which focuses on the legal security of tenure for communities.

#### **2.4.3 The Communal Land Rights Act, 11 of 2004**

The Communal Land Rights Act, 2004 essentially provided legal security of tenure by transferring land to communities and providing for the administration of such land. This would allow security of tenure to those who were entitled to it. In terms of legislation, the Minister was obliged to transfer communal land to entitled communities. Similarly, the right to expropriate under the Communal Rights Act must be for the purposes of that Act and is subject to the Promotion of Administrative Justice Act and the Expropriation Act.

In an event that the Minister acted outside of the objectives and constraints of the legislation, such action might be subjected to judicial review (Farmers' Weekly, 6/2/2004: 9).

#### **2.4.4 Extension of Security of Tenure Act, 1997**

The Act gave occupiers who lived on someone else's land on or after February 1997 with the permission of the owner, a secured right to live on and use that land. It provided ways in which occupiers could strengthen these rights with financial help from the state, thereby becoming owners. The legislation stipulated the procedure that owners and persons in charge of rural or peri-urban land must follow before they could evict people (Farmers' Weekly, 6/2/2004: 9). The legislation also regulated the day-to-day relationship between owners and people living on rural or peri-urban land, in such a way that all parties' human rights were recognised and protected. This discussion in respect of the various Acts of legislation lays a foundation that required public administrators to ensure that the land question was addressed.

## 2.5 Public Administration and Public Management

The successful implementation of legislation enacted to deal with land matters requires both human and material resources. This study would be incomplete without taking cognisance of the role that public administration plays in implementing the legislation. Understanding the role of public administration will enable an understanding of the extent to which the legislative and regulatory framework is able to address the land reform question.

Public administration can be defined in numerous different ways, including the following:

- Public administration has to do with the marshalling of human and material resources in order to achieve the objectives of public policy.
- Public administration involves decision-making; planning the work to be done; formulating objectives and goals; and working with the legislature and citizens' organisations to gain public support and funds for government programmes.
- Public administration refers to both the activities concerned with the management of government business and the study of these activities.
- Public administration is the administrative side of government, a part of the executive, as opposed to the legislative and judicial powers (Coetzee, 1991: 18).

Public administration refers to administrative processes that must be carried out. These processes link inextricably with the functional activities of the various public institutions, namely policy making, organisation, financing, staffing, the development of work procedures and the exercising of control (Cloete, 1981 in Schwella *et al.*, 1999).

Public administration as an activity is the action or active part of government, and the means by which the purpose and goals of government are achieved. Public administration continues to shape public life in its daily course of activities. It is the medium through which the reason for being and objectives of government are realised. It is the sum total of human and material means

through which the government operates to fulfil objectives of common interest, and to promote the good life (Coetzee, 1991: 97).

In public administration, the top officials take responsibility for both technical and political advice to the minister or the government concerned. This is not a statutory function, but the result of the department's responsibility to assist its minister to regulate the social sector assigned to him or her (Chapman, 1970 in Schwella *et al.*, 1999: 32).

Fredrickson and Smith (2003: 98) argued that management theories in public administration describe management behaviour or prescribed guidelines in improving management as institutions work. This indicates that the theories are more concerned with managing the behaviour of the managers in various institutions.

## **2.6 The Evolution of Public Administration**

### **2.6.1 The classical approach**

The classical approach can be dated back to ±1900-1920, and has three approaches or perspectives, namely, the scientific management approach, the administrative theory and the bureaucratic approach. According to Roux *et al.* (1997: 19), the classical approach is characterised by an emphasis on formal aspects of the organisation, as well as closed organisational systems.

The land reform programme was guided by the formal processes developed by government. This study assesses land reform policy and legislative gaps and processes with a view to providing recommendations to address the problems identified.

### **2.6.2 The scientific management approach**

The scientific management approach was pioneered by American engineer Frederic Taylor, who observed that organisations were characterised by inefficiencies, and were highly disorganised. According to Taylor, greater productivity could be attained if working methods were improved, leading to

organisational efficiency (Roux et al., 1997: 19). Taylor proposed the following:

- finding the best way of action involved a thorough and scientific analysis of each task within a job description;
- paying financial incentives according to output rather than hours worked; and
- specialisation of functions through differentiation between managers and low-level employees.

Taylor's model viewed man as an extension of a machine, and did not consider the influence of environmental factors (Roux *et al.*, 1997: 20).

This study seeks to determine whether land reform beneficiaries were given the aftercare support they needed. Were the managers monitoring the projects provided with clear job descriptions? These questions, which aim to identify the hindrances to the success of the land reform programme, are linked to Taylor's formulation.

### **2.6.3 Administrative theories**

The administrative theories advocated by researchers such as Henri Fayol, James Mooney, Alan Reilly, Luthel Gulick and Lyndal Urwick focus on management functions and the principles of organising.

According to Roux *et al.* (1997: 21), Henri Fayol's perspective on the elements of management led to studies in management theories. Fayol identified the problems faced by top-level management in institutions. His elements of management included aspects such as planning, organisation, supervision, coordination and control.

Fayol's emphasis was on a centralized organisational structure, characterised by functional specialisation as well as the maintenance of authority and discipline.

Administrative theories generally emphasise formal, organisational, principles as a prerequisite for attaining efficiency (Roux *et al.*, 1997: 22). This research

examines whether these principles were adhered to in land reform and assesses whether management functions were implemented to ensure the success of the land reform programme. It further interrogates the policy implementation process and the capacity building of the beneficiaries.

#### **2.6.4 Administrative bureaucracy**

Weber (cited in Cloete and Wissink 2000: 166) described the ideal bureaucracy as rationalised, legalistic, authoritarian and hierarchical. It comprises a few top decision-makers who create policy and subordinates who implement it at the bottom. Administrative bureaucracy hinders policy implementation.

Similarly, Woodrow Wilson (1887) (cited in Cloete and Wissink 2000: 167) distinguished between policy formulation and policy implementation, noting that policy implementation should be neutral, professional and non-political. In the land reform process, bureaucracy seems to have played an important role even though both policy design and implementation were separated, as suggested by Woodrow Wilson (1887). In particular, policy implementation was hindered by officials who might not necessarily be non-political.

Weber considered formal organisational structure as a precondition for efficiency and effectiveness (Roux *et al.*, 1997: 22). Weber described the properties necessary for institutions such as those in the public sector to be efficient:

- a clear division of work to make specialisation possible
- a system of rules and regulations and procedures
- strict selection and evaluation of human capital who wished to be in the employ of the organisation

These properties were central to the research, which looked, for instance, at whether the human capital tasked to work in the land reform programme were skilled enough to implement the programme.

According to Marais (in Brynard & Erasmus 1995, 119), it was Woodrow Wilson who separated public administration from political science. Arising from this separation, researchers such as Taylor, Fayol, Worwick and Gulick designed the managerial principles they felt were best suited to the civil service.

The findings of research by Elton Mayo (1933 in Lemay, 2006: 121) indicated that human beings must be taken into consideration even in scientific management. The human-centred New Public Administration relies heavily on political egalitarianism and Frederickson (see Marais, cited in Brynard & Erasmus, 1995: 199) advocates sensitivity training. For land reform to succeed administrative officials must receive training and this training must in turn be extended to the beneficiaries of land reform as a means of empowering them.

### **2.6.5 New Public Management**

New Public Management (NPM) refers to the set of principles and practices in the public service that emerged in the past decade (Denhardt & Grubbs, 2003: 335). Some academics like Waine (2004) see it as a set of systemic changes occurring in any public sector services (Uwizeyinama, 2009: 11). Others regard NPM as just “a menu, toolbox or shopping list with variety of elements” (Ormond & Lottler, 2002 in Uwizeyinama, 2009: 11).

According to Haynes (2003: 10), NPM assumes that both government and the public services should manage and organise their activities similarly to private institutions. In fact, they should draw lessons from the way the private sector conducts its business. The advocates of the NPM further argue that for the public sector to be effective, efficient and economic in providing the required public services, it should apply private market organisation, management principles and techniques (Hughes & O’Neil 1994, Bangura 1998, Hope 2006 in Uwizeyinama, 2010: 12).

NPM approach could enable the public services to improve their administrative processes. Denhardt and Denhardt (2009: 369) maintain that NPM reform agenda has not changed and is consistent in producing institutions that are based on mission, incentives and decentralisation. A key component of the

NPM has been acknowledgement of citizens as customers in the public service, which has led to citizen demands that the quality of service in local government should match the quality of service in the private sector (Milakovich and Gordon, 2009: 475).

According to Lynn Jr. (2006: 107), Christopher Hood coined the concept of NPM in 1989, to indicate an administrative reform of public management and signal a shift from an emphasis on policy to an emphasis on measurable performance.

Different countries select the elements they required for implementation of an effective, efficient and economic public management (Manning 2001, Kessler & Alexander 2002, Polidano 1995, Mutahuba & Kiragu 2004, Pollitt & Bouckear 1995 in Uwizeyinama, 2009: 11). Sutton (2003, in Uwizeyinama, 2010: 12) recommends the following measures for improving effectiveness and efficiency in the public sector:

- utilising privatisation to restructure the public sector by incorporating private sector principles and management style
- introducing competition in public services, with production contracts and outsourcing of public services to improve delivery
- ensuring that the central civil services are both organised and slimmed
- introducing auditing, reporting and performance management to ensure that there is value for money, and encouraging citizens to recognise efficiency in the way services are supplied to them.

Denhardt and Grubbs (2003; 335) provide examples of several countries and institutions that transformed their public administration to deal with their development challenges. The New Zealand's government, for example, instituted a performance management system aimed at measuring the productivity and effectiveness of government agencies. The intention was to create organisations that were mission driven, decentralised and incentive-based.

The analytical model of NPM is characterised by the following attributes (Lynn, 2006: 107):

- a business oriented approach to government
- a quality- and performance-based approach to public management
- improved service delivery and functional responsiveness
- institutional separation of public demand functions
- linking demand, supply and quality management.

These attributes need to be nurtured if land reform in South Africa is to be successful. It is true that when people acquire land, this is linked to service delivery. However, if government fails to achieve this objective, this would mean that its business approach has failed.

Osborn and Gaebler (1992 cited in Denhardt & Grubbs (2003): 336) list ten principles that serve as a new conceptual framework for public administration and four are cited hereunder:

- Community owned government serves to empower citizens rather than serving
- Mission driven government serves to transform the rule driven organisation
- Results-driven government must be based on outcomes and not inputs
- Customer-driven government serves to meet the needs of customers and avoids bureaucracy
- Catalytic government serves to steer than rowing
- Enterprising government which prioritise earning than spending
- Anticipatory government which prevent than cure
- Decentralised government that works from hierarchy to participatory and teamwork

- Market-oriented government that allows for market change

Key to the research is the extent to which the land reform programme embraced these principles. This was one of the questions the study sought answers to. For example, the beneficiaries of land reform required intense support upon acquiring land and it has been critical to assess whether they received that support.

Ferlie *et al.* (1996) provide four models of the ideal types of NPM:

- The Efficiency Drive. This relates to achieving value for money, financial control, getting more from less, transparency, a customer-oriented culture, a shift of power to senior management and new forms of corporate governance.
- Downsizing and Decentralisation. This occurs when an organisation reduces its workforce or functions (downsizing) or when functions are devolved from the central government level to the lower level of government where they can be performed better (decentralisation).
- In Search of Excellence. This is linked to the balance score card approach.
- Public Service Orientation. Here the major focus is on the quality of service provided to citizens.

## **2.7 Public Policy and Development**

Baker et al (1975 in Cloete & Wissink, 2000: 11) define policy as 'a mechanism employed to realise the society's goals and to allocate resources' In this case, the state developed land reform policies in order to realise the goals of redistributing land in South Africa. The policy of land reform was adopted as a requirement in the policy process. In order for the policy to effectively produce the desired results, Edwards (1980 in Denhardt, 1993: 163) maintains that there should be communications, resources, attitude of implementers and bureaucratic structures in place. These views serve to indicate that public policy implementation without the allocation of the required resources is

doomed to fail. Public service managers design policies that require implementation, and a consideration of public policy implementation will highlight the need for local government to take its place in land reform. Public policy must be explicitly defined and all interested stakeholders need to be informed in writing about what the policy entails and what it intends to achieve through its implementation (Botes *et al.*, 1996: 312).

Public policy is one facet of public administration, along with planning, organising, staffing, controlling and financing (Fox *et al.*, 1991; Cloete, 1997), and includes directing and co-ordinating the planning, implementation and evaluation of all the facets of the policy process. In particular, it relates to the external, community-orientated role of a department.

In considering whether the redistribution or restitution policies that underpinned land reform have been properly implemented, guiding principles to take into account are Chapter 10 of the Constitution (1996) Section 195 Subsection (1), which states that public administration must be governed by democratic values and principles, and Subsection (b) of this section which calls for the effective, economic and efficient use of resources. Section 196(c) of the Constitution (1996) states that public administration must be developmentally oriented. This study also examined whether or not the land reform programme promoted development in communities that acquired land.

Land as a resource must be utilised effectively, economically and efficiently. When land reform projects fail to address poverty among the families that acquire land, this suggests that the constitutional mandate has not been complied with and that the principles governing public administration have not been adhered to. This research examined whether the concept of public administration was applicable in land reform programmes.

Having designed and set a public policy, managers are then tasked with implementing it. The term 'policy implementation' refers to actions by public or private individuals (or groups) aimed at achieving objectives that have been laid out in prior policy decisions (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975, in Cloete & Wissink, 2000). Van Meter and Van Horn (1975 in Cloete and Wissink, 2000:

166) differentiate between implementation, performance, impact and stress. They note that impact studies are more concerned with “what has happened?” whilst implementation studies are concerned with “why did it happen?”

Land reform is typical of the policy implementation that Van Meter and Van Horn (1975 in Cloete & Wissink, 2000: 166) allude to. The Department of Rural Development and Land Reform has a set of objectives to achieve. This study focuses on the question of ‘what happened’ in order to assess the impact of land reform. For example, it assesses whether the land reform programme contributed to community development and poverty reduction.

## **2.8 Public Accountability of Public Administration and Management**

Public accountability calls for public servants to perform their daily duties with great care and responsibility. When errors occur, these public servants may have to account to the public (Botes *et al.*, 1996: 286). Cloete (2010: 98) describes public accountability as an account given by an office bearer upon carrying out a particular responsibility, work or job.

Public institutions and public servants are responsible for the management and administration of public funds. This means that they are accountable to the taxpayers. They also account to the public at large for the efficient, effective and responsive execution of their assigned tasks. Effective, efficient and responsive public financial management includes the collection, safekeeping and spending of public funds (Schwella *et al.*, 1999: 165). Those employed in the government bureaucracy are expected to be client-focused and more responsive to citizens’ needs as a form of accountability (Hughes, 2003: 237).

Hughes (2003) argues that accountability applies even in the private sector where there is a principal and agent relationship. In this case the agent renders services on behalf of the principal, and in return, accounts for how the work was done. If the land reform programme is to succeed, there has to be public accountability. Parliamentary committees monitor implementation and hold public officials responsible for any irregularities exposed by auditors’ reports. These committees can make recommendations on how to improve the

bookkeeping system, which would eventually translate into good financial management (Cloete, 1996: 162)

Was there such effectiveness and efficiency in the implementation of the land reform programme? A measure of efficiency would be that the projects were yielding acceptable results, with the beneficiaries able to feed their families. The government must account for millions of rands allocated to land reform. Was the money well spent in acquiring land for the previously disadvantaged and the dispossessed?

Public accountability is an obligation that rests on each and every public functionary. Public officials must act in the public interest and according to their own conscience. Every strategy adopted should be based on professionalism and participation (Schwella *et al.*, 1999: 165). Accountability in public administration is the degree to which the public officials are expected to answer to senior authorities in a given institution (in this case, a public institution) for actions taken. Such actions could be both internal and external (Lemay, 2006: 263). Taking a different perspective, accountability is being answerable for something outside of the thing itself, where someone must be held responsible if anything goes wrong in government (Starling, 2011: 172). In addition to showing how money got spent, accountability indicates the efficiency, effectiveness and purpose for the allocation of funds.

In the public sector, accountability focuses on three issues: that resources were spent as agreed and in line with the procedures, that they were used efficiently, and that they were used to achieve the intended outcomes (Flynn, 2008: 125). Spending of allocated resources according to the intended outcomes represents a challenge to public institutions where red tape may delay service delivery. It can happen that accountability is strong when service contracts are initially developed or renewed – at which stage accountability measures are clearly complied (Eliassen & Sitter, 2008: 146) – but weaker during subsequent intervention. Often the public officials ensure that contract requirements are complied with at the beginning, but monitoring compliance becomes difficult during contract execution. In the study, public officials needed

to be answerable when land reform failed to achieve the intended objectives of improving the livelihoods of the beneficiaries.

Public officials are the implementers of public policies. They are held accountable for their actions by their superiors, the courts and the public. The administration of the country is also accountable to the electorate through its elected leaders. Accountability is the most distinguishing feature of public administration. Stanyer and Smith (in Coetzee, 1991: 63) observe that

at its most elementary, public accountability simply requires that public bodies give an account of their activities to other people and provide justification for what has been done in terms of the other people's values, in a way that private bodies do not.

Public institutions are subjected to external checks, while private companies are relatively immune. In a democratic government, the chain of accountability between the electorate and the elected officials is crucial.

While public administration requires that public officials account for the daily execution of their work, they also need to act fairly and reasonably. Individual officials may not exercise their freedom and rights at the expense of others. Both political office bearers and public officials are required to apply Acts, rules and regulations in an honest and just manner. Public administration guarantees fairness and reasonableness to the country's citizens. Public functionaries are required to adopt a positive attitude in going about their daily activities. If a public official acts unfairly and unreasonably, he or she could be brought before a court of law and charged. Public officials must display integrity in their work, in order to ensure fairness. Officials should act in such a manner that their actions would withstand any test of public scrutiny (Coetzee, 1991: 66).

Cloete (2010: 107) agrees with Coetzee that irrespective of the citizen's gender, race, language or age, fairness and reasonableness must always be applied when officials deal with the public. Cloete (2010) adds that such officials should be inspired by the "will to serve", with no intention to harm the public interest. Did all people in the study area enjoy the benefits that those in

some areas received? To what extent did the beneficiaries of the land redistribution programme receive the support they needed? Answers to these questions would emerge when the data collected through the questionnaires is analysed.

In the event that public officials act unfairly and unreasonably towards the public, legal action must be instituted against them. This involves the application of the legal rules that appertain to public administration, according to which public officials may not act *ultra vires* (beyond their legal powers). In the event that an official acts *ultra vires* for some reason, he or she must be called upon to account for those actions, and this means that officials must act within the scope of the applicable legal provisions (Coetzee, 1991: 69). The Public Service Act of 1994 Section 17 states clearly how officials employed by the national sphere of government and the provincial sphere of government are expected to conduct themselves, and specifies that they will be charged with misconduct should the following occur:

- contravening the legislation;
- disobeying the rules and regulations;
- bringing the government administration into disrepute;
- committing a crime; or
- breaching the confidentiality rules.

When these legal-ethical prescriptions are not complied with, the individual will face suspension or even dismissal (Coetzee, 1991: 69). Cloete (1993: 74) and Botes *et al.* (2010: 112) note also that public officials should not exceed their powers under the law.

Public service efficiency emphasises the public interest where the spending of funds is in the interests of the community. Efficiency refers to the most effective way of achieving the objectives with the most economic use of funds (Botes *et al.*, 1996: 289). Public efficiency relates to satisfying important community needs with the available limited resources (Cloete 1991; 2010; Coetzee 1991).

The land reform programme in the GLM had to consider the public interest. Public efficiency would ensure the effective achievement of goals and projects. It was the duty of public managers to set up plans, programmes and effective implementation measures. The GLM had land redistribution projects that were dysfunctional. What did this tell us? Was it that the planning was not properly done, or were there problems related to implementation? A significant consideration here is that public funds were committed to ensure the success of these projects.

Efficiency applies to every activity in the public sector and can only be achieved through determined effort. Some officials and members of the public mistakenly think that public institutions have unlimited resources to start new ventures, whereas good administration means accomplishing the necessary work with the least expenditure possible on manpower and materials (Coetzee, 1991).

In comparing the public sector with the private sector in terms of performance, Coetzee (1991) points out that the private sector measures income directly against expenditure, while government first determines expenditure, then revenue. Public authorities first establish what activities are to be undertaken and thereafter allocate funds for those activities. The reason for this is that public demands are always greater than the means at government's disposal. Public institutions, therefore, determine degrees of social necessity and priority to ensure the rational and judicious use of resources for achieving optimum results.

Consistency in decision-making within public administration requires that public officials serve the community and do not take unjustifiable or inconsistent decisions or actions on the grounds of creed, culture, race or political beliefs. They must try to reach balanced and consistent decisions at all times and thoroughly investigate any matter prior to taking a decision. They must avoid any act of nepotism, corruption or raw deals. They must avoid inconsistent behaviour that fails to promote the desired relationship between the government and the citizenry. A public official must consider all the circumstances, and where possible listen to all sides of the case before taking

a decision. Consideration of all possible alternative solutions is part of decision-making. This means that public officials carry an enormous responsibility and must be held accountable (Coetzee, 1991: 68). This is underscored by Cloete (1991: 71 and 2010: 108) who adds that everyone must be regarded as equal before the law.

The study sought to establish whether the public administration principle of consistency in decision-making was applicable in the land redistribution projects in the research area. For instance, to what extent was support given to land reform beneficiaries in the study area?

While public officials must exercise consistency in decision-making, public administration also requires them to be thorough. They must ensure that their work is done accurately and economically, with the aim of accomplishing high quality results without wastage. No public official should engage in actions that are suspicious (Coetzee, 1991: 68; Cloete, 1993: 72; 2010: 109) and their work should be of a high standard.

This research also sought to establish whether there was thoroughness in land redistribution programme in the study area. Did the officials execute the work to the best of their abilities? Did the land redistribution projects contributed to community development and poverty reduction?

Public officials are expected to act with integrity and honesty. Officials are expected to carry out their work without ulterior motives. In other words, they may not work in order to satisfy their own interests, as that would constitute corruption and might lead to serious consequences. An official may not use his/her authority to receive anything in return from any other person or groups of people. There should be no collusion with anyone to receive profit. The public expects officials to be honest, trustworthy, hardworking, competent and compassionate in dealing with them (Coetzee, 1991: 68).

In supporting this point, Van Der Waldt (2004: 167) notes that public officials must at all times display a high standard of ethics requiring honesty and truthfulness in all public activities. Public administrators earn respect when they practice honesty and integrity and in return expect those around them to do the

same (Stillman II, 2010: 93). In fact, honesty breeds trust which would enable a public institution to function in a better way (Starling, 2011: 167). The more trust the public officials display, the better the institution will function. An important ethical norm for public administration is that institutions operate well when officials working together trust one another. An important concern for this study was whether the officials in land redistribution projects within the study area acted in honesty and integrity, as this could have a bearing on possible gaps in land redistribution projects relating to issues such as support for beneficiaries and poverty reduction.

Public administration also calls for measures of control to be put in place so that political office bearers are charged with public responsibility. This control could take the form of inspection, auditing or reporting. For instance, the Auditor General is required to submit annual reports to Parliament, while the legislature may determine what accounts are to be kept to ensure financial regulation through effective accounting. The supremacy of Parliament is enforced through commissions of enquiry, debates, and the requirement that all government departments and parastatals submit annual reports to this body (Coetzee, 1991: 62). Cloete (1993: 62) notes that control measures in the public service include inspection, reporting and auditing of accounts. Botes (1996: 391) argues that government corporations such as ESKOM and Transnet should be subjected to strict measures of control in respect of their activities. In fact they account to Parliament on an annual basis. Depending on the control measures that the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform has put in place, there must be equality in responding to communities' needs.

Social justice and equality in public administration imply prohibition, control and regulations. Public servants use their discretion in the process of decision-making but this also creates a risk of unjust discrimination. Individual judgements, therefore, need to be based on compliance standards rather than on the personal attributes of beneficiaries. Public officials must pursue the principles of social justice and equality, and unjust discrimination based on ethnicity, social standing in the community, physical features, gender or

cultural heritage must be avoided at all costs. Society expects the highest moral standards from public servants, and public servants must not abuse the trust placed in them by the public. Their decisions must in every case be based on the full available facts and information (Botes *et al.*, 1996: 292).

This research seeks to establish whether the officials in charge of land redistribution exercised the principle of equality in order to reduce poverty, and this puts the spotlight on public managers and their role in ensuring that the principles of public administration discussed above were adhered to.

## **2.9 The Role of a Public Manager**

A public manager is an individual who comprehends the functional mission of the public institution, and is able to execute well thought out plans and programmes. Such an individual is capable of determining and establishing the functions required in initiating and pursuing the mission of his /her public institution. According to Hughes (2003: 23), public managers occupy an important position in Weber's theory. Prior to occupying public office, such a person must undergo training and pass an examination.

Botes (1996: 358) maintains that the public manager should:

- determine and define the objectives and policy of the institution
- work out the financial requirements
- determine the required officials and their structure
- create an organisational structure and delegate functions
- analyse and constantly review the procedures and methods
- design the general control plan and output levels for officials

A public manager should be capable of directing all the actions and behaviour of officials in the implementation of policy. The position demands well thought out policy directions and functional obligations. Public managers manage all the administrative processes of planning, coordination, communication, human relations and other functions. Haynes (2003: 113) stresses the need for the

strategic planning in public institutions, which enables the public manager to assess the institution's strength, weaknesses, opportunities and threats. Denhardt and Denhardt (2009: 197) concur, adding that strategic planning enables the institution to consider the future in its action planning in order to improve current decisions.

Management typically involves planning an envisaged activity, and then executing the planned activity and controlling its execution. According to Botes *et al.* (1996), management theory states that:

Management is a mental process geared to the future, based on various skills that are exercised in institutions. In management there is a need for careful decisions that draw on knowledge and experience. In the public sector, management follows a political policy direction which determines the aims and plans of the department. Management has an economic nature that involves finances and there is constant flow of information. Lastly, management needs evolution of performance to ensure the correct way of doing things (Botes *et al.*, 1996: 358)

In the research there was a need to establish the gaps that existed within the land redistribution programme. The management theory outlined above is applicable to land reform programmes, and in particular to land redistribution programmes.

## **2.10 Municipality and Land Reform**

Municipalities, along with parastatals, are major holders of public land. Municipalities tended to use their land for social infrastructure and as a source of revenue. and in some instances the land acquired might be used for low-cost housing.

### **2.10.1 Delivering land services at a local level**

The key focus of the White Paper on the South African Land Policy (1997) was to decentralise land functions to the local government sphere. To ensure the long-term success and sustainability of the land reform programme, potential

beneficiaries had to be able to access the programme easily, and to understand the assistance they could expect from government.

Decentralisation was expected to facilitate effective participation in the programme. The intention was to come up with local-level land administration whose services would be easily accessible to local citizens. This would help to avoid consequences such as those highlighted by Deininger (1999: 653) who noted that there were farms acquired through land reform which not subsequently farmed at full capacity and had become run down or dilapidated. This was seen as a long-term process that would require strong support at the provincial level. The White Paper further maintained that the greater part of the land administration function was likely to be delegated to provincial government, while the Municipality was an appropriate location for the function. This vision aimed to bring the rural areas in line with urban areas, where substantial land administration functions, particularly those relating to planning and development control, were vested in local authorities.

The most important institution in this decentralised delivery model would be a Land Office staffed by land officers and located within local government. These Land Offices and their staff were to be responsible for elements of the land reform programme and land administration functions such as:

- allocation of user rights in communal and public land
- imposition of restrictions on the use of land
- authorisation of change of use and land subdivision
- settlement of land disputes
- assistance with the preparation of land development objectives in line with the Development Facilitation Act 67 of 1995 (DFA)

Assistance at the local level could take the form of the Land Redistribution Programme in which the local Land Office advised and assisted eligible people to access government grants. In addition, such office would assist in the legal process involved in land acquisition and transfer, including the registration of

title deeds at the Deeds Office. Assistance would be provided with land identification, assessment of productive potential and advice on valuations.

While this plan looked good on paper, it could not be put into practice due to lack of capacity with the offices being staffed by only one or two people. The intention was to have one official specialising in one of the services that the office rendered. For instance, one official might specialise in accessing government grants while others might specialise in deeds registration or advice on land valuations.

The local Land Office is expected to assist with public information, awareness and education about the Land Restitution Programme. Advice and assistance would be offered to claimants on how to make their claims and the implementation of court orders.

Since appropriate information is crucial, the local Land Offices are expected to ensure that communities are well-informed on land-related issues. For instance, there have been complaints regarding the closing date for the lodging of land claims, which is a clear indication of lack of information that causes frustration or even community protest actions against the government. The complaint has been registered with the office of the President by non-governmental organisations on behalf of the communities. Other structures that registered the complaint were land reform activists, such as, the Landless People's Movement (LPM) and National Land Committee (NLM).

### **2.10.2 Institutional arrangements**

An effort has been made to ensure that local offices of the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform are accessible to local government. Various models have been developed by the Department and the different provinces are expected to choose the model most appropriate for their needs. The following models are intended to decentralise the services of the Department:

- establishment of a satellite office of the provincial office of the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform at a decentralised level and close to district government;

- establishment of a facilitation service at a district level that could be linked to local government;
- provision of resources, such as training by the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform to district government to appoint staff to deal with land issues; and
- secondment of Department of Rural Development and Land Reform staff to district government to work on land reform and land administration issues (White Paper on South African Land Policy, 1997: 101).

These models can only be applied if a sufficient budget is available. In Limpopo Province, a satellite office was linked with the district municipality that provided accommodation for staff from the provincial office of the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform. A limited number of staff were available, although not all possessed the required skills. Most issues continued to be handled at the provincial office, which tended to delay in the finalisation of matters in hand.

### **2.10.3 Municipal commonage**

Commonage in municipalities is commonly referred to in South African administrative terminology as 'municipal commonage'. This is land owned by a local authority which was acquired through state grants. The grant amount varies from case to case and is determined by the provincial Department of Rural Development and Land Reform, taking into account the availability of funds and the principles of fairness and equity (White Paper on South African Land Policy, 1997: 51).

There are national schemes that help local authorities to acquire commonage for agriculture for their poor residents, and even land for affordable housing. The local authorities demonstrate their good faith by entering their land holdings in the public land register. Commonage helps the local authorities to assist needy members of the community at minimal cost. This might take the form of commonage grazing and family gardens, which would fulfil the land

reform objectives of affording households the chance to engage in productive land use and increase the chances for employment (Buthelezi, 2008: 9). The national government is expected to create capacity for both land administration and land reform at the local government level (White Paper on South African Land Policy, 1997: 89). The study investigated whether productive land was allocated and employment opportunities were increased as a result of the land reform programme.

Commonage is used to improve people's access to land for agricultural purposes and was intended to promote local economic development by means of which poor and needy residents could supplement their income. It constituted an inexpensive form of land reform (Land Reform Policy Committee, 1997: 1). Through the Municipal Commonage Grant, municipalities acquire land which is kept in trust and may not be sold or encumbered (Lebert and Rohde, 2007: 819). The underlying understanding was that the commonage would serve as a livelihood strategy since rural households derived livelihoods from natural resources, livestock or agriculture and the availability of commonage land would assist rural households which nearly all participate in the cultivation of the home plot (Shackleton et al., 2001, 593).

In comparison, commonage in the Namaqualand area of South Africa, presented challenges in respect of both land use and land administration. The model disregarded the communal farming practice instead of enforcing the individualisation of grazing holdings which was more of the White commercial farmers (May and Lahiff, 2007: 788). The studies conducted in the Northern Cape revealed that the commonage projects' household were found to consider agriculture the necessary element of their livelihoods, than both redistribution and restitution. Furthermore, it was noted that livestock was owned individually, rather than in redistribution and restitution where land was collectively and individually owned (Bradstock, 2005: 1983).

This programme targeted small rural towns and settlements where poor people needed access to both grazing land and small garden areas to supplement their income and enhance their household food security. The Department of Rural Development and Land Reform encouraged local authorities to develop

strategies that would enable poor people to access the existing commonage that was presently used for other purposes. The Department also provided funds to enable resource-poor local governments to acquire additional land for this purpose.

It was incumbent upon the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform to render assistance in developing appropriate provincial policy, legislative frameworks and administrative systems for the use and maintenance of municipal commonages for land reform purposes. Those municipalities that needed support had to be assisted to determine how to regulate the relationship (using by-laws and private agreements) between users, themselves and local authorities.

While this was perceived as a good policy to help the poor and needy gain access to land, it became problematic in some areas. In some cases, the land acquired was not used for the purpose for which it was intended, which meant that the poor were denied the opportunity to access land that could satisfy their basic needs. It was noted that just a quarter of rural households accessed land for crop production (May et al., 1996 in Manona et al. (1999: 27), but many rural communities also reported that their income increased because they had access to agricultural land. This served as an indication that increased access to land could improve a community's well-being. To extend the available commonage, existing leases can be bought out before they expire, if the lessee is willing to be bought out. Some local authorities might need financial assistance to take this route.

There are many municipalities that could benefit from the commonage approach. It was unfortunate that in Limpopo Province, particularly in the GLM, such an approach had not been adopted. It was not clear whether this was due to lack of information on the part of municipal officials or lack of capacity in the provincial Department of Rural Development and Land Reform was not clear. The GLM includes farms that could be bought for commonage and this might have assisted in alleviating poverty among the local citizens, but most projects collapsed because there was poor post-settlement support, or none at all, once the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform exited a project. This

happened with both municipal commonages and projects outside of the municipalities (Walker, 2003: 134). The potential of these commonages should not be underestimated as they are capable of sustaining intensive cultivation of both community and household gardens and are especially important for developing and expanding local initiatives that people have already begun (Mc Allister, 1992 in Fay, 2009: 1431).

#### **2.10.4 Building capacity for sustainable local government in land reform**

Municipalities in South Africa are plagued by numerous problems, including:

- inexperienced and uncommitted political office bearers and administrative officials
- outdated municipality structures, processes and technologies that are not conducive to developmental local government in the new dispensation
- ideologies and cultures that result in disloyal staff obstructing organisational, management and policy changes, and encourage corruption and nepotism
- lack of funding from own resources and other levels of government, despite the constitutional provision that national government provides an equitable share to local spheres of government
- environmental conditions that are beyond control (Parnell et al., 2002).

Parnell *et al.* (2002) argue that local governments lack the funding necessary to run land reform projects and ensure their sustainability. Numerous land reform projects fail because municipalities lack the resources to manage them. Even with municipal commonage the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform failed to provide additional support to the municipality or to land users upon transfer. Line departments, such as the Department of Agriculture, which might have been expected to provide post-settlement support were often not involved with land processes or not informed about them (May & Lahiff, 2007: 790). This reflects a gap in the implementation of the land redistribution programme which might jeopardise outcomes.

Important measures to build municipal capacity included:

- Identifying, recruiting and retaining knowledgeable and experienced political leaders, administrative managers and support staff. Staff must have vision, commitment and understanding. Incumbents should have leadership and managerial skills to steer the organisation in the direction of political, social and economic stability.
- Formulating and put into practice pragmatic, feasible and strategic policies. Employees should undergo orientation and training in policy analysis. Other important skills include policy process skills like planning, decision-making, implementation, and skills in relation to sectoral policy such as local economic development. Training must be provided in these areas as well.
- Appropriate and applicable organisational structures and management processes should be created for policy implementation and service delivery.
- The resources used have to be optimal, pragmatic and coordinated. This requires strong organisational project, programme and information management. It was found that most organisations had knowledge and experience, but did not have a strategy to mobilise them to the benefit of the organisation (Parnell *et al.*, 2002: 287).

Instances have been recorded where local government institutions failed to recruit knowledgeable and experienced employees, and instead employed pals to strengthen the possibility of personal gain. This negatively affected service delivery. Local government capacity in land reform, particularly in communal rural areas, calls for human capital who understand agriculture and have a passion for it; these will be the kind of officials who can encourage rural households to engage in gardening or cultivation, whether on just a few square metres or on three or four hectares (Shackleton *et al.*, 2001: 590).

### **2.10.5 Human capital training for municipal land reform**

The need for municipality officials to receive technical and professional training to equip them to implement land reform programmes was recognised in Botswana (Reddy, 1999: 82). Training was given to local council employees and a fully-fledged training programme and updated training modules were subsequently laid on to equip personnel and training officers. Consideration was also given to separating human resources and training responsibilities, and having training officers in the councils devoted to training activities *per se*. There was a view that the councils should develop long-term training plans that would complement the long-term human resources plan. Many problems were experienced with staff discipline, with line managers being reluctant to discipline their subordinates. They feared that they would not receive the backing of advisors on procedures, rules and regulations (Reddy, 1999: 82).

South African municipalities also needed to institute human resources training to build capacity. Land reform requires highly trained staff that understand the dynamics that are involved, know how to provide land reform beneficiaries with access both to land and to markets for their production outputs, and can assist the beneficiaries to access the necessary credit to raise the level of their farming ventures (Deininger, 1999: 653). This research sought to establish whether land reform beneficiaries were capacitated upon receipt of land.

### **2.10.6 Strengthening municipal financial resources**

Municipal authorities' lack of financial resources prevented them from playing a greater role in land reform programmes. It could often happen that the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform purchased land for communities residing in the jurisdiction of a municipality which did not have the financial resources to give subsequent assistance to the beneficiaries or even to allocate staff for that purpose.

Municipalities receive their revenue from rates and taxes, which they use to provide services to their residents. This revenue is seldom enough to enable the municipality to meet its obligation to improve basic services, let alone to cover land reform, which requires major resources. Land may not really qualify

as a basic need, even though it holds out great potential for both social and economic development.

Financial constraints encourage local councils to raise revenue from other sources. Each local council has the authority to raise revenue from various sources. Elected council members are accountable to their constituencies for the type and quality of services rendered and local councils must balance the demands of their constituents against higher user fees and higher taxes. The council must also know in advance not only what recurrent grants would be received during the budget-planning period, but also the fees, charges, rates and levies that they would be allowed to impose.

Levies on services provided by local authorities to the public could assist in strengthening their resource base, but problems with this which were encountered in Botswana also affect rural municipalities in South Africa. The difficulty is that rural areas lack a resource base, making the municipality heavily reliant on National Treasury grants (equitable share and other conditional grants) (Reddy, 1999: 83). Strengthening financial resources in municipalities could require other avenues to be explored in order to build more capacity.

#### **2.10.7 Non-governmental organisations (NGOs)**

A discussion on municipalities would be incomplete without consideration of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and community-based organisations (CBOs). These structures operate within the municipality domain and their role in land reform cannot therefore be ignored. One example is the National Land Committee (NLC) which is active in land issues and has a network in over seven provinces in South Africa (Sibanda, 2001: 7).

The question is whether these structures are fully utilised in municipalities. Reddy (1999) comments that for reasons known only to municipalities they were used only to a limited extent. Some international NGOs within South Africa provide support for community-level development projects; they have their own orientation and could also be regarded as part of the donor community. In addition, there are CBOs which include area-based

organisations such as residents' associations and functionally-based organisations such as farmers' groups.

NGO activities have increased in scope and intensity, responding to the growth of grassroots development activities with generous support. In other quarters, NGOs have facilitated development planning at the community level by insisting on the production of plans and putting together priorities for community needs (Reddy, 1999: 50).

These institutions are generally not given a chance to play a role in land reform programmes unless they force their way in. The Nkuzi Development Association which began its activities in Limpopo Province in 1997 has been commended for its role by land reform beneficiaries, particularly those that were subjected to abuse by farm owners, and could potentially play a major role in land reform related issues at the local government sphere. They also have fund-raising ability that could help in capacity building for the land reform beneficiaries who frequently complain about lack of aftercare services, with government seemingly not having sufficient human capital and financial resources to provide this service.

Reddy (1999: 51) noted that in a number of countries NGOs are registered for purposes of authentication and transparency. In Sierra Leone and Zimbabwe, for instance, national NGOs have assisted in the coordination and collaboration of social activities. NGOs play a role in development activities by cooperating with the local authorities and at times with traditional authorities. The Border Rural Committee (BRC) which is an NGO that works to alleviate poverty in rural communities, accessed funds from the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC) in mobilising resources to support agricultural projects (Land Archives, 2004). The trend is towards decentralisation, where there is an increase in the possibilities for developing community management of services. This might also lead to partnerships with public sector agencies. Another reason why NGOs should be taken into account is that they can deliver their services efficiently and effectively because they are not hampered by bureaucracy.

NGOs can play a watchdog role by exposing unjust or illegal actions (such as evictions) by landowners or government, and they are often well-equipped to assist in building capacity amongst the beneficiaries of land reform. A case in point is the Surplus People Project which has been active in both Northern and Western Cape provinces, building capacity for rural communities participating in land reform programmes and making a significant contribution to poverty alleviation in rural communities (Land Archives, 2004).

The SDC has played a strategic role in South Africa in redressing past injustices, particularly land reform policies, through funding provided to both the government and NGOs. Its main focus has been on the institutional capacities and skills required to implement land reform and on rural community empowerment (Land Archives, no date).

It was the purpose of this research to establish whether gaps existed in the implementation of land redistribution, given the role of NGOs.

#### **2.10.8 Municipal-community partnerships**

Municipalities need to promote new forms of engagement between state, civil society, markets and households. These stakeholders can assist in building capacity in the various programmes that a municipality is engaged in. For instance, if a local municipality signs a partnership contract with a company that specialises in debt collection, cases of default will reduce tremendously. This would be an example of a municipal-community partnership. Madhanpall (2008: iv) argues that public-private partnerships serve as suitable vehicles to accelerate and deliver land redistribution and sees this as an appropriate route for achieving development objectives. Bovaird (in Madhanpall, 2008) notes that these partnerships can also serve to monitor the implementation of a programme. As joint ventures they complement skills and capacity and can take different forms depending on available resources, institutional capacities and development priorities. Partnerships between government and civil society organisations:

- facilitate large-scale government programmes in relation to aspects such as programme conceptualisation and implementation, service delivery, and monitoring and evaluation
- contribute to policy formulation
- institutionalise alternative delivery systems where coverage has been achieved
- improve access for the poor to goods and services and advance incremental change in municipal policies and procedures
- deepen and sustain participatory approaches to service delivery and infrastructure provision Bovaird (in Madhanpall, 2008: 46).

Although municipality circles tend to be sceptical towards such partnerships, the Centre for Development and Enterprise (2008:1) notes that commercial banks are now central to financing the land and agricultural sectors. The Centre notes that in 2004, twice as many land transactions were funded by banks compared with the state. Land companies conclude more Black Economic Empowerment deals and these lead to increased profit, not just land ownership. The Centre also notes that the sugar, timber and fruit agribusiness sectors in particular have benefited from land reform supported by the private sector. This study investigated whether such efforts help in overcoming the obstacles that prevent land redistribution implementation from achieving its objectives.

## **2.11 Policy for Land and Agriculture**

The Minister of Rural Development and Land Reform is tasked with ensuring that policies are formulated to sustain the agricultural sector. The present incumbent, Minister Gugile Mkwinti, has integrated the policies of his portfolio within an imaginative programme of agrarian restructuring. It remains unclear whether current land reform policies will enable government to meet its targets.

The 2005 Land Summit reflected a mixed picture of stagnation and progress (Cousins in *Mail and Guardian*, 11-17 August 2006: 23). While land policy aims

to redress past wrongs and help South Africa's poor to become successful commercial farmers, new developments continue to emerge. There is growing concern in government that land reform seems to have failed, and that a new, radical, and less market-oriented approach is needed (Bernstein, 2005: 8), in line with Zimbabwe's implementation of compulsory occupation of commercial farms with no compensation (Juana, 2006: 295). This policy, though unpopular in the eyes of the international community, particular in the West, was adopted by the Zimbabwe government to accomplish redistribution of land. It was the purpose of this study to determine the shortcomings in South African land reform implementation. Why was there a loss of confidence on the part of the constituencies?

There has been little meaningful consultation with stakeholders and it is unclear which resolutions would be acted upon. In communal areas, tenure reform has ground to a halt, and evictions from commercial farms continue. Meanwhile new approaches to land redistribution and post-settlement support are being investigated (Cousins in Mail and Guardian, 11-17 August, 2006: 23). Among the groups that are vulnerable to hunger and poverty through denial of access to land and other productive resources are small farmers, tenants and workers without land. These have been the hardest hit because they rely solely on agriculture. Any land policy that ignored the need for these groups to make a living would be unacceptable (Buthelezi, 2008: 3). The poorest group within the rural population are the agricultural workers, and most cultivable fertile land continues to be held by a small number of powerful land owners.

This links with the study question that sought to establish whether beneficiaries were afforded aftercare support, and it appears that post-settlement support was not adequate. Even the land redistribution programme itself is open to question. Having so many projects remaining unsettled threatens to undermine the whole purpose of land redistribution, which was to open up productive land for both residential and farming use (Ramutsindela, 2003: 42). The emphasis was on uplifting the very poor in rural and urban settings, including labour

tenants, farm workers and new entrants to agriculture. Projects that were approved were starting to collapse and this was a serious reason for concern.

While acknowledging the complexity of resettlement, Bernstein (2005: 12) concurs, indicating that provincial departments fail to provide post-settlement support for land redistribution projects. The complexities of redistribution range from “shack farming” to increased personal indebtedness of new farm settlers and inconsistent grant allocations to some, but not all, land redistribution beneficiaries.

A study by McCusker (2004) that was carried out on 18 CPAs that acquired properties through the land redistribution programme identified four factors that block land use and land cover on redistributed farms:

- farm management by membership was difficult and ineffective
  - members tended to be unprepared to organise, maintain, and develop their CPAs as economic entities
  - farms failed as production units due to lack of managerial skills
  - farming expertise was not taken into account as a criterion for membership and leadership of CPAs
  - there was minimal farm training on all the CPAs
  - there was a lack of the skills required to run a farming business
- McCusker (2004: 65).

Taking these issues into account, this study sought to establish whether poverty had been reduced in CPAs that acquired properties through the land redistribution programme. Were there gaps that prevented the programme from achieving its goals? It had been noted that consultation with stakeholders was minimal and even less meaningful (Cousins in Mail and Guardian, August 2006: 23). Linked with the study question on what lessons stakeholders will learn from the study, this remains a highly relevant issue.

The Department could consider aligning land reform, agricultural support and other programmes with the Integrated Development Plans (IDPs) of

municipalities. This would be one way of creating a more proactive role for the state in land acquisition, which would include expropriation when negotiations break down (Cousins in Mail and Guardian, August 2006: 23). This links with the question on the extent of the legislative framework that government put together to address the land reform question. Here a key issue is that the policies that were put in place needed alignment so that they complement one another. Where one policy was not suitable, another needed to kick in.

This might fast track the delivery of land to beneficiaries. The municipalities' IDPs could become the focal point, which would lead to a more committed approach with greater coherence between the various programmes within institutions, particularly in relation to agricultural support. Since the land received through land reform is mostly intended for agricultural productive purposes, the Department of Agriculture should be closely involved, not least because 43% of South Africa's population suffers food insecurity (Rose & Chartlon, 2002, in Valente, 2009: 1540).

Land reform is critical to poverty eradication; this aspect should not be left to chance and needs to be enforced through pertinent legislation and policies. Further implementation of such policies need to be incorporated into public administration processes. An analysis of the land reform programme, therefore, would be incomplete without an analysis of the public administration process at play and how public administrators interface with the beneficiaries and other non-state actors.

## **2.12 Conclusion**

In summarising the key conceptual issues, the study presupposes that within the South African context there is clear legislation to guide land reform, while keeping it in balance with existing property rights. The Constitution sets the basic framework, in conjunction with subsequent legislation that provides more specific direction for decision-making steps within the public administration process.

In implementing various land reform programmes, public administrators should be guided by the new principles of public management. These will ensure that the implementation of the land reform programme results in improved service delivery and functional responsiveness. In addition, public management should follow a quality- and performance-based approach. This means that the primary focus should be the impact on the lives of the beneficiaries rather than merely the amount of land redistributed. For these objectives to be attained, the public manager must direct the actions and behaviour of officials in the implementation stages of the land reform policies.



# **Chapter 3**

## **Land Reform and Its Impact: The South African Perspective**

### **3.1 Introduction**

Apartheid laws in South Africa led to White people owning most of the land, as in other countries like Zimbabwe. Apartheid also created extreme income disparities between Black and White people. It was therefore not surprising that when the apartheid regime came to an end in 1994, the newly elected government of South Africa adopted several (redistributive) policies in order to redress the imbalances of the past. One such policy was the land reform policy that was adopted as a means to redistribute land. The intention was to ensure that those who were previously disadvantaged also enjoy the benefits of citizenship.

Land is an important economic asset, and all citizens should have the opportunity to access and own it. However, in a country where only the minority of citizens have been privileged to work with this asset productively to create wealth, it is not enough to simply give land to those who did not have it before. They also need help to use this asset. The impact of the land reform programme would, therefore, depend on the ability both to access and to use the redistributed land; this posed a challenge to the South African government. The main question is whether the land reform policy has achieved its purpose. Has the adoption of the policy led to most people having access to land, which is a strategic asset? In instances where land has been redistributed to the previously disenfranchised, has their quality of life improved? Are the scourges of poverty, inequality and unemployment decreasing? This chapter assesses the approach taken by the South African government in implementing the land reform programme. It further assesses whether the public service is making an impact in implementing the adopted policy and supporting the beneficiaries of the programme.

These questions are critical in that the notion of redistributive policies was to a large extent influenced by the New Public Administration. According to this

school of thought, public administration should be concerned with equity and social justice in addition to efficiency and effectiveness. This means that land reform, as a public policy, should not only attain its objective of redistributing a certain amount of land (a quantitative measure), but should also promote equity and contribute towards poverty eradication, job creation and economic development.

Although the land reform policy is a redistributive policy, the approach adopted by South Africa has been Market-Led Agrarian Reform (MLAR), which is a willing-seller willing-buyer approach as opposed to redistributive land reform (Fraser, 2006: 301). This means that the success of the programme could be affected by the willingness of the market or property owners to part with their land at a given price. Irrespective of the approach adopted, the main question that this chapter aims to answer is the extent to which the objectives of the Land Reform Programme have been achieved, as well as the contribution thereto of public service processes. This chapter evaluates the implementation of the land reform policy, and asks whether the policy's objectives have been achieved, as measured by improvements in the beneficiaries' quality of life.

### **3.2 Background: Spatial and Temporal Aspects of Land Reform**

On assuming power, one of the biggest challenges facing the democratic South African government was how to redress the injustices resulting from the apartheid legacy. As Ghyoot (2008: 176) has noted, the new government had to eradicate the legal and administrative machinery that led to the oppression of Black people in South Africa. It was also expected that the state would come up with programmes that would fundamentally alter property rights so as to lay a solid foundation for social and economic transformation (Lahiff, 2002: 37). Under the previous regime, it was estimated that Black people owned only 18 million hectares, or 18% of the 100 million hectares of agricultural land in South Africa (Ghyoot, 2008: 176). This was the result of laws such as the Natives Land Act of 1913, which not only limited the rights of Black people to own land, but prevented them from playing an active role in the economy (Land Summit,

1995: 6). As a result of various legislative provisions, by 1990, Whites, despite being in the minority, owned 87% of the land, while Blacks had access to just 13% (Land Summit, 1995: 6).

The skewed distribution of land ownership exacerbated inequality in land acquisition, and this in turn led to poor community development. Everingham and Jannecke (2006: 547) argue that apartheid laws exacerbated class differences and weakened land ties in African communities. Unfortunately, the political compromise that emanated from the talks between the ANC and the other political parties did not succeed in reversing the situation. Instead, it left much of the power and wealth in the hands of the White minority (Marais, 1998, cited in Lahiff, no date: 3), resulting in the perpetuation of a dualistic agricultural dispensation, characterised by a small, undeveloped Black sector and a large-scale, White-controlled commercial sector (Lahiff, no date, 3). The land reform programme in South Africa was thus motivated by the need to restructure the agricultural sector in order to redress past injustices and strengthen the productive base of agriculture. As Cousins (no date: 1) indicates, the objective of the land reform programme was thus both to redress the imbalances of the past and to contribute to poverty reduction.

It is important to note that discrimination during the apartheid era affected not only Black farmers, but also small farmers and female farmers, tenant farmers and part-time farmers in general. This required that the new democratic government adopt measures that would enable previously disadvantaged groupings to enjoy equal benefits and protection. The adoption of three components of the Land Reform Programme - namely redistribution, restitution and tenure reform – was aimed at addressing such challenges. It was argued in the RDP, for example, that the land redistribution programme should particularly target women (ANC, 1994: 20). With this brief look at the history of land ownership patterns in South Africa, the discussion now turns to the policy and legislative framework.

### **3.3 South African Land Policy Framework**

The South African land reform programme owes its existence to various policy documents developed before the dawn of democracy. The pillar of the land reform programme is the Freedom Charter, which declared that:

restrictions of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and  
all the land re-divided amongst those who work it to banish famine  
and land hunger (ANC, 1955).

One of the critical tasks facing the new government was to ensure that all people had the right to own land irrespective of their race. According to Lahiff (no date: 7), redistribution was at the core of the Freedom Charter, and was one of the fundamental economic policies adopted by the ANC before 1990. This was followed by the pronouncements of the RDP, which provided a detailed analysis of the interventions required to reverse the imbalances of the past. Importantly, it was acknowledged that redressing inequities with regard to land distribution required more than just abolishing previous Land Acts. Instead, it required the state to implement a national land reform programme. The ANC called for a land reform programme that would allow the state to intervene in order to restore land to communities that had been dispossessed under apartheid laws (ANC, 1994: 20).

In implementing the land reform programme, the South African government followed repeal of the legislation that had dispossessed Blacks of their land or denied them the opportunity to own land. The most notable of these pieces of legislation were the Natives Land Act of 1913 and the Group Areas Act of 1950.

According to the White Paper on South African Land Policy, the objective of land policy and the land reform programme is to contribute to reconciliation, growth and development in an equitable and sustainable way (RSA, 1997: 7). The policy is based on three pillars: restitution; redistribution and tenure (RSA, 1997: 7). Land restitution aims to restore land to people who were dispossessed through racially discriminatory legislation and practices. Institutions such as the Land Claims Commission and the Land Claims Court

were established to drive the implementation of the restitution programme (Cousins, no date:1; Ghyoot, 2006: 180; Lahiff, 2002: 40). Land redistribution is seen as one of the crucial means to change the pattern of landholding in South Africa (Lahiff, 2002: 44). Tenure reform, on the other hand, focuses on the protection of the rights of people (mainly farm workers) who reside on privately-owned farms, as well as on state land.

Legislative measures were adopted to facilitate the various components of the land reform programme. Acts such as the Provision of Certain Land for Settlement Act, 126 of 1993, and the Development Facilitation Act, 67 of 1995, were adopted to facilitate land redistribution. These Acts introduced measures to speed up land development and assist people to acquire land for one purpose or another (Cliffe, 2000: 274).

The preceding discussion explored the South African land policy framework. The following section examines the principles that govern land reform in South Africa.

### **3.4 Land Acquisition Models Governing Land Reform**

Insufficient access to and ownership of land by the poor and marginalised is an international phenomenon. Land reform is not unique to South Africa. Several models have been used by countries across the globe as a basis for their land reform programmes. The choice of model has been determined by each country's unique situation. These models include the willing-seller willing-buyer paradigm, expropriation with some compensation not necessarily market-related, expropriation paying a market-related price, and the Zimbabwe-style expropriation model. The discussion below provides a synopsis of the various models.

#### **3.4.1 Expropriation with some compensation (non-market-related).**

In terms of this model, the government expropriates land and pays the landowner. The price paid is, however, not related to what the landowner would have received if the land were sold on the free market. This model was used by countries such as Zimbabwe, when it amended its Constitution and

passed the 1992 Land Acquisition Act (Sibanda, 2001: 1). The approach was supported by many land stakeholders, as it made it cheaper to buy land than if market-related prices were paid for farms. This enabled the government to determine and pay a certain rate to farmers for their land. Since there were many households that needed to benefit from the land reform programme, the payment of market-related prices for expropriated land did not look like an attractive option.

The model would be difficult (although not impossible) to implement in South Africa, as Section 25(3)(c) of the Constitution stipulates that in determining price, the market value of the property should be considered (Sibanda, 2001: 1; RSA, 1996).

While the Constitution is clear on the acquisition of land by expropriation, its market value must be considered when calculating compensation (Lahiff, 2005: 3). Lahiff also argues that consideration should be given to the current use of the property, the history of its acquisition and use, any previous state subsidy and the purpose of expropriation. It may be argued indeed, that since the state has the backing of the Constitution, there is no need to hesitate in applying the expropriation clause, even if the compensation offered is not really market-related. This would be unlike the approach taken by countries such as Zimbabwe, where the landowners received very little compensation in return.

#### **3.4.2 Expropriation paying market-related prices.**

Section 25(2) of the Constitution and land reform legislation explicitly accord the government the power to expropriate land for land reform purposes. The process has to be accompanied by just and equitable compensation to the affected party. It has been argued, however, that while the Constitution obliges the state to implement a land reform programme, it could also serve as a constraint upon altering property relations (Nkuzi Development Association, no date: 02). The difficulties with this model turn upon differences of interpretation and disagreements between landowners and government as to what a “just and equitable” price is. An example was the case of the proposed expropriation of Hannes Visser’s 500ha farm in North West Province, wherein the concept of

'just and equitable' compensation became a bone of contention. The government was willing to pay the farmer R1.75m, as opposed to the R3.5m that the farmer had asked for based on improvements made to the farm. This is a reflection of the problematic nature of land expropriations worldwide. Visser's case demonstrates the fact that land markets can be heavily distorted in favour of landowners, as seller resistance and protracted litigation influence the process. Generally, although the expropriation option has been available to the South African government, it has not been used extensively (Lahiff, 2002: 45).

### **3.4.3 Expropriation without compensation**

In this model, the state expropriates land without paying any compensation to the owner. But this accelerated approach has its own problems as it transfers productive land to black farmers whose agricultural know-how is limited to subsistence farming within a context of communal land-use. Under these circumstances, the productivity of the farm in question might be negatively affected (Pilossof, 2008: 270). Groenewald (2004) views this option as the cheapest, though it may turn out to be very expensive in the long run (as seen in Zimbabwe), because the affected parties can mobilise over time and the consequences may ultimately be highly deleterious. The South African government has not been keen to take the expropriation route, but in a democracy, if the mass of voters support a particular direction, eventually the state must take notice. So, the government may be forced to review its stance on expropriation. This would, however, require some Constitutional amendments, especially to Section 25(2) and related sections.

### **3.4.4 Market-based land reform (MBLR) model**

The South African government, it is argued, was influenced by the World Bank to adopt the market-led land reform approach (Cliffe, 2000: 273). This model is based on the willing-buyer willing-seller principle, according to which there must be someone willing to sell their property and another party willing to buy it. This approach has led to the development of mechanisms to assist the state to finance and facilitate initiatives enabling communities to acquire land. The

land may then be used for settlement or for agricultural production (Cliffe, 2000: 274; Lahiff, 2002: 45). Wikipedia (no date: 10) indicates that in this type of model, land is bought from owners who are considered willing sellers by government (itself referred to as the willing buyer) and redistributed in order to maintain public confidence. In Zimbabwe, the willing-seller willing-buyer concept represented the state-led approach, where land could be acquired through a mix of expropriation and negotiated purchase with compensation at market prices (Lahiff, 2005: 1).

Activists such as the LPM and NLC consider the MBLR model to be a failure. The NLC has called for the abandonment of the 'willing-buyer, willing-seller' model, and for the state to focus on expropriation in order to fast-track land and agrarian reform (Report of the National Land Summit, 2005: 47). The chairperson of the LPM in Gauteng, Maureen Mnisi, has urged that the government should move away from the "failed" market-led land reform programme, "or any other policy that requires poor people to buy back stolen land". This indicates that the stakeholders were unhappy with the market based land reform (MBLR). According to Lahiff (2002: 37), the MBLR approach to land reform has not to date fundamentally changed the racially skewed distribution of land.

On the one hand the South African Communist Party (SACP) General Secretary, Blade Nzimande, raised this concern when addressing a National African Farmers' Union 2005 Conference. He maintained that if government persisted with the willing-seller willing-buyer model, it would take another 100 years to redistribute 30% of commercial agricultural land. On the other hand, Agri-South Africa maintains that although the model is criticised in South Africa, it has been successfully implemented in Namibia (*Business Mail*, 29/04/2005).

A study conducted by Frank (2002) on the MBLR model in five countries - Brazil, South Africa, Thailand, Guatemala and Colombia found that:

- The process was not controlled by people in need of land. Instead, it was influenced by local authorities and land owners who wanted to sell land.
- Leaders of the associations were mostly imposed on groups by external, powerful forces.
- The landless were not part of the negotiations on the land purchases; The negotiations took place between land owners and the authorities, who were prone to be influenced corruptly in arriving at a decision.
- The land put on the market was in most cases poor quality land that the owners had been trying to sell without success for some time.
- None of the beneficiaries had been able to repay their first loans.
- Very few families experienced an improvement in their quality of life upon participating in the programme.
- Generally, it was found that MBLR was slow, expensive, and unable to reach many landless people, and was also unable to empower its beneficiaries (Frank, 2002: 6).

The findings indicate that MBLR might not be the best model to follow in a country like South Africa. Should the government continue to back the MBLR, the patience of the landless might be tried, leading to political instability. This is because, in this model, the availability of land is dependent solely upon a voluntary transaction between a property owner and the interested community (Lahiff, 2002: 45). Frank (2002: 8) maintains that the MBLR model should be conceived of as complementing other government programmes, instead of being a substitute for expropriation. Were the South African government to take this view seriously, then, to turn the situation around, it would aggressively pursue expropriation to increase the pace of delivery. This would, however, require some changes to the current legislative framework.

The only counter view comes from the farmers' union, AgriSA, which considers the MBLR model as the best approach to manage land reform (Report of the National Land Summit, 2005: 48). This is not surprising, considering that the

majority of the association's members are landowners, and therefore stand to benefit if MBLR remains the state's preferred model rather than expropriation (especially with no compensation or non-market-related compensation).

This model allows the state to avoid becoming financially overstretched while ensuring both implementation and ongoing support for the beneficiaries. As part of the public administration processes, the public administrators would be able to efficiently and effectively plan their day-to-day activities. The discussion now focuses on progress registered in the implementation of the land reform programme from 1994 to 2011.

### **3.5 Progress on Land Reform**

South Africa's land reform package, it is argued by Cliffe (2000), is different from the models adopted by other African countries such as Zimbabwe, Swaziland and Namibia. Owing to South Africa's history, the country's land reform programme includes land restitution, which was not necessarily the case in other countries. Furthermore, unlike other African countries, the South African government did not establish an agency that would acquire land, subdivide it and provide it with infrastructure and other related services before distributing it to individual beneficiaries (Cliffe, 2000: 276). Another difference, according to Sibanda (2005: 2), is that the South African Constitution and related legislation does not limit the number of farms an individual can own, nor their size, as is the case, for example, in Zimbabwe.

Irrespective of the model adopted, the land reform programme in South Africa has faced a number of challenges which, according to Cousins (2009: 421), it is widely perceived as having failed to overcome. The perceived failures relate mainly to the pace of the programme's implementation and to the amount of support given to the new owners to ensure productive use of the land (Greenberg, 2010: 4). In response to these challenges, the government convened a National Land Summit to discuss a new trajectory with respect to the reform programme (Report of the National Land Summit, 2005: 7). Despite the challenges, some progress has been made and some successes recorded, as the following table, spanning the years 1994-2009, indicates:

Province	Redistribution & tenure			Restitution			Total	
	Number of projects	Hectares	Beneficiaries	Claims	Hectares	Beneficiaries	Hectares	Beneficiaries
Eastern Cape	675	353357	25633	16201	94834	215201	448191	240834
Free State	799	350291	7721	2662	47615	40893	397906	48614
Gauteng	286	34513	7328	13159	9476	70179	43989	77507
Kwa-Zulu Natal	690	547414	67761	14752	642447	433168	1189861	500929
Limpopo	291	91235	7403	3382	513024	220227	604259	227630
Mpumalanga	444	322839	13950	2694	399876	225877	722715	239827
Northern Cape	271	952744	2773	3682	539620	100554	1492364	103327
North West	300	268366	40539	3682	373642	172963	642208	213502
Western Cape	223	122304	12750	3709	3769	118165	126073	130915
Total	3979	3 043 264	185858	15546	2624303	1597227	5667567	1783085

**Table 3.2:** Progress in implementing the land reform programme

(Source: Greenberg, 2010: 4).

Though the above table reflects a degree of progress, it strongly suggests that the state will not be able to achieve its target of transferring 30% of land to Blacks by 2014, a date that itself reflects a backward revision which proved necessary when it became obvious that the original target date of 1999 (as envisaged by the ANC's RDP was unrealistic (Greenberg, 2010: 4). According to the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform, at least 24.6 million hectares of agricultural land should be redistributed to the previously disadvantaged by 2014. This means that over a period of 20 years, the state should, on average, redistribute 1.23 million hectares per year (Department of Rural Development and Land Reform Strategic Plan 2009-2012, 2009: 16). The question is whether the 2014 target can be achieved considering the present pace of implementation. According to Ghyoot (2008:180), by April 2006, at least 4 million hectares had been transferred to Black people, 1 million through land restitution and 3 million through land redistribution. By September 2009, 5.69 million hectares had been transferred. The slow pace of transfer has been attributed, among other factors, to the inflated cost of land, which the

state had to accept owing to the willing-buyer willing-seller principle (Greenberg, 2010: 4).

A further impediment, noted by the former Director-General of the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform, Gilingwe Mayende (2004), was the non-availability of state land for land reform purposes, since, according to Mayende, no further distribution of state land suitable for agricultural use was contemplated. Mayende based his argument on the 24.5 million hectares of state land available for allocation to land reform beneficiaries while the rest was for domestic use by organs of state, such as the defence force, the police and correctional services. Mayende also acknowledged that there were difficulties with regard to tenure reform. In fact, he argued that not much has been done to address the tenure impasse, particularly in rural areas. The Department of Rural Development and Land Reform has however come up with a plan that would see Members of the Executive Council in the provinces allocate resources for the settling of claims. As Mayende's statement assisted in keeping the public informed about the status of state land redistribution, it was in line with public administration and management protocols of communication, which envisage public institutions and citizens working together to attain shared objectives.

Mayende did not downplay the challenges facing the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform. These include high land prices, a shortage of the resources necessary for the implementation of land reform and a few unwilling sellers. He also argued that established commercial agriculture must demonstrate a concrete commitment to land reform. This observation was borne out of experience over time. For instance, the organised farming fraternity in the form of AgriSA objected to some land reform initiatives. When prime agricultural land was up for redistribution, the Department encountered opposition and this served to delay the process of transfer (Mayende, 2004).

The Minister of Rural Development and Land Reform noted in an address to AgriSA that the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform expected organised agriculture to assist in the national effort to absorb the unemployed into the economy. The Minister maintained that broadening participation in the

agricultural sector would contribute to the viability of the economy as a whole, and in this regard, a variety of partnership models as a way of capacitating disadvantaged communities are available. These include public ownership working in conjunction with private entities, for example leases allowing municipalities to delegate new investments and the operation of infrastructure facilities to the private sector (Malan & Van Rooyen, 2010: 124).

While acknowledging that the land reform programme is moving slow (though the government is looking at ways of speeding it up), this study also aims to determine the impact of the programme where land has been transferred. It argues that attaining the transfer target of 30% is not good enough if the quality of life of the beneficiaries does not change for the better. According to Lahiff (2008: 1), the land reform programme has been criticised for its inability to deliver on its objectives of historical redress, the redistribution of wealth and opportunities and the promotion of economic growth. Lahiff points to a perception that where land has been redistributed, this has not in fact resulted in improvements in agricultural productivity or an improvement in the livelihoods of the beneficiaries. A goal of this study is to assess whether, measured against the stated objectives of the various land reform projects, the quality of life of their beneficiaries has improved.

The implementation of the land reform programme has not been without challenges. Some people have complained that progress is too slow, while others have complained of a lack of post-settlement support from the state. Newspaper headlines on the land restitution programme have highlighted conflicting views (Ghyoot, 2008: 180). The next section examines some of the challenges facing land reform.

### **3.6 Challenges Facing Land Reform in South Africa**

A number of challenges facing the land reform programme have been noted by international bodies. The International Crisis Group (ICG) (Department of Land Affairs, Land News, 2004) has warned that South Africa was facing rising tension over land issues and needed to speedily address the question of inequitable land ownership to avoid farm invasions and land-grabs as was

experienced in Zimbabwe. It was further argued that government, farmers and donors could take practical steps to reduce landlessness and mitigate the poverty cycle by accelerating the current land reform programme (Department of Land Affairs, Land News, 2004: 7).

### **3.6.1 Legislation and policies**

Marumo (2010: 1) has observed that 90% of land reform projects have experienced financial constraints, necessitating drastic recapitalisation. During the 2005 Land Summit, the then Minister of the Land Affairs, Ms Thoko Didiza, indicated that the market alone could not redistribute land of acceptable quality from the rich to the poor at the scale and price needed. The Minister identified the following challenges:

- The willing-seller willing-buyer principle needed to be modified by a recognition of the failure of a purely market-driven model for land acquisition.
- Restrictions on the subdivision of land were difficult to manage and enforce where beneficiaries were numerous.
- The available legislation regulated evictions rather than providing protection of the rights of people living and working on commercial farms.
- The neglect of rural areas and the almost exclusive focus on urban areas further impoverished the rural and agrarian economy even as it increased pressure on the capacity of urban and peri-urban land to support human settlement (Report of the National Land Summit, 2005: 34).

Carter (no date: 6) argues that efforts to improve land access for poor rural households should proceed within the context of policies designed to alleviate rural poverty. This suggests that current policies need to be revisited. A further point to consider is that legal processes are inherently adversarial, slow, and expensive compared to agreements around a common vision and negotiated

solutions that work better, faster and place less strain on relations between the negotiating parties (Report of the National Land Summit, July 2005: 34).

### **3.6.2 Slow pace of the Land Reform Programme**

A major criticism of the land reform programme is the slow pace of implementation (Aliber, 2005; Ghyoot, 2008; Greenberg, 2010; Lahiff, 2008). According to Ghyoot (2008: 180), by 2005, only 3% of agricultural land had been transferred to Black farmers. This was worrying considering that the programme started before 2005. It was even more worrying in the light of the fact that Government's target was to transfer at least 30% of the land by 2014. The LPM warned that South Africa's landless people "will react destructively" if the government failed to keep its promises. The LPM Vice-chairperson (Patrick Mojapelo) called upon Government not to make promises which it could not fulfil as that would simply provoke popular anger. The Vice-chairperson said:

"We want the government to fulfil its promises, because if it fails, our people will react destructively" (Department of Land Affairs, Land News, 2004: 8).

This view is supported by Cousins (no date: 3) who warns of the possibility of an explosive situation similar to Zimbabwe's as a result of the slow pace of the programme's roll-out. Lahiff (2005: 3) notes the frustration of the landless resulting from the willing-seller willing-buyer model, which shifts onto their shoulders the onus of identifying land for sale and entering into negotiations with the landowner. Lahiff points out that the state does not take responsibility for identifying land on behalf of the landless or initiating talks with landowners. This is a weakness of current land reform policy and points to a need to re-assess the legislative and regulatory framework. This sentiment is shared by Hall (2004 in May and Lahiff, 2007: 286) who observes that in the first ten years of democracy, fewer than 45 White-owned farms were transferred to people of colour. The widespread dissatisfaction with the slow pace of land reform and its unwieldy mechanisms is likely to give rise to outbursts of popular anger.

The table below summarises the performance of the land redistribution programme from 2004 to 2010:

Period	Targeted hectares	Actual performance	Performance percentage against annual target
2009-2010	656 000	239 990	37
2008-2009	2 500 000 (later reduced to 608,060)	446 600	73
2007-2008	2 500 000	345 442	14
2006-2007	2 500 000	258 890	10
2005-2006	113 675	152 445	135
2004-2005	72 687	120 128	165

**Table 3.3:** Land redistributed to various beneficiaries

(Source: Table developed by author from information sourced from the Department of Land Affairs/Department of Rural Development and Land Reform Annual Reports 2005-2010).

Analysis of the above table indicates that the department struggled to meet its annual targets. The better performance during the financial years 2005/2006 and 2004/2005 is nothing to celebrate, as the target itself was very low, perhaps as a result of insufficient budgets. More worrying is the fact that when the targets set for the individual years are added up, the total falls short of the overall target set for the 2014 deadline. In its 2008-2011 Strategic Plan, the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform acknowledged that it would have to redistribute at least 2.4 million hectares of land per year in order to achieve the 30% target by 2014 (Department of Land Affairs, Strategic Plan, 2008-2011). The above table reveals, however, that the Department has never redistributed in excess of 1 million hectares per year. This raises the question of whether the legislative and regulatory framework adopted by the South African government is a principal cause of the delay in reforming land ownership. If the regulatory framework is not mainly responsible for stalling the process, is it capable of contending with its obstacles? These considerations suggest that a drastic review of land reform policy is needed. It remains to be seen whether the PLAS and the long-awaited Green Paper on Rural Development and Land Reform will bring about a change for the better.

A key question that has been raised is whether the 2014 target will be attained if the programme continues to be implemented at the current pace. Reasons

for the tardy pace of implementation have been mentioned already. The next section examines some of the reasons in more detail.

#### **a) Budgetary Constraints**

The South African government adopted the MBLR model. This choice implied that the state would have at its disposal enough money to pay the market-related prices demanded by the owners. However, the Department charged with responsibility for implementing the programme has never received enough funding, and this has undoubtedly held back progress on its implementation. Groenewald (2004), estimates that the amount of money required for effective land redistribution and restitution under the MBLR model is astronomical - about R2 billion a year. Yet, as Cousins (no date: 3) points out, the land reform budget has been very small, representing approximately 1% of the national budget. According to Ghyoot (2008:181), as early as 2005, the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform indicated that it would not attain the 2014 target owing to limited budgets and insufficient staff. The Department indicated that it needed at least R1.1 billion per year in order to reach its goal, as opposed to the R300 million it was given by National Treasury. According to the Department's Strategic Plan 2009-2012, available budgets would enable it to acquire only 647 125 hectares of land as opposed to the 3.23 million hectares needed annually if the 2014 target was to be achieved. An analysis of the Department's Annual Reports reveals that funds received have never been sufficient to deliver enough land. Lahiff (2002: 45) makes clear how limited budgets have negatively affected the land redistribution programme over the years. Still, while Government had (and has) to make money available for land reform, it is evident, given the numerous claims on its funds, that no budgetary allocations will ever satisfy everybody (Rosenbloom and Kravchuk, 2005: 260).

#### **b) Land Acquisition Model**

Also contributing to the slow pace of the reform process is the market-based approach to land reform. Aliber (2005) argues that according to NGOs, left-leaning academics and Government, the market-based approach is largely responsible for the slow progress of land reform. Aliber cites Glen Thomas

(former Director-General of the Department) as blaming foreign landowners and resistant White farmers for the slow pace of reform. This view is shared by Pan-African Capital Holdings' Chief Executive, Iraj Abedian, who observes that the willing-seller willing-buyer model has been bogged down by litigation and by inefficiencies in implementation (Khuzwayo & Pressly, 2010: 01). The slow pace of reform has in some instances forced the state to resort to expropriation. For example, in KwaZulu-Natal in the year 2005, there was a deadlock between the state and landowners over land valuations. The Chief Land Claims Commissioner indicated that the state valued the land in question at R8.9 million, while the landowners demanded R12.6 million. The result of the standoff was that the Land Claims Commission began expropriation proceedings against 60 northern KwaZulu-Natal farms. According to Jenvey (2005), this served as a warning to farmers that the government considered them greedy.

The discussions during the National Land Summit of 2005 provided an indication of how some segments of South African civil society felt about the pace of land reform. Stakeholders condemned the "willing-buyer willing-seller" approach for being too expensive and delay-prone, because it took a lot of the state's funds and worse, it came out that the state happens to be the only buyer. Boyler, Govender and Mulder (2005, cited in Ghyoot, 2008: 183) report that stakeholders unanimously supported the dropping of the principle of negotiation underpinning the willing-buyer willing-seller model in favour of expropriation; some went further, calling for a Zimbabwe-style solution. One tended to agree with the Minister who broached the idea of the state assuming powers to further regulate the land market. Otherwise, there would be no progress, as landowners customarily pitch their prices so high that they cannot easily be bought out. Regulation, as proposed by the Minister, could bring positive spin-offs for the land reform process.

Arguing that the willing-seller willing-buyer model has not worked (Khutswayo & Pressly, 2010: 01), South African President Jacob Zuma has affirmed that the government needs to investigate less costly land acquisition alternatives by engaging all stakeholders. In line with the kinds of considerations that are

usually raised when the policy performance of public administrative agencies is analysed (Rosenbloom & Kravchuk, 2005: 353), the President called for an analysis on the part of the public administration to determine how the willing-seller willing-buyer approach had performed. Were the objectives being met? And if not, why not? Does the legislative and regulatory framework applied in land reform need to be re-assessed? The questions are supported by the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform, which suggested that there might be a need for a law to establish price ceilings in respect of land earmarked for reform purposes (Strategic Plan, Department of Rural Development and Land Reform, 2009-2012: 17).

### **c) Land Availability**

Another reason advanced for the slow pace of the reform programme is the insufficient amount of agricultural land available for redistribution. According to Pienaar and du Plessis (2006: 199), land availability is a critical challenge. The authors maintain that, as of 2006, only 3.3 million hectares of land had been acquired for redistribution. Yet to reach the 2014 target, Government would have to transfer at least 1.9 million hectares per year. Besides the shortage of good agricultural land, the model being used for acquiring land was only aggravating the problem, involving as it did numerous complex and time-consuming negotiations that were often uncoordinated (Lahiff, 2002: 46).

### **3.6.3 Capacity of the public service**

For any policy or programme to succeed, resources must be available to implement it. A critical resource is the human one. Cousins (no date: 3) argues that the capacity and calibre of the staff in the relevant Departments was an element critical to the success of the land reform programme, and he points to weaknesses such as an insufficient number of staff members, inadequately trained staff and high staff turnover. Section 195(1)(i) of the Constitution states very clearly with reference to public administration that the criteria the state has to meet in its employment policies are those of objectivity, fairness and the individual's ability (Republic of South Africa, 1996). This would ensure that public administration was constituted of officials able to perform their duties in

an effective and accountable way. According to Aliber (2005), the land redistribution staff at the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform were diligent and hard working – but overstretched. If land redistribution is to succeed, Aliber (2005) argues, there needs to be a dramatic increase in the number of staff who are responsible not just for implementation, but also for monitoring, evaluation and aftercare service. As a result of the pressure on its own human capital, the Department has resorted to using consultants who, Greenberg (2009) argues, have developed “unsustainable Rolls Royce business plans”. These are the business plans are difficult to implement by the beneficiaries. They are just full of concepts and the terminology that makes difficult for the land reform beneficiaries to comprehend what they mean.

Effective public administration calls for the marshalling of both human and material resources in order to achieve the objectives of public policy (Coetzee, 1991: 18). So if the government is serious about implementing its land reform programme successfully, it will have to make the necessary resources (human, financial and infrastructural) available and put in place the appropriate structures and institutions.

#### **3.6.4 Capacity of the new farmers**

Another impediment to the success of land reform, it is argued by Ghyoot (2008), is that the majority of the new farmers who have benefited from the programme lack the skills and financial resources required to run sustainable farming operations (Ghyoot, 2008: 182). The new farmers are those farmers who have acquired agricultural land through the land reform programme. They are new to the agricultural industry and lack expertise and other required resources. According to the National African Farmers Union (2005: 3, cited in Ghyoot, 2008: 182), emerging farmers are unable to produce competitively because they are not part of the agricultural value chain. In this context, the role of extension officers in providing training and ongoing mentorship becomes critical (Ghyoot, 2008: 184). The fact that in Limpopo Province, for example, the Department of Agriculture was negotiating to reallocate redistributed land to other farmers because of the original beneficiaries' lack of

productivity bears witness to the negative impact that a want of capacity and know-how can have on the prospects of the programme's success (Pienaar & du Plessis, 2006: 199).

According to Aliber (2005), capacity can be built by ensuring that the Department obtains sufficient funds and is thereafter able to administer them effectively. At the same time, strategies for making land cheaper to acquire and for raising new sources of funding can be put in place - for example, trying to persuade landowners to sell their land below the market value; expropriation (or the threat of it); and a land tax. Irrespective of the approach adopted, competent administrators and managers would have to be placed in key positions and granted the authority to do their job unhindered (Hughes, 2003: 46).

### **3.7 Lack of Access to Credit and Other Support Systems**

Prior to the advent of democracy, the Agricultural Credit Board (ACB) and Land Bank were important institutions in land programmes. Whites were allocated state land by the ACB, which was located within the then Department of Agriculture. The ACB sold and rented out state land to full-time farmers whose applications were successful, and the Land Bank provided funding. White commercial farmers were also given massive financial support, and this contributed to high levels of productivity (Cousins, no date: 1).

The ACB was replaced in 2006 by the Micro Agricultural Financial Institutions of South Africa (MAFISA). MAFISA was established as a vehicle to provide micro and retail agricultural financial services and to facilitate access to public sector programmes (Greenberg, 2010: 20). That apartheid financial institutions supporting white agriculture performed well is beyond doubt (hence the well-developed White commercial agricultural sector). The question to be asked is whether the introduction of the new programme and the restructuring of the Land Bank resulted in the beneficiaries of the land reform programme being able to access credit to run their businesses. A recent report by Greenberg (2010: 19) argues that the restructuring of the Land Bank brought in its wake problems that inhibited resource-poor farmers' access to credit (not to speak of

farmers who obtained credit but have been unable to pay back their loans). This gives cause for concern as the transformation of the ACB and the Land Bank was intended to benefit the beneficiaries of land reform, not to leave them worse off. Greenberg's research suggests that the initiatives introduced by the government have not produced the intended and desired outcomes.

Hattingh and Matshabaphala (2004: 415) hold that underestimating the importance of credit facilities and advice systems could lead to the collapse of land reform. This prospect has prompted the establishment of several institutions which offer nationally accredited agricultural education and training courses (AET) in support of the various land reform programmes. The Agricultural Sector Education and Training Authority (AgriSETA) was set up in 1998 to provide work-based functional training in agriculture. The Comprehensive Agricultural Support Programme (CASP) was established in 2003 to support newly-settled farmers. It is an organ of state set up to assist in six areas: on-farm and off-farm infrastructure; advisory and regulatory services; capacity building; information and training; market development; and financial services.

### **3.8 Civil Society Organisations' Views on Land Reform**

Several civil society organisations have raised issues and expressed opinions relating to the implementation of land reform in South Africa. The Association for Community and Rural Advancement (ANCRA) has called for a review of all legislation in 2008 pertaining to land and agrarian reform. The organisation argued during the National Land Summit of 2005 that the market-driven 'willing-seller willing-buyer' approach should be scrapped. This view is supported by the NLC which has also called for a moratorium on land sales to foreigners, a moratorium on all evictions from farms, amendment of the Extension of Security of Tenure Act, 62 of 1997 and also a land audit (Report of the National Land Summit, July 2005: 46). This bears upon the issue discussed above, of the extent to which legislation and regulation assist land reform. According to the NLC (2005), the current legislation seems to be impeding the speedy implementation of the land reform programme.

The LPM is of the opinion that the 'willing-buyer willing-seller' principle constitutes the main obstacle to successful land reform. Not unexpectedly, the organisation is critical of the slow pace of land and agrarian reform and has in 2005 called for the convening of another People's Land Summit where landless people would be able to participate in the implementation of the programmes that affected them. It has also called for a land audit and a moratorium on evictions (Report of the National Land Summit, July 2005: 47).

The International Centre for Research on Women (ICRW) argues that women's lack of property ownership contributes to their low social status and poverty. It further argues for housing and land rights for women, and for their access to credit, technical information and other inputs (Walker, 2009: 470). These issues are linked to a broader one: whether land reform programmes contribute in practice to poverty reduction and community development.

The key question of whether the major stakeholders are satisfied with the pace of land reform is readily answered. They would like the 'willing-buyer willing-seller' model to be scrapped and to be replaced by alternative approaches capable of fast-tracking land and agrarian reform. They point in addition to the lack of post-settlement support, noting the critical importance of this component to the programme's sustainability (Report on the National Land Summit, 2005: 47). The Rural Action Committee (TRAC) has likewise complained that the support afforded in the post-transfer period has been minimal, uncoordinated and sporadic (Williams & Van Zyl, 2008: 6). Lahiff (2008: 1) adds that land reform beneficiaries have been unable either to increase land productivity or generate meaningful revenue. The Umhlanga Rural Services (URS) notes that institutions like the Agricultural Research Council, the Land Bank, the National Agricultural Marketing Council and the Provincial Department of Agriculture are still learning how to deal with special cases and the needs of emerging farmers. This bears upon an issue to which the present study ascribes considerable importance, namely: evaluating the role of public administration processes and functions in land reform. Bozeman and Straussman (no date, cited in Hughes, 2003: 137) argue that among other required strategies in public administration, there have to be detailed action

plans with clear objectives and well-designed effective methods of implementation. These seem to be lacking in respect of the land reform projects in South Africa.

Maluleke (2006: 10) has noted that the land reform programme has been criticised by both the South African and the international media. The programme is viewed as moving slowly, making it difficult for the media to believe that the timeframe for the redistribution and restitution of land can be adhered to. Nonetheless, the CRLR is currently making strides in addressing the daunting task of ensuring that historically disadvantaged people get back the land that is rightfully theirs.

While there is much talk about the slow pace of land reform, there are also other fundamental questions about the current land reform strategy that need to be addressed. The South African Council of Churches (SACC) has argued in 2004 that it is not enough to talk about speeding up land reform without asking where it is headed. The SACC maintains that the land reform strategy should include maximum participation on the part of beneficiaries (Department of Land Affairs, Land News, 2004: 7) and suggests that its success should be measured in terms of how extensively and sustainably it advances the cause of justice and the restoration of human dignity by enabling people to secure their livelihoods and regain control of their lives (Department of Land Affairs, Land News, 2004: 7). Like the position of the ICRW, that of the SACC bears on the key question of whether and to what extent land reform contributes to community development and poverty reduction.

The SACC's observations also touch on post-settlement strategies, a crucial aspect of the land reform programme that is examined in greater detail below. Unless well-planned aftercare is available, it is unlikely that the beneficiaries of land reform will be able in practice to secure their livelihoods and regain their dignity and control of their lives.

### **3.9 Land Reform and Post-settlement Implementation Support**

Cousins (no date: 2) maintains that support for new owners is crucial if they are to become successful and productive users of the land. Wixley (cited in Tyrer, 2006: 62) affirms that successful land reform requires appropriate post-transfer support, access to stable long-term markets and innovative financing to overcome the repayment difficulties associated with highly geared new entrants. Post-settlement support includes farming inputs, marketing, training, ongoing mentorship through the active engagement of agricultural extension officers (Helfrich, 2006, cited in Ghyoot, 2008: 183) and access to credit. According to Lahiff (2008:37), the beneficiaries of land reform have experienced inadequate post-settlement support since the programme started. Lahiff and Cousins (2005: 129) show how the general neglect of post-transfer support and failure to integrate land reform with rural development have limited its contribution to improved livelihoods. Other studies have focused on the difficulties beneficiaries have faced in accessing produce markets, credit, training, extension advice, transport, and ploughing services (Lahiff 2008: 37). To make matters worse, there has been a lack of coordination and communication between key departments such as the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform and the Department of Housing and Water Affairs, and between them and municipality structures. Hall (2004) indicates that additional impediment has been the unwillingness of the highly developed agribusiness sector to bring the new farmers into the ambit of its operations (Hall, 2004). It is thus no surprise that official surveys and independent researchers agree that a major reason for the limited improvement in the livelihoods and incomes of land reform beneficiaries has been the lack of post-settlement support (Hall 2004: 58). These failures bear out the fears voiced by the former Governor of the South African Reserve Bank, Tito Mboweni, who warned that merely transferring productive land to the new farmers without giving them adequate prior training and decent post-settlement support and access to credit would lead to its becoming less productive, thereby destroying job opportunities (Farmers' Weekly, 2005:12).

Even so, there are a few bright spots. The South African Cane Growers' Association, believing that land transfer on its own would not pave the way to success, has taken care to provide the necessary support structures, training programmes and skills development for the new farmers (Tyrer, 2006: 62). The association has developed an assimilation programme designed to introduce new farmers to the various support services available in the sugar industry, thereby filling a gap that existed at the time of transfer. Here we have an example of the role that the private sector and other stakeholders can play in rescuing valuable land from collapse. The Cane Growers' Association was in this instance, strategically located and better placed to deal with the challenges than other institutions. It understood that responsibility for the success of the land reform programme could not rest with the state alone. While the state was aware of the necessity of post-settlement support, it was hamstrung by a lack of skilled human capital. The Canegrowers' Association filled this gap of assisting the state in capacitating the land reform beneficiaries. As a private sector institution in the cane industry, the institution provides training and other support services to the new farmers.

### **3.10 The Impact of the Land Redistribution Programme**

The rationale behind any governmental programme is to promote development by addressing issues of poverty, unemployment and inequality, the principal impediments to development (Seers (1972) cited in Martinussen, 1997: 294). The RDP declares the land reform programme to be central and critical to rural development (ANC, 1994: 13). Lahiff (no date: 8) argues, however, that the linkage between land reform and poverty alleviation is not very explicit in official policy pronouncements. A further criticism advanced by Lahiff (2002: 48) is that the land reform programme was never properly integrated with other processes of rural development. As a result, the land reform programme has not, in Lahiff's view, been able to transform land ownership, alleviate poverty, or revitalise the economy in the rural areas.

The renaming of the Department of Land Affairs as the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform in 2008 was perhaps meant to demonstrate

the government's commitment to land reform and to achieving its intended benefits. So it is fair to subject the government's track record to scrutiny by asking some key questions. Has the land reform programme in fact promoted development, particularly in the rural areas? Has the quality of life of the beneficiaries changed for the better? Has the programme created employment and reduced poverty? Do more people have access to productive resources as a result of the programme, in particular its land redistribution component? In addressing these questions, this enquiry takes the position that the success of the land reform programme should be measured not so much in quantitative terms (that is, the amount of land redistributed and restituted), but in terms of its impact on the quality of life of the beneficiaries.

As Hattingh and Matshabaphala (2004: 405) note, land reform has the potential to contribute to sustainable livelihoods, and thereby improve the quality of life and bring social equity nearer. This observation is supported by Lahiff (no date: 12), who maintains that land redistribution is capable of contributing towards higher incomes and employment creation. If not well-planned and well-managed, however, it is unlikely to yield the desired results. Unfortunately, that seems to be the way things have turned out in South Africa.

Aliber (2005) states that land redistribution projects do not seem to have succeeded in stimulating the rural economy. This is worrying, as the primary goal of such projects is to reduce poverty. Ghyoot (2008: 182) maintains that a large number of businesses owned by new farmers have failed and the productive capacity of most farms purchased for new farmers has been destroyed. For example, a farm in Tzaneen that was purchased for R1.4 million had to be sold back later for less than 8% of the purchase price. According to Du Toit (2004:ii, cited in Ghyoot, 2008: 182), an investigation has revealed that most of the farms acquired under the restitution programme were not properly maintained, let alone improved. Instead, the new owners just drew salaries without increasing production. A shocking revelation by Donaldson (2005, cited in Ghyoot, 2008: 182) is that of 177 projects audited in the North West Province, the majority were found to be not producing or actually in decline. Only a few farms were registering surpluses above subsistence.

The finding by the Land Claims Commissioner for Gauteng and the North West Province that more than 10 years after democracy, some land redistribution beneficiaries had not shown any return is far from reassuring (Ghyoot, 2008: 184). According to the “Quality of Life Survey” conducted by the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform in 1999, only 16% of the land reform projects surveyed provided their beneficiaries with sustainable revenue (May and Roberts, 2000:14, cited in Lahiff, no date: 35). A follow up study conducted in 2002 found that there was no production in most projects, while some of the beneficiaries were actually worse off than they had been prior to participating in the programme (Ahmed et al., 2003:xxvi, cited in Lahiff, no date: 35). This is very worrying because participants in the land redistribution programme signed up in the expectation that it would be the route to an improvement in their quality of life. Lahiff (no date: 33) arrives at the conclusion that most land reform projects have been characterised by underutilisation of the land, insufficient support from various sectors and minimal impact on the livelihoods of the participants. One of the reasons cited for these failures is the lack of an effective government monitoring and evaluation system geared to identifying the impediments to a project’s success.

Despite the disappointments, several success stories have been recorded by the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform. One such example is the Balemi ba Lekoa Agricultural Project in Klipkop, a beneficiary of PLAS. According to the participants, not only were they assisted to access the land, but they also received aftercare support from the Gauteng Provincial Land Reform Office (Raliwedza, 2010: 20). This instance will perhaps serve as an encouragement to the many projects that are still struggling.

### **3.11 The Role of the State in Land and Agrarian Reform**

The state has a critical and central role to play in land reform. This is so because land reform is not only about the technicalities of implementation and financial support, but is also a political issue (Buthelezi, 2008: 7) and on the political front, South Africa’s approach to land reform has been a very cautious one, aimed at preserving large-scale commercial agriculture at the expense of

small-scale subsistence agriculture (Lahiff, 2002: 38). Government has sought to fit emerging Black farmers into the existing agricultural sector (Lahiff, 2002: 38), as opposed to transforming the sector to bring it into line with the new political dispensation. Given the government's policy of preserving white-dominated commercial agriculture, what measures can – and should – it take to redress the inequities of the past and implement robust agrarian reform in support of the previously disadvantaged?

This question raises the issue of whether South Africa should have adopted a state-led reform process rather than the market-led option. Or, should it perhaps have tried to come up with a hybrid of the two? Under a market-led reform process, progress has not been satisfactory, as discussed above, hence the call by various stakeholders for the state to re-examine its models.

The example that follows highlights the importance of the Government's role in the land reform scene. The then Minister of Rural Development and Land Reform, Thoko Didiza, together with members of the NCOP have in the year 2005, visited various agricultural and land reform projects at KwaMhlanga in Mpumalanga Province. One of the projects visited was the Vlaklaagte Transbridge broiler project, which begun in 1995 and funded through the Commonage Programme. The project was meant to alleviate poverty and unemployment among young people in the area and employed ten people who were assisted by an Agricultural Development Technician. It was designed to compete with bigger businesses in the area but was unable to do so because it lacked the necessary equipment for the slaughtering of the chickens. For the project to succeed, it was necessary for the government to step in and assist with the acquisition of capital equipment. Moving from the micro to the macro level, the question arises as to whether the South African public service system is geared to such interventions, considering that the land reform model is meant to be market-driven.

Interaction during the Minister's visit to Vlaklaagte brought something else to light. The project was run on leased land but the workers thought they were the landowners. Accordingly, they saw no reason to pay rent or honour the lease agreements. Furthermore, they did not understand that farms could only be

bought for them provided they did well in economic terms (Land News 2005/ncop visit.doc). So, here we have a disconnect between the actual situation and what the workers believed the situation to be. Clearly, the authorities (ultimately the government) had not done enough to make the participants aware of key features of the project they were involved in.

Another area in which a blurring of responsibilities has had unwelcome consequences is the role of municipality in land-related matters. The fact that the issue of land reform is a national competence seems to have led to municipalities not actively participating in land reform matters. But if land reform is to succeed, municipality has to play a role. To date, most municipalities are not set up to do so. Hence, when beneficiaries of a land reform project approach their local municipality for assistance, they are usually redirected to the nearest Land Reform District Office. Most municipalities do not even know about the Commonage Programme, which directly affects them. But blame is not all on one side. One has to ask whether the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform has done enough to bring municipalities on board since land reform started.

The issue of the role of municipality was raised during the National Land Summit and the following recommendations were made that municipality must:

- be active in land and agrarian reform, research local needs, release municipal land, and assist in identifying land to meet the needs of the land reform programme. It must provide services and support to beneficiaries
- incorporate both land and agrarian reform in every IDP. Local economic development (LED) should include land and agrarian reform
- permit poor people and emerging farmers to use municipal commonage (National Land Summit, 2005: 18)

In summary, it is clear that the current approach has not yielded the intended and desired results, hence the moves on the part of government to re-examine the current model of land acquisition and delivery. The development of the much talked-about Green Paper on Land Reform is a pointer to the major

policy overhaul the government is planning in order to fast-track the land reform programme.

### **3.12 Conclusion**

With the demise of apartheid, the South African government adopted a land reform programme as one of the strategies for redressing the imbalances of the past. The consequence of apartheid was that the majority of the population had limited access to land ownership. Informed by the spirit of the Freedom Charter and the RDP, Section 25 of South Africa's Constitution lays the basis for the land reform process which is targeted at redistributing 30% of White-owned agricultural land to the previously disadvantaged by 2014.

This chapter has shown that notwithstanding the efforts made to bring about the programme's success, the results have been mixed at best. The pace of reform has been very slow, attributable to the government's adoption of the MBLR model whose pivot is the willing-buyer willing-seller principle. This approach left the state at the mercy of landowners. In the period leading up to the 2005 Land Summit, there was an outcry from civil society organisations for the state to re-examine the MBLR approach and to consider replacing it with a proactive – even, if necessary, coercive – state-led model. Various strategies such as the PLAS and the LRAD, described above, have been adopted in an effort to fast track land reform and ensure the viability of projects. It remains to be seen whether these interventions will improve delivery and bring the 2014 target within reach.

It has also been shown that even where land has been formally redistributed, the outcomes have not always – or even often - been positive. The reasons for this include an insufficient number of well-trained Departmental staff, which has compromised the ability of the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform to properly implement and monitor its own projects. Compounding the difficulties has been the inadequacy of post-settlement support, caused among other things, by the ineffectiveness of the extension services which have been plagued by poor management and lack of appropriate training. The effect of

these and other shortcomings has been a failure to build the capacity of the new farmers.

The argument made in this chapter lends strong support to the conclusion that the policy of market-led land reform needs to be revisited urgently as it seems to be failing the people of South Africa. The state has a critical role to play in land and agrarian reform. This is one area of policy that cannot be left to the vagaries of the marketplace alone.

Land reform is not only a South African challenge, but a worldwide one. The next chapter focuses on international perspectives on land reform. Its objective is to examine how other countries have approached this issue and to discover whether their experience holds lessons for South Africa.

## **Chapter 4**

# **International Perspective: First and Second World Perspectives on Land Reform**

### **4.1 Introduction**

Land reform is or has been a critical issue in many countries, and one which governments commonly have to deal with. There have been a number of different approaches to the problem, with widely varying outcomes – some hailed as success stories, while others have caused irreparable social and economic harm to their respective populations.

This chapter assesses the experiences of land reform in Namibia, Ethiopia, China, Thailand, India, Brazil and Zimbabwe, selected as countries where land reform has been accompanied to a greater or lesser degree by an element of conflict over the years, mostly due to the influence of Western nations.

### **4.2 Land Reform in China**

China's land reform programme was characterised by various challenges, including inadequate supply of land, unequal land ownership and high levels of tenancy. This section looks at some of the challenges are discussed hereunder.

#### **4.2.1 Historical perspectives and land-related challenges**

There are many reasons why governments undertake land reform, either comprehensively or selectively, to address some aspect of developmental concern. China's land reform process was triggered by a number factors among which were a shrinking supply of farmland, an unequal distribution of land ownership and high levels of tenancy (Ding & Knaap, 2003; Griffin, Khan & Ickowitz, 2001: 37).

In 1930, landlords in China owned at least 30% of all land. By 1955, the figure had fallen to 2.1%, with most land having been confiscated by the state and redistributed to poor households. The full history of land reform in modern China is more complicated, with commentators such as Bramall (2004: 107)

speaking of two major land reform processes that China has undergone. In the first reform, land owned by private people (landlords, temples and lineages) was expropriated by the state and redistributed to poor and middle-class peasants and then in 1955-1956 this family-based land distribution was replaced by collective farming. The second period of reform, which was implemented from 1981–1983, in effect restored land to individual farmers in a response to the ineffectiveness and inefficiency of the collective farms (Bramall, 2004: 108).

An additional factor was the dwindling supply of farmland resulting from population growth. According to Ding and Knaap (2003) China's population increased from 962 million to 1.2 billion between 1978 and 1995, an increase of more than 30% in just 17 years. This had serious implications both for China's ability to feed itself and for global food security (Ding & Knaap, 2003).

The land reform process of the 1980s was a means to:

- Improve land management and land use efficiency
- Increase government revenue
- Coordinate urban and rural development (Ding, 2001: 4)

The land reform programme changed the structures of the institutions that governed land and housing and it also restructured the urban development process.

#### **4.2.2 Land reform model**

Prior to the establishment of the People's Republic of China, land could be privately owned and exchanged between parties, but by the end of the Cultural Revolution in 1976 all land was owned by collectives or the state. Private ownership rights disappeared and land transactions were banned. The second phase of land reform in China, beginning in the mid-1980s, was typical of land reform in ex-socialist countries (which present-day China has effectively become) in its focus on privatisation and de-collectivisation of properties,

abandoning communal farming (Griffin, Khan & Ickowitz, 2001:1).<sup>6</sup> Communal farming was abandoned because of the catastrophic Chinese famine of 1958-1961 where millions of people died of starvation. Ashton et al., (1984: 614) maintains that 23 million people died, Coale (in Ashton et al., 1984: 615) estimates it at 27 million, Harms (1996: 2) estimates the death between 16.5 million and 40 million, while Chang and Wen (1997: 1) estimate it at 30 million deaths. The situation was terrible as people were beaten to death for stealing grain from the fields. During this time people ate everything including leaves, roots, poisonous berries, leather, unripe crops and earth before succumbing (Walden: 2010).

The causes of the Chinese Famine are viewed differently by various scholars. Chang and Wen, (1997: 1) cite the reduction in sown acreage, the high grain procurement, disregarding allocation of resources to agriculture by the state and most important the forced collectivization. Goldstone (1995: 39) maintains that the famine was due firstly to diversion of labour from agriculture into inefficient backyard industries. Secondly, the cultivation of grain on all cultivated land irrespective of suitability or cost contributed to the famine as woodlands were destroyed and there was massive erosion. These were Mao Zedong's land reform policies that failed China. Perry (2007: 4) agrees with Goldstone that the introduction of rural communes which resulted in chronic poverty for millions of rural communities in China was the result of Mao Zedong's administration. This is linked with the horrendous Great Leap famine. This is the period when many people in China died of starvation. Millions of people were left without food. Some reports indicated that there was also

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<sup>6</sup> This is in direct contrast to the position in South Africa, where the 1996 Communal Property Associations Act encourages communalisation or collectivisation. If Griffin, Khan and Ickowitz are correct, the South African government's communalising land reform needs to be examined to establish whether the system has truly led to agricultural growth and a reduction in the poverty levels of the beneficiaries.

cannibalism, because the grain was finished and the state could not produce enough to feed its people. The situation changed during Deng Xiaoping's administration where centrally controlled communal farming was abandoned in favour of private land controlled by peasant families. This resulted in increased productivity and diligent use of the farmland.

In a pilot project, state-owned land was leased to foreign companies in Shenzhen, a Specialised Economic Development Zone, and in 1988, China amended its constitution to allow transactions in land through leasing. Corporations could lease land from the government through an up-front payment of land-use fees for an extended period (40-70 years). In this model, China made a distinction between land ownership and land-use rights. The state continued to own the land, while corporations and households could enjoy user rights (Ding, 2005: 3). The separation of ownership and user rights ensured that:

- As the owners of the land, the state would be able to minimise social and political conflicts
- Market mechanisms could help to guide the allocation of scarce resources
- Local government would get revenue from land-use fees (Ding, 2005: 3)

Ding and Knaap (2003 ) maintain that this system of land-use rights has had a positive impact on the economy of China, has enhanced the fiscal capacity of local government and has accelerated the advancement of market socialism. Griffin et al (2001: 37) maintain that China is one of five Asian countries that successfully transformed their agrarian structures after the Second World War: the others being Japan, Taiwan, South Korea and Vietnam.

If, as has been claimed by Griffin et al (2001), that the Chinese model successfully benefited beneficiaries, local government and the economy, does this mean that the same could be said for the South African model? The main difference between the two countries is that in South Africa land is privately owned. Where the state is the landowner, it has better control of the process. For example, China targeted corporations and not only poor households (as

South Africa is doing), hence the economic benefit. Is the South African land reform model having a multiplier effect? In other words, can beneficiaries increase production or even produce on the properties that have been given to them in order to benefit themselves and the country? Can they pay their rates to the municipalities as per the provisions of the Municipal Property Rates Act (as the land owners)? Does the model encourage equity? These are some of the questions that are critical when assessing the success of a land reform programme. What implications would this have for the South African model of communal or collective agriculture as per the provisions of the Communal Property Associations Act of 1996?

Considering that South Africa has itself taken a step in the direction of communalisation or collectivisation in the 1996 Communal Property Associations Act, it is obviously relevant for South Africans to ask what prompted China's "cyclical movement" from peasant holdings to collective farming and back to peasant farming. According to Griffin et al (2001: 49), although the original redistribution of land to individual farmers was successful, the subsequent move to collectivisation was based on the assumption that individual holdings would be inefficient because the farms would be too small for modern, mechanised agricultural production. It was also argued that individual holdings would lead to unequal land ownership because rich peasants would take over land owned by the poor. Unfortunately, the intended outcomes did not materialise; the new system turned out to be disastrously inefficient (Griffin et al 2001: 50). The decision was made to "decollectivise", reverting to family-based agriculture (Brandt et al., 2002: 67). Land owned by the state was redistributed to individual households, but with the state retaining ownership of the land, while households had secure rights to use it (Griffin, Khan & Ickowitz, 2001: 50).

Ding and Knaap (2003) describe this history as a move from a state-controlled system to a system strongly influenced by market forces. South Africa's model is also market-led, and the crucial question is whether it benefits from this model, as countries like China do. The difference in China is that the state owns the land and "privatises" only land-use rights. In South Africa, ownership

is in private hands and the challenge is how the state can play a central role in shaping the reform process when it does not own the land.

#### **4.2.3 Merits**

According to Chigora (no date: 30), “land reform builds the prosperity of a country from the bottom rather than from the top as those at the grassroots own the means of production”. The key concepts are equity, access to economic resources and poverty reduction. This study aims to determine whether the South African land reform model is addressing such issues.

In China the radical land reform programme did not slow the pace of agricultural growth, and resulted in a “highly egalitarian distribution of rural incomes” (Griffin, Khan and Ickowitz, 2001: 49). The authors maintain that production increased by 5.2% a year during the period 1950-1957. This is supported by Brandt et al. (2002: 67), who indicate that between 1978 and 1984, the gross value of agricultural output increased at an annual rate of 7.6%. It is also argued that the reforms of the 1950s led to an egalitarian distribution of rural income - addressing rural poverty. Brandt, Huang, Li, and Rozelle (2001: 89) also indicate that the land was allocated in an egalitarian way, reflecting the size and composition of a household.

China’s redistributive land reform programme was complemented by other measures to promote rural development, among which were improved access to inputs, liberalisation of output markets and improved terms of trade in agriculture (Griffin et al, 2001: 50). This led to major changes in economic policy, moving from a planned economy to a more market-oriented system. According to Griffin et al, (2001: 51), these measures resulted in an improvement in the performance of the agricultural sector, leading to higher growth rates and living standards in the entire country. An important lesson to be learnt is that China took an integrated approach and “overhauled” the entire economic system in order to support the land reform programme. Has South Africa followed suit, or have the emerging farmers been left to play in the big league with the established farmers without changing the economic system?

In China, local officials played a major role in land allocation and in deciding how households were to use it. The central government, through the Ministry of Agriculture, introduced a policy of land allocation to run over 15 years. The government initiated contracts on land holdings, and local leaders were tasked with redistributing land amongst households and helped coordinate land redistribution.

#### **4.2.4 Demerits**

Griffin et al (2001: 48) maintain that the Chinese government was unable to make collective agriculture efficient; hence the return to a system of egalitarian peasant farming.

One contributory factor was deaths of population during the Chinese famine of 1958-1961 where between 16.5 million and 40 million people died. The communal approach was abandoned by the rural communities who preferred the individual farming.

Some problems in the reform programme indicated by Ding (2003; 2005: 6) can be listed as follows:

- State-owned enterprises could still get land through administrative channels, causing price distortions and large losses of municipality revenue (not paying user fees);
- Government officials were tempted to lease as much land as possible for short-term gain; and
- There was insufficient government capacity to capture rental increases owing to the number of properties that had to be administered. In some instances, there were disputes between village groups and villages about the ownership of land.

Government officials were faced with challenges relating to the conversion of land for non-agricultural purposes. In addition, the value of both commercial and residential land was rising, and this frustrated officials (Brandt et al., 2002: 73). Rather than fees being set through a competitive

process, they were set by the administration which might result in overcharging or a loss.

### **4.3 Land Reform in Zimbabwe**

Zimbabwe, like South Africa and Namibia, has a history characterised by land expropriation which pushed the indigenous black population into the unfertile reserves. This was as a result of colonialism and race-based minority rule. Of late, the Zimbabwean land reform has been characterised by land invasions as a way of improving access to land. This section looks at the historical perspective, and the evolution of land reform in Zimbabwe.

#### **4.3.1 Historical perspectives and land-related challenges**

Like most African countries, Zimbabwe suffered a period of colonisation, which in that country led to British settlers making up less than 2% of the seizing more than 75% of the best arable land. More than 98% of the Black population was confined to less than 24% of the land. British settlers also seized more than 250 000 cattle without any compensation (African Renaissance, 2006: 47). Before the land invasions that began in the late 1990s and the Fast Track Land Reform, less than 10% of the Zimbabwean population owned land (Chigora, no date: 84), with a consequent impact on economic development. Mdlongwa (1998: 1) maintains that before independence in 1980, the then Rhodesian Government exacerbated landlessness and fuelled the guerrilla war. After independence, Zimbabwe's estimated 6 million Blacks continued to live on land that was not suitable for agriculture while 4 500 White commercial farmers, multinational industries and churches controlled the fertile parts of the country (Naldi, 1993: 585). White minority control of land and agricultural markets was protected and enforced by the Land Apportionment Act of 1931, the Maize Control Act and the Land Husbandry Act of 1951 which confined the majority Black population to areas with poor soil and low, erratic rainfall (UNDP, 1998 cited in Chigora no date: 84).

Mayavo (2002: 54) and Rugege (2009: 235) record that Africans were dispossessed of their fertile land and moved to dry, barren land with poor

rainfall, known as “reserves”, while Whites occupied fertile land. Chigora (no date: 81) observes that blocking access to land that would raise their participation in the economy and change their lives effectively marginalised the Black population in Zimbabwe. Legislative measures had much to do with creating this state of affairs, which resembled the position in South Africa – although the proportions of Black land ownership to White land ownership differed between the two countries.

In 1980, following lengthy negotiations, the British and American governments both undertook to fund Zimbabwe’s land reform programme after independence. The funding was provided until 1997, when the new British government led by Tony Blair refused to continue honouring the agreement (African Renaissance, 2006:48). In 1997/1998, impatient with the slow pace of land reform, communities began to move onto unutilised portions of farms (African Renaissance, 2006: 49).

The land crisis in Zimbabwe has been described as “dashed hopes and expectations of liberation” (Edigheji, 2000 in Tsheola, no date: 8). Liberation from colonial rule in 1980 raised Black people’s expectations of a better future. One such expectation was that they would enjoy access to productive land that they could use to commercial advantage. The promise of land was a key incentive in the Zimbabwean liberation struggle (Peters and Malan, 2000 in Tsheola, no date: 8). Unfortunately, the imbalance in land holding did not change, despite election promises. The land that was re-distributed did not benefit the poor and landless, but instead African large-scale commercial farmers and the politically-connected (Bush & Szeftel, 2000 in Obioha & Molapo, 2007: 97). As a result, the landless remain land short and unable to practice subsistence farming and this impacted negatively on Zimbabwe’s economy (Obioha & Odumosu, 2002 in Obioha & Molapo, 2007: 97).

South Africa and Zimbabwe share some common denominators in relation to the land question and the process of redress, among these being the long drawn-out timescale, and denationalisation of the indigenous populations in a fundamentally racist process (Letsoalo, 1994 in Tsheola, no date: 11). The dispossession of African agrarian communities, whose livelihoods were entirely

based on their close interaction with land, amounted to national destruction, disempowerment and immiseration (Nafziger, 1988; Levin and Weiner, 1997; Ramutsindela, 1998 in Tsheola, no date: 11).

#### **4.3.2 Policy framework**

According to Naldi (1993: 585), the Land Tenure Act of 1969, promulgated four years after Rhodesia's unilateral declaration of independence in 1965, made it possible for Whites to acquire half of the country's agricultural land. This caused great disparities in land possession between indigenous Blacks and White settlers. On attainment of independence in 1980, the Zimbabwean government opted for the willing-seller willing-buyer policy. However, this did not deliver the required objectives (Moyo, 2004: 6), being too slow and depleting the allocated funds. As already noted, the initial key funder, the United Kingdom, subsequently withheld its support for the land reform initiative, alleging that the programme had failed to recognise fundamental property rights and poverty issues (Mdlongwa, 1998: 2).

In 2000, the Zimbabwean government amended its constitution to pay full compensation for land acquired for resettlement. The Fast Track Resettlement Programme introduced at this time called for 'one farmer, one farm' regardless of race or creed (African Renaissance, 2006: 50) and was geared towards addressing community development and poverty alleviation. Farms identified for resettlement included:

- derelict land
- underutilised land
- land owned by absentee landlords
- land from farmers with more than one farm or with oversized farms
- land adjacent to communal areas (African Renaissance, 2006: 49; Rugege 2009: 256).

This policy approach is supply-driven, in that the Zimbabwean government identified and acquired land for resettlement purposes (Rugege 2009: 256).

There was very clear insistence in the policy that no one committed to farming would be left without land while commercial farmers who refused to have their oversized farms divided up and shared with others, lost their farms.

### **4.3.3 MERITS**

The Fast Track Land Reform Programme policy yielded good results and by 2006 more than 220 000 families had received farming land. White commercial farmers who agreed to have their oversized farms subdivided continued to coexist with the new Black farmers (African Renaissance, 2006: 51). The programme was made a state priority, particularly with regard to human resources, and a large number of officials were appointed to oversee its implementation. Regular workshops took place to capacitate these officials, in which they were briefed on critical issues pertaining to land. With backing from high-ranking officials in the Ministry of Land and Agriculture, a support system was set up aligned with the ruling ZANU (PF)<sup>7</sup> political party. Policy was also formulated regarding foreign farm workers to ensure that local Zimbabweans were given priority in land allocation.

Insofar as land was allocated to the poor and the marginalised, the land reform can be seen as a positive and appropriate response on the part of the Zimbabwean government. New farmers were also provided with supplementary resources in the form of seed packs, fertilizers, chemicals, and other tillage necessities, together with a variety of extension services (African Renaissance, 2006: 51). For delivery of the stepped-up extension services, the Ministry of Land and Agriculture recruited additional human capital and gave them intensified training on agricultural issues. A lot of resources were channelled into this training, with supplementary capacity-building input from tertiary institutions.

### **4.3.4 DEMERITS**

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<sup>7</sup> Zimbabwe African National Union (Patriotic Front)

The land reform policy angered the British Government to such an extent that they mobilised sanctions against it, accusing the Zimbabwean government of violating human rights, the rule of law and the principles of democracy (African Renaissance, 2006: 52). This put the Zimbabwean government under severe pressure in terms of economic development, and in 2003, Zimbabwe withdrew from the Commonwealth (African Renaissance, 2006: 53). In effect, the Zimbabwean government's policy of assisting its disadvantaged people to acquire farms ruined its relations with Western countries and cut off the support it needed from them.

In carrying out the resettlement programme the Zimbabwean government also sought to ensure that production was not negatively affected, and in this respect, the programme had serious shortcomings. In the hands of the occupants, most farms reverted to subsistence level. This led to a decline in production that affected the national economy and caused an outflow of refugees to neighbouring countries, such as, South Africa to search for greener pastures.

Zimbabwe's Land Acquisition Act empowered the state to acquire farms for land resettlement, but no consideration was given to the fate of farm workers on the targeted farms, flatly ignoring the provisions of the Labour Relations Act of 1985 and 1996 which tied workers to the acquisition of an enterprise (Mayavo, 2002: 55). The most badly affected were foreign workers, as they literally had nowhere to go. In the overall toll suffered by farm workers, some 3 000 were displaced from their homes, 26 were killed, and 16 000 were victims of assault or rape (National Employment Council 2000 cited in Mayavo, 2002: 56). While the acquisition of farms was intended to give farms to the landless, farm workers were displaced. This defeated the admirable cause of ensuring that Black people who did not have access to land acquired it. Workers should not be displaced when farms change hands. In public administration the emphasis is on coordinating the separate activities which are geared towards achieving set objectives (Du Toit & Van Der Waldt, 2009: 16). In Zimbabwe, it appears that there was a focus on just one side of the coin. The farm workers were made to suffer instead of benefiting. Most of them

were displaced, particularly those from the foreign countries. The farms that were repossessed through the Fast Track Land Reform were not allocated to the farm workers *per se*, but to people connected to politicians. The displacement that the foreign farm workers suffered showed bias in the land reform. Those that were not Zimbabweans were left out without land.

It should be understood that this land reform programme was carried out in the name of politics. Politicians decided that it should happen, irrespective of the repercussions. The public servants that applied the programme were subjected to too much pressure as they were expected to deliver within a short space of time.

The Fast Track Land Resettlement Programme in Zimbabwe led to recriminations against the farming population. White farmers and their workers were attacked. In some incidents, farm workers attacked and assaulted those who came to occupy the farms. Women, children, and the elderly were common victims (Daily News 2000 cited in Mayavo, 2002: 57). The land reform policy therefore, had negative and unintended consequences.

There were also numerous disputes regarding expropriation of private farms. Many of these disputes were resolved outside of Zimbabwean borders, particularly in cases where disputants were nationals of European states (Chokuda, 2009: 753). Disputes of whatever level of gravity plainly exemplify the kind of disruption that can – sometimes acutely – subvert land reform processes. The level of contestation in Zimbabwe also indicates an insufficiency of competent dispute resolution mechanisms; wasteful of both time and money, it signals unacceptably poor public management (see Du Toit & Van Der Waldt, 2009: 106).

#### **4.4 Land Reform in Namibia**

Like in many countries, land reform is an important political and economic topic in Namibia. This is mainly due to the dispossessions that took place in the country. The Namibian land reform consists of two main programmes namely

the resettlement and the transfer of commercial land. This section looks at the history and the policy framework of land reform in Namibia. It further assesses the advantages and disadvantages of the approach adopted by Namibia.

#### **4.4.1 Historical perspectives and land-related challenges**

During the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Namibia was a German colony (van Donge, Eiseb & Mosimane, 2005: 3), and the country's colonial history accounts for a skewed distribution of land, where approximately 40% of the land, which includes commercial, surveyed and fenced land, is in the hands of the White minority. In addition, 40% of the Namibian population live in the northern part of the country which constitutes about 7% of the total land area. The history of land policies in Namibia is very similar to that of South Africa under the apartheid ideology and was implemented in 1962 by the Odendaal Commission. This is evidenced by the figures given that the white minority occupied 40% of the commercially viable land, while 40% of the Namibian population occupies 7% of the area. These are figures obtained in the northern part of Namibia and an indication of the disparities that existed in terms of the land allocation in Namibia.

#### **4.4.2 Policy framework for land reform**

The South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) which came to power in 1990, introduced a policy of market-led land reform implemented through the willing-buyer willing-seller approach. An agreement was reached that historical claims would not be entertained; because of the difficulty in establishing the exact historical rights of the Herero people (Harring & Odendaal, 2002, in van Donge, Eiseb & Mosimane, 2005: 4). The policy was meant to facilitate claims related to land that had been expropriated by the Germans and also compensation related to genocide attempts by the colonisers. Namibian policy on resolving land issues is similar to that of South Africa.

Article 16 of the Namibian Constitution guarantees the right to property, which includes land, and there is provision for both expropriation and compensation. The Agricultural (Commercial) Land Reform Act of 1995, Act 6 of 1995 sets out the procedures for land reform and provides for the acquisition of land and its

reallocation to Namibian citizens who have been socially, economically, and educationally sidelined.

The specific case of communal area farmers in Namibia is addressed in the Nature Conservation Amendment Act of 1996, which determines land rights for communal farmers similar to those that pertain to private land. The Act also provides for communal conservancies. Once the relevant Minister declares a conservancy in terms of the Act, rights are acquired to manage and use game farms to benefit from wildlife (Massyn, 2007: 381).

#### **4.4.3 Merits**

The Namibian government has shown commitment to purchasing land for the dispossessed by budgeting N\$50 million per year and in its establishment of the Land Acquisition and Development Fund to assist in the purchase and development of land. Funding from the German Embassy facilitates the land reform process in Namibia, supplementing the budget allocated for this purpose by the government:

Germany has recognised that there is a political need for land reform in Namibia. The funds are intended to assist the government's efforts to fully implement its programme (Irene News in Department of Land Affairs, Land News, August 2003: 29).

Besides purchasing farms for the dispossessed, the government has also applied an expropriation policy which targeted farms amounting to 1 268 011 ha that belong to absent foreign landlords (Turkish press. Com cited in Department of Land Affairs, Land News, Oct / Nov 2004: 35). Without the necessary budget, it would be difficult to provide a high standard of service in achieving programme goals (Dent, Chandler & Barry, 2004: 194).

The aim of government intervention in land reform for communal farmers was to transform their status by endowing them with communal rights that would enhance their participation in the national economy, one example being the right to manage and benefit from wildlife conservancies (Massyn, 2007: 383).

Game farming is perhaps a somewhat unusual form of economic activity, but one which may nonetheless offer a potentially useful object lesson for land reform stakeholders in other countries (like South Africa) that have large areas of land for rural development, and for donors such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and well-endowed NGOs.

Implementation of the Namibian land reform policy by the national government was spearheaded by the Ministry of Land, Resettlement and Rehabilitation. The powers of land administration were transferred from the traditional authorities to land boards and a process was begun of redistributing White-owned land to Black recipients. As part of this undertaking, the Affirmative Action Loans Scheme (AALS), set in place in 1992, provided disadvantaged groups with subsidised credit to buy farms from Namibians of European descent, and there was also further support from the Agribank parastatal. Particular attention was paid to capacity building in law and surveying and special funding was allocated for the planning and coordination of the process.

#### **4.4.4 Demerits**

The Namibian experience casts doubt on the practicality and viability of the willing-seller willing-buyer approach, with government having insufficient funds and unable to find sufficient land on offer for purchase and resettlement. For people wanting land, the whole process is slow and frustrating (Irene News in Department of Land Affairs, Land News, 2004: 28). The government in Namibia found itself overwhelmed by the public demand for agricultural land, and a situation was reached where farm workers were being dumped by their former employers on the side of the road with their families and belongings (New Africa, 2004: 30). Overall, a combination of inflated land prices and lack of agriculturally productive land slowed the redistribution process to a point where frustrated farm workers threatened to take action against White farm owners, accusing the government minister of completely ignoring their jointly agreed deadline, and pressing for a Zimbabwe-style land invasion.

## **4.5 Ethiopia's Land Reform**

The majority of rural residents in developing countries depend on land as their primary means of production. It is used to generate a livelihood for their families. As a result, the size of the land that a family owns influences the quality of their life as it determines their income. It is on this basis that land policies are a crucial and sensitive part of the overall development strategy for promoting economic growth and poverty alleviation. The following section explores land reform in Ethiopia, looking at the history of Ethiopia's land policy and some of the critical issues of the land policy framework.

### **4.5.1 Historical perspectives and land-related challenges**

In 1975, the Ethiopian military government introduced its Public Ownership of Rural Lands Proclamation No. 31 of 1975, the long title of which was "A Proclamation to Provide for the Public Ownership of Rural Lands". The purpose of the Proclamation was to nationalise all the land in the country, with a special focus on the creation of peasant associations. In terms of the measure, land was declared to be the "collective property" of the Ethiopian people, and no landlord would receive money for any land that he or she might presently own (Ottaway, 1977: 81).

The Ethiopian government also introduced a land titling scheme to enable women to acquire titles on pieces of land. Jane Doran (2011 in Independent.ie, 04/10/2011: 01) reiterated that the land titling scheme that was introduced between 2003 and 2007 helped women to own land. She further reports on a woman who proudly received the land registration certificate which was formerly issued to the husband. This serves as an indication of the policy shift since the 1970s.

### **4.5.2 Policy framework**

Ethiopia has a controversial tenure system, introduced by the former military government, in terms of which all property belongs to the state and is equally apportioned to farmers who can neither sell it nor leave it unused. As the rural population grows, plots have to be redistributed, which means that the

available plots become smaller. This does little or nothing to reduce poverty. Although the policy supposedly gives farmers access to an equal share of plots, the plots yield insufficient produce to feed the farmer's family. The system consequently limits agricultural production to subsistence farming, with no surpluses for the market. There is no encouragement of commercial practices that could boost the economy, nor does the state provide any support to farmers (Haileselassie & Panos Features Staff, 2004).

Following negotiations between the World Bank and the government, preparations have been made in some regions to issue tenure-security certificates to farmers as a way of guaranteeing long-term security. Farmers would also be allowed to subsequently trade their plots. The problem is that, this would require the constitution to be amended, and some experts fear that poor farmers might end up losing their land, which is their only means of survival (Haileselassie & Panos Features Staff, 2004).

#### **4.5.3 Merits**

The land reform in Ethiopia had its own challenges. The challenges seemed manageable because there were merits in the land policy.

a) All property belongs to the state. This affords every citizen an opportunity to have access to land as a resource. Because the state owns the land, it is in a better position to implement its land reform policy, although in countries such as South Africa and Zimbabwe experience indicates that where the state relies on the market to make land available, the pace of redistribution is normally slow.

b) The Ethiopian policy provides equal access to plots for farming. In theory, this should help to reduce poverty. In fact, plots enable many residents to have a piece of land for farming. Those that are interested to farm, will have access to an area to grow grain. That is the reason poverty will reduce when many gain access to a piece of land.

c) Institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund are involved in the programme, and this would assist in funding land reform

programmes. The institutions are capacitated with human and financial capital. The Ethiopia land reform programme might have fewer challenges because these institutions are capable of monitoring and evaluating programmes they are involved with.

#### **4.5.4 Demerits**

- The equal share of plots that people receive confines them to the level of subsistence farming, because the plots are barely large enough for them to produce sufficient food for their families, let alone supply the markets with their surplus. The policy fails to encourage commercial practices that would boost the economy.
- A further weakness of the policy, according to Ottaway (1977: 79), is that the Minister of Land Reform cannot provide guidelines for land distribution because this is a matter that the peasant associations are responsible for. This kind of administrative disjunction is clearly one to be avoided by other countries implementing land reform programmes, such as South Africa.
- Due to lack of security on land ownership, farmers are reluctant to invest in order to improve fertility. They do not even prevent soil erosion by making terraces or planting trees. This serves to show another weakness of the policy.
- Agricultural production is limited to subsistence farming with no surplus for the market. This also has a detrimental impact on growing the country's economy.
- All property belongs to the state and is apportioned to farmers who can either sell or leave it unused. This is another flaw that negatively impacts on the country's growth, because the state may not have sufficient capacity to manage the utilisation of the properties.

## **4.6 Thailand's Land Programme**

Land accessibility is at the core of the livelihoods of poor rural communities. Land is their means of providing subsistence and generating income. Possession of land helps a family's labour to be put to productive use, and provides a safety net for family members working elsewhere in temporary or insecure employment. This became evident in Thailand in 1997, when the economy collapsed and urban unemployment rose (Office of Agricultural Economics, 1999 in Land Research Action Network, 2003: 2). This section explores Thailand's land reform programme. It assesses the land reform policy framework as well as the merits and demerits of the programme.

### **4.6.1 Historical perspective and land-related challenges**

Agriculture continues to be a vital sector of the Thai economy, employing 54% of the workforce. The poorest sectors in Thailand are rural households without land or with very meagre land assets (Office of Agricultural Economics, 1999 in Land Research Action Network, 2003: 2).

Although the experience of Thailand's rural population differs from that of their counterparts in South Africa, what they have in common is that lack of access to land contributes to their poverty. Although most citizens do have employment in the agricultural sector, their income is 15 times lower than that of workers in other sectors.

An independent Thai research organisation, The Land Institute Foundation, has estimated that in the 1960s, over 30% of the 5.5 million households in the agricultural sector did not have enough land to make a living. A subsequent increase in the number of people without land was due not to an increase in population but to the impact of land reform. During the 1960s, the Thai government introduced reforms that resulted in 50% of the country's land being classified as national forest, even though the majority of rural households used some of this land for agricultural production – a clear example of how legislation can have serious repercussions for a country's inhabitants (Quan, 2000 in Land Research Action Network, 2003).

#### **4.6.2 Policy framework**

The World Bank's Land Titling Programme in Thailand is one example of an approach that has been followed in a number of countries. Its success has been hailed as a model to be followed in other countries in the region (such as Indonesia and the Philippines), and around the world. The main aim of this programme was to speed up the process of issuing titles to rightful landholders (Mrcadmin, 2003: 1). The successes are examined here, with emphasis on the impact of the programme on the alleviation of poverty in Northern Thailand.

The land sharing policy practised in the dense urban slums of Bangkok, Thailand, calls for the division of a landowner's plot into two parts. One part is leased or sold to the slum dweller community already living on the plot for resettlement of its members in newly organised and improved housing under conditions acceptable to them. The other part of the plot, no longer occupied by the former slum dwellers, is then available to the landowner for appropriate development according to his or her choice. Acceptance of the land sharing is dependent on recognition of its legitimacy by both the landowner and the slum authority (Payne, 2000: 284). The policy embraces the principle of urban densification, and its success depends on participation by the community in decision-making and negotiations, and maximum cross-subsidies.

The Thailand Land Titling Programme was implemented by establishing a Project Steering Committee. The Permanent Secretary to the Thailand Ministry of Interior chaired this committee. The Secretary's responsibility was to formulate and supervise the administrative aspects of the policy. The Director of the Department of Lands undertook the supervision and monitoring of the project implementation. The project was intended to enhance land tenure security and investor confidence on the part of landlords. It was also found that a legal title to land was required to obtain credit from lending institutions.

The institutional processes included a partnership with the Australian Government to provide funding through a grant. The grant was meant to train all Department of Lands staff (Payne, 2000). In addition, the grant offered tertiary study scholarships to staff as a way of capacitating them. The

Department of Lands has employed 46 long-term advisors and 31 short-term advisors to ensure that the Land Titling Programme was capacitated.

One of the key questions that this research wishes to establish is the extent to which the legislative framework tried to address the land reform question. In this case, the policy tried to afford the slum communities a portion of land for settlement, though the process was tedious, because beneficiaries had to wait too long to be assisted. Only those who could endure the lengthy negotiations would stand to benefit (Payne, 2000: 284). One important aspect of this policy was the cross-subsidy provided by the authorities to ensure the success of this programme. This would appear to be similar to South Africa's Extension of Security of Tenure Act, 62 of 1997. The Act requested current landowners to provide a portion of their farms to labourers that have been residing on the farm for a lengthy period of time. Unfortunately, this Act was unpopular with the landowners, who did not want to share their properties with labourers. The state would provide subsidy/grant to assist the occupants to purchase the property.

#### **4.6.3 Merits**

The Land Titling Programme had a successful impact on poverty alleviation in Northern Thailand, because it helped to resolve land tenure insecurity and improve service delivery. The land sharing policy was introduced to enable both landowners and slum communities to share the land. This policy encourages participation by community members in decision-making and negotiations. The policy calls for maximum cross subsidisation to ensure success. This enables the poor to afford to buy land.

#### **4.6.4 Demerits**

The policy seems to benefit the well-established communities who are willing to endure lengthy negotiations, while slum communities that live under desperate conditions might not be that patient. Some families are forced to vacate their plots before reaching any land sharing agreement. At times, they leave without compensation. The disadvantage of the land sharing policy is that it applies only in specific cases. It requires some families, either with or

without compensation, to leave the plot before the land sharing agreement is reached (Payne, 2000: 284)

As this study assesses the extent to which the legislative and regulatory framework addresses land reform, in this case, the legislation seem to be failing to address the land redistribution programme. The reason might be that slum communities may end up giving up before the negotiations are complete.

This policy will not promote community development and poverty reduction, as the slum communities, who are the primary target, will not benefit because of their desperation for a place to live. A principle of public administration is that policy should be designed in a way that maximises the likelihood of successful implementation (Rosenbloom and Kravchuk, 2005: 359).

## **4.7 Land Reform in India**

Faced by challenges of inequality with regard to access to land, where the majority of land was concentrated in the hands of the few, India engaged in a robust land reform programme to redress the situation. The section below looks at some of the historical perspectives and land related challenges, and how India tried to address the land access challenge. It further provides a summary of the successes and challenges of the reform programme.

### **4.7.1 Historical perspective and land-related challenges**

India, like many other countries, has experienced challenges relating to land reform. The focus for this study has been on the rural parts of the country, where tribal people depend on common land, and landless labourers are under threat of displacement (Seetharaman, 2002: 439)

Deshpande (no date: 2) describes India's land policy has having assumed four phases after independence:

- i The abolition of Intermediary, tenancy reform, and land redistribution by using land ceiling 1950-1972.
- ii Shifting the focus to bring uncultivated land under cultivation.

- iii Increasing focus on water and soil conservation. This led to the establishment of the Waste Land Development Agency to focus on wasteland and degraded land.
- iv Debates on the necessity to continue with land legislation and improve the land legislation and improve the land revenue administration, 1995 onwards (Deshpande, no date:16 and Deininger, Jin and Nagarajan, 2009: 501)

The first three phases of land reform were intended to impact on poverty alleviation. The fourth phase impacted on environmental management.

The old caste system has negatively impacted on social mobility and landlessness. The large scale programmes were introduced to redistribute land to both the poor and landless Besley and Burgess (2000 in Deininger et al, 2009: 497). However, the programme had numerous dimensions, because the mandate was with the individual states than the central government of India. This caused difficulties in the implementation of the programme.

#### **4.7.2 Policy framework**

In India, women were deprived of property rights. The Hindu Succession Act of 1956 gave property rights to daughters, the widow or the mother of a property owner who was dying. In the 1990s there was call for the states to make provision of gender rights in the Land Ceiling Act of 1961. This Act was passed by all states in India and was meant to achieve the following:

- reduce the maximum land holdings
- acquire the surplus land
- distribute the acquired land to the landless and marginal farmers (Food and Agricultural Organisation, no date: 1)

The legislation was full of gaps that favoured big landholders. Most states delayed the implementation of the land ceiling legislation to allow big landholders to manipulate the land records. In 1970, only 50% of one million hectares of agricultural land was distributed to the rural poor, not the landless.

The other land policy introduced was The National Agricultural Policy which focused on the policy of land leasing. This policy intended to liberalise the leasing legislation, increase land ceilings and allow contract farming (Deshpande, no date: 19).

India applied MBLRs to implement its land reform programme. Questions have been raised as to whether these structural adjustments in land reform policies could be replaced by poverty alleviation programmes (Singh, 2000:361), since the structural adjustments do not seem to contribute towards poverty reduction.

As land reform impacts are captured, it has emerged that there are discrepancies in contemporary rural India. These impacts affect small farmers in search of viable technology, landless labourers on the verge of being displaced, tribal people depending on common land, small farmers leasing land, tillers in dry zones and displaced farmers (Seetharaman, 2002, 439).

The Land Redistribution Act in Haryana embraced the willing-buyer willing-seller principle, and had limited success. To illustrate how negatively the legislation has impacted on land reform, land expropriation became an option. In Haryana, economically and politically influential landowners impeded the success of land reform. Likewise, in South Africa, the farmer unions are very influential regarding the course of land reform.

In Punjab, land reform impacted on the tenants, revealing how capitalist agriculture affects tenants. Both small and marginal farmers found it difficult to survive and eventually leased their land to medium and big farmers. These lease arrangements were not on a crop-sharing basis but stipulated cash rent (Thapliyal, 2002: 301). This process is called 'reverse tenancy', because small and marginal farmers are unable to succeed in input intensive and mechanised farming. They are then deprived of the benefits of capitalist agriculture. This situation demonstrates that land reform in Punjab did not contribute to community development and poverty reduction. In essence, it deprived both small and medium farmers who support large families of a livelihood and left some families without food altogether.

Relating this to the key question of the extent to which legislative and regulations have addressed land reform, this is obviously not the case. The reason is that MLRs are legislative policies that could not benefit intended land reform beneficiaries, such as tenants and agricultural labourers. Land redistribution should be supplemented by access to technology, credit and other basic minimum services on the part of the poor. This would make agriculture a viable livelihood (Hanumantha, 2001: 593). There was no access to credit, technology and in particular basic services in India.

#### **4.7.3 Merits**

India's land reform policy includes the provision of loans as credit to emerging farmers. These loans and credit started with the MBLR which was based on the structural adjustments land reform policy. The emerging farmers were encouraged to apply for these loans to assist in farm production. Unfortunately interest on these loans has increased to the extent that borrowers are unable to repay their loans and their property is repossessed. As a result, land reform objectives are not achieved. However, emerging farmers who are able to manage their finances correctly are able to survive.

The Land Ceiling Act of 1961 was meant to provide the landless and the poor with an opportunity to possess land. Its intention was to reduce the size of large land holdings so that others could have a share.

#### **4.7.4 Demerits**

The Land Ceiling Act of 1961 was full of gaps in its implementation. The big land holders manipulated the land records in most states. The results were that only 50% of the one million hectares was distributed by the 1970. The landless people were left to suffer the result of disparity in land possession.

Legislation in India does not seem to have addressed crucial issues of land reform. Instead, what has happened is that marginalised people have been displaced. Indian land redistribution policy has been a failure because although beneficiaries may have gained access to land, but production has either fallen or ground to a complete halt. It has been argued that if the situation is not

attended to there will be in the long run be social injustice and economic disaster (Seetharaman, 2002, 439).

Land reform has not had much impact on peasants in the Indian states of Punjab and Haryana (two Indian states (Thapliyal, 2001: 299). It has not contributed to community development or poverty reduction. The situation in Haryana is similar to that in South Africa, where legislation impedes land reform.

From a public administration perspective, such a policy needs to be reviewed and be subjected to outcome analysis. This entails examining the extent to which the policy changed its course and thereby failed to achieve its intended objectives (Rosenbloom and Kravchuk, 2005: 354).

Land reform did not achieve the desired goals, and impacted very little on agricultural development and poverty reduction in these states. The relevant state departments seem to have learnt a lesson from these developments. It is noted that land reform is an unfinished agenda in India as well as in many developing countries. There are views that MLR (Market land reform) might not benefit tenants, agricultural labourers and small landowners (Hanumantha, 2001: 592).

## **4.8 Land Reform in Brazil**

The approach to the Brazilian land reform was characterised by the need to reduce poverty by improving access to land. This was due to the fact that the majority of land was owned by a few individuals. This section discusses how Brazil reformed its land ownership in order to improve land acquisition, redistribution and titling. The section further looks at the merits and the challenges of the policy reform process.

### **4.8.1 Historical perspectives and land-related challenges**

During the Da Silva administration of 2002, land reform and poverty reduction were important issues. At that time, 1% of Brazilian population owned 50% of all productive land (Blij, Muller & Winklerprins, 2010: 187; Langevin & Rosset, 1997: 3). This is arable land, controlled by the big landowners who kept it

fallow over the years. They changed from livestock raising to soy production or ploughing sugarcane to prevent agrarian land reform (Fernandes, 2009: 93).

In Brazil, as in most parts of Latin America, a high proportion of land, is under the control of transnational corporations (Fernandes, 2006 cited in Fernandes 2009: 92). Brazil, too, like other Latin American countries such as Paraguay and Bolivia, has witnessed struggles on the part of peasant movements waging a struggle for agrarian reform and in strong opposition to transnational agribusiness. The most widely known and most active of these peasant movements in Brazil is the Landless Workers' Movement (Fernandes 2009: 97; Nazarro, 2000 cited in Wolford, 2003: 500). Founded in 1985, this peasant movement organised a big march to the country's capital, Brasilia, in 1996, with people walking for two months to reach the city. This indicated that the landless rural workers' struggle had become a major issue (Langevin & Rosset, 1997: 1).

Rural workers began to invade unused land when they realised the inability of the government to apply land reform according to the provisions of Brazil's 1988 Constitution (Teo'filo & Garcia, 2003 cited in Cullen, Alger & Rambaldi, 2005: 748). The Landless Workers Movement organised over 230 000 land occupations and supervised the setting up of 1 200 land reform settlements. The movement also initiated the establishment of legislation for land redistribution and the formulation of small family farming (Wolford, 2003: 500).

#### **4.8.2 Policy framework**

Brazilian land reform policies go back to 1964 with the promulgation of the Federal Land Statute that aimed to replace the traditional latifundia (large land holdings) with minifundia (tiny land holdings). These systems were flawed in that poor, illiterate farmers had been unable to register properties. There were no titles to the properties and this prevented the farmers from borrowing money against the property (Bryant, 1998: 192). Too many hectares of land were underutilised in the latifundium-minifundium system (Bryant, 1998: 194).

Brazil introduced the Programme of Development of Integrated Areas of the Northeast, which was intended to increase production, incomes and living

standards for emerging farmers. The programme was approved by the World Bank (Bryant, 1998: 195). In 1985 government launched a National Plan for Agrarian Reform which was meant to improve land acquisition, redistribution and land titling. Eighteen thousand rural families were settled, but very little land was allocated, with only 4 million hectares expropriated out of Brazil's 845 648 300 hectares (Bryant, 1998: 195).

A predominant concern in the 21<sup>st</sup> century has been market-based agrarian reform, which seeks to commercialise the land, remove agrarian reform from politics and switch to a capitalist economy (Ramos Filho, 2008 cited in Fernandes 2009: 93).

#### **4.8.3 Merits**

The land reform settlements created opportunities for innovative approaches. Community leaders developed an interest in agro-forestry and landscape planning, which combined small-scale agriculture and conservation (Cullen, Alger & Rambaldi, 2005: 749). Community members were given training in skills that included managing tree nurseries, identifying seed-bearing trees, planning seed collection programmes and restoring seed viability. In addition, the producer groups received both training and financial support in certifying their products. In Southern Bahia, some environmental groups were sponsored to train land reform communities in agro-forestry, water issues, wildlife and land-use planning (Cullen, Alger & Rambaldi, 2005: 752). Overall, the Brazilian initiatives offer a number of useful examples of cooperation and support which could be followed in South Africa. The Brazilian communities are given an opportunity to combine agriculture and conservation which is not the case in South Africa. In some cases, the communities that are interested in conservation of nurseries and seed-bearing trees are given skills training.

#### **4.8.4 Demerits**

Within the agrarian reform settlements, the ecosystems they had intended to protect unfortunately became degraded as a result of other factors, such as poor administration and lack of adequate expertise in the government. Local community members being introduced to agro-forestry also needed more

farming expertise to fully implement the objectives of the project (Cullen, Alger & Rambaldi, 2005: 749), although mechanisms were put in place to close this gap through the provision of training. There was little land allocated to the communities while about 4 million was expropriated properties. The new system of land allocation did not give the poor and illiterate farmers title deeds to the properties. This had a negative impact on the farmers, development because they could not get loan against their properties.

## **4.9 Conclusion**

The importance of land as an economic resource cannot be overemphasised. Being denied this important resource is one of the major causes of poverty around the world. Numerous studies show that competition for land is a universal phenomenon, irrespective of the history of any particular country. Invariably, wealthy people end up owning the majority of productive land at the expense of the poor. In countries that have been victims of colonisation like Namibia and Zimbabwe, the indigenous people were denied access to land. Even in countries like China, which did not undergo traumatic colonisation, there was a problem of a skewed distribution of land where a few landlords owned most of the land while the peasants that were in the majority had access to a negligible percentage of the land.

This chapter focused on the various experiences that countries at international level have had with regard to land reform. Countries approached the land reform processes in different ways. It is important to note that to address the land equity issue, countries need to adopt robust policies and legislation suited to their own circumstances.

It should be noted that for countries to successfully implement their land reform programmes, they should ensure that more planning is done. This should start with capacity building in human resources. The type of staff that they recruit should be competent to do the work. Staff should be equipped with the relevant skills to enable them to organise their work efficiently. They should be well skilled in terms of organising their activities, because they need to meet set targets. Land issues require constant interaction with stakeholders and officials

need to be equipped to organise the necessary engagement. Public officials face too much pressure from politicians, especially in the departments that deal with land matters.

While countries like China opted to nationalise all the land, other countries left the land in the hands of the private owners and relied on market forces for redistribution. This discussion has illustrated that when the state has control and ownership of the land it is able to control the reform process. This results in improved achievement of the objectives. China is a good example. It adopted a model in which the state retained ownership of the land and allowed corporations to use the land. It clearly delinked ownership from usage. As a result, it could dictate the terms of the use of the land to ensure that its objectives were met. This is one of the challenges that countries like South Africa face, where the focus is on ownership and less on land-use rights. Since land is a very scarce resource, it would be beneficial for countries to focus on land-use rights together with ownership.

It has also emerged that the willing-buyer willing-seller model has contributed to the slow pace of land reform in countries where it was adopted. Countries like Namibia, for example, depleted their budgeted resources for land acquisition. This suggests that governments should look at a model where they have a way of influencing the price while still respecting property rights.

There are numerous lessons to learn from Brazil's land reform programme. The Brazilian model serves as a good example of the importance of partnerships to improve service delivery. NGOs can assist land reform communities with training or capacity building. South Africa's Department of Rural Development and Land Reform can learn from this Brazilian approach.

Besides land reform communities partnering with NGOs, the private sector can also enter into partnerships with land reform communities. The purpose of such partnerships would be to train the communities in management and finances. This could include workshops on how to coordinate daily farming activities and new methods of farming. Such partnerships can be arranged with commercially established farmers. These partnerships can also be introduced at farm level

where a commercially established farmer offers his/her emerging neighbours mentorship. Time frames should be attached to this process. Partnerships could also be introduced at local government level (i.e., municipal level) and at national level. National government should consider developing policies to regulate how these partnerships are administered.

Land reform is a complex and complicated process. This implies that in the design and implementation of land reform policies, there should be constant monitoring and evaluation, in order to identify any gaps and correct such. Both politicians and officials should be able to monitor and evaluate policy. Politicians are best placed because they formulated the laws that lead to the policy design. There should be a team to monitor whether the set policy is capable of meeting its intended objectives. Officials are also capable of monitoring and evaluating the policy, because they implement it through various programmes. They are capable of identifying the gaps that exist within a set policy.

A good policy needs to be formulated through a bottom-up approach, because it is at the grassroots that its merits are going to be visible. The grassroots is where the implementation will be taking place, so why not start there when constituting a new policy? In China for example, as part of the reform process, the country went from peasant farming to collective farming and then back to peasant farming again and this was strongly influenced by the catastrophic famine of 1958-1961. As a result, agricultural production was badly affected by the various changes.

Some of the lessons that were learnt from this comparative study are:

- The success of land reform requires that there be monitoring and evaluation at all levels, particularly the department that is tasked with the responsibility.
- Land redistribution should be complemented with measures such as improved access to inputs. The output markets need to be liberalised and agricultural trade terms need to be improved. This worked successfully in China after the policy change due to the famine. This

approach led to an increase in performance in the agricultural sector, and raised growth rates and living standards throughout the country.

- The application and implementation of the land reform programme should not be to the detriment of other inhabitants. More specifically, property rights need to be respected. Zimbabwe is a case in point where farm workers were displaced when farms were acquired.
- Partnerships should be encouraged between land reform communities and the other stakeholders, such as private businesses, commercial farmers, and NGOs. These partnerships can assist in training and capacity building in the required skills. Brazil has successfully implemented such partnerships.
- Structural adjustments to land reform do not seem to contribute towards poverty reduction, as was the case in India.
- The communal conservancy set up by the Namibian government is something other countries can learn from. This afforded communal farmers the same rights as those on private land. The communal farmers were given an opportunity to acquire and manage game farms so that they can benefit from the wildlife.

The chapter has indicated extensively on how varying countries have struggled with the land policy and its implementation. Various models that countries adopted were discussed as well as the merit and demerits. The next chapter focuses on the review of land reform in Limpopo province.

## **Chapter 5**

### **Review of Land Reform in Limpopo-Mopani District/Greater Letaba Local Municipality**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

The chapter outlines the processes and procedures that were followed by the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform in Limpopo with regard to land reform/redistribution. It examines the way in which the provincial office of the Department deployed its human resources in the execution of land reform, detailing a case study of a typical redistribution project which came about as a partnership between the provincial office and an NGO. The case study exemplifies the support offered to communities by the Limpopo office of the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform in relation to understanding of the land reform policy, and also the role played by the Nkuzi Development Association in capacitating land reform beneficiaries.

#### **5.2 The Mandate of the Provincial Department of Rural Development and Land Reform**

The responsibilities of the provincial office of the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform as a policy implementing agent are outlined in the White Paper on South African Land Policy (1997), which assigns to it the responsibility for ensuring that land reform and land administration services are effectively and speedily delivered. Amongst the processes that the provincial office is tasked with are the following:

- Planning and co-ordinating land reform programmes.  
This is necessary in every public institution, since the success of various activities depends on effective planning and coordination, and various strategies were developed by the provincial office to achieve the set targets (Cloete, 1998: 161).
- Appraising land reform projects and recommending expenditure against budget.

Officers in the provincial office have to initiate potential land reform projects and recommend them to the Minister for approval.

- Facilitating projects.

Through interaction with communities the provincial office is required to initiate and facilitate land reform projects, maintaining the viability of the projects until they are finalised.

- Controlling expenditure.

In line with the governing principles of public administration principles, the provincial is expected to exercise appropriate control to ensure that personnel work effectively and efficiently according to policy and accepted procedures (Cloete, 1998: 225). In particular this means ensuring that the budget allocated to the provincial office is spent effectively and efficiently with full accountability to supervisors.

- Monitoring.

To keep delivery systems on track the provincial office is required to provide continual feedback on the efficiency of the land reform processes and their impact.

- Liaising with provincial and local authorities to secure development and support services.

The provincial office is required to coordinate input by all the relevant stakeholders. These include the Provincial Department of Agriculture, municipalities, traditional authorities, the commercial farming community, and NGOs.

- Communicating information about the land reform programme.

Communities require information about the services and programmes that the Department offers. Providing this information is a key responsibility of the provincial office of Rural Development and Land Reform.

- Providing input into the policy-making process.

As an implementing component of the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform, the provincial office should help to assess whether the land reform policy has substance and whether it has been successful. This will assist in establishing whether the desired impact on communities has been achieved (Anderson, 2000: 202) (White Paper on South African Land Policy, 1997: 102).

The provincial office receives a budget allocation from the national office of the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform. The provincial office is headed by a chief director, assisted by a director, deputy-directors, chief planners, planners and administrative support staff. Through the project officers, memoranda recommending approval of potential projects are prepared for submission to the Minister. This scenario is a reflection of what Behn (2001, cited in Pollitt, 2004: 94) refers to as complete accountability in a public institution, where all individual officers must account to their subordinates, peers and team members.

Mikesell (2011: 73) makes the point that there must also be appropriate accounting and reporting in relation to the allocated budget with fully transparent reporting of these matters. Public officials must account for the spending of financial resources, and, more specifically, officials in the provincial office of the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform must give account of the services they render in the public administration process. Standardised reporting and accounting will make it possible for the impact of their services to be duly assessed.

### **5.3 Implementing Land Reform Processes**

Once the provincial director has identified both the land on offer from the willing seller and the beneficiaries as willing buyers, a project officer from the provincial office is identified to serve as the facilitator or liaison officer between the Department and the potential beneficiaries, and to assist in establishing the suitable legal entity that the beneficiaries will use to hold the property, should the Minister approve. The provincial Department of Agriculture is brought into the project because it will eventually assist in the provision of extension

services. In a public administration context, the said office will be co-ordinating numerous activities and stakeholders centred upon the same complex objective (Cloete, 1998: 178).

Once applications have been received from the potential beneficiaries, numerous processes will follow. A valuation of the property will be done and negotiations will be entered into with the (willing-seller) land owner (Nkuzi Development Association, Annual Report, 2002). The case study outlined in the next section shows how the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform applied its processes and procedures in one particular instance.

#### **5.4 The Case of the Bophelo ke Semphekgo Project**

The *Bophelo Ke Semphekgo*<sup>8</sup> project involved women from villages in the Mokopane area, formerly known as Potgietersrus. They were involved in sewing, gardening and brickmaking projects which had thus far not borne any fruit. In 1997, a steering committee comprised of the chairpersons of the three subprojects applied for their project to be considered in the government's land reform programme.

The project steering committee identified beneficiaries as required by the Department and looked for a potential willing seller in their area. A list of 300 beneficiaries was compiled and submitted to the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform, which allocated a project officer to the project. Executing the requisite public administration processes and procedures, the project officer set in motion associated actions in relation to the project. In addition, the project officer was expected to exercise some level of public control to ensure that the project was conducted according to policy guidelines (Cloete, 1998: 165).

While the beneficiaries were still waiting for a response from the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform, the Nkuzi Development Association, an

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<sup>8</sup> The project name means "Life is a challenge"

NGO, offered them training in project management and financial management. Serving as a reminder that the success of land reform projects should not be seen as purely a government responsibility, the intervention by the Nkuzi Development Association also exemplified good public administration practice in prioritising capacity building and training before any new work was assigned to individuals and in recognising the need for supervisors to identify the training needs of individuals. In this connection, Cloete (1998, 238) and Hughes (2003: 151) stress that management should select, appoint and develop the available workers.

In 1999, the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform responded to the application by calling for a reduction in the number of beneficiaries so that the groups participating in the project would be more manageable and to reduce the possibility of conflict in the project. Although this was a difficult process, because it meant having to decide which of the applicants should be dropped from the project, the project steering committee eventually complied by reducing the number to 80. This indicated that officials had difficulty in presenting alternatives, which corresponds with the kinds of obstacles described by Hughes (2003: 120). Eventually, in 2001, a farm was purchased with fixed assets that included 13 chicken houses.

On transfer of the property, the beneficiaries wasted no time in farming operations on the long-awaited farm. They began with 3 000 chicks raised in the chicken houses until they were ready for sale to the public. In December 2002, they began selling the chickens in earnest, particularly to small and medium enterprises (Nkuzi Development Association, Annual Report, 2002: 5). To judge whether this led to community development and poverty reduction (a question this study sought to answer), it can be noted that 11 members were earning R1231.70 a month each, in line with the Sectoral Wage Determination for Farm Workers determined by the Department of Labour.

The Local Department of Agriculture in Limpopo's Mogalakwena Municipality offered assistance with marketing the project's products. In addition, the Tompi Seleka Agricultural College in Limpopo provided training in piggery management for three project members (Nkuzi Development Association,

Annual Report, 2009: 9). These interventions can be taken as illustrating how land reform projects can and should be assisted, and how other stakeholders can contribute to improve the land reform implementation strategy.

The following points denote lessons that emerge from this case study:

- Government partnership with non-state actors.

The provision by the Nkuzi Development Association of training for land reform beneficiaries is a good example of the way government and non-state actors can combine in the implementation of a land reform programme.

In relation to the research question on the extent to which South African legislation addresses land reform issues, it must, however, be concluded that government could take more initiative to pursue this kind of partnership with NGOs.

- Public administration process of organisation

The project officer allocated by the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform successfully brought together the willing seller, the NGO and the beneficiaries, and through his administrative competence and good planning successfully assisted in reducing the number of beneficiaries from 300 to 80. Linking directly to the research question on evaluation of public administration processes that promote land redistribution objectives, this is a good example of what competent public administration can deliver.

- Share of responsibilities

For positive land reform impact, the Department should share its responsibilities with other (non-state) actors. In the case study, a gap continued in the implementation process for as long as the Department remained reluctant to share responsibilities.

The case study showed that the South African legislative and regulatory framework could be more proactive in encouraging partnerships that government, and in particular the Department of Rural Development and Land

Reform, can enter into in support of land reform. The lesson for policy makers is that a gap exists in accommodating civil society for improvement of the land reform programme.

The generous, but fortuitous offer of training by the Tompi Seleka Agricultural College is another instance of participation by an outside entity that could have been be more proactively recommended by the legislation.

## **5.5 Community Support in Understanding Land Reform in Limpopo**

In Limpopo Province, the Nkuzi Development Association provided information, advice, community facilitation and support to help people understand and exercise their land rights and then access the resources and services they needed for acquisition of redistributed land. The NGO supported communities in all three sub-programmes: land reform implementation (which looked at land claims and redistribution projects); rights of farm dwellers; and promotion of livelihoods helping the beneficiaries to make effective use of the land. What, then, are the lessons that other stakeholders could learn from the efforts of the Nkuzi Development Association? Are there ways in which they can successfully assist the Limpopo Office in land reform?

In the case study, the land redistribution programme focused on ensuring that the beneficiaries received assistance. The sub-programme that looked at the improvement of people's livelihoods showed an understanding that land had to benefit the people and the Nkuzi Development Association came up with a strategy that would ensure the sustainability of the overall project, recognising that provision of land without appropriate support would be fruitless. But where were the other stakeholders? Without this NGO having taken the initiative would the project have got off the ground? Did the provincial office of Rural Development and Land Reform have strategies that would otherwise have sparked interest in such a possibility? The lesson to be drawn would seem to be that policy implementation should actively incorporate community organisations and pressure groups for direct involvement with state agencies

such as the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform (Anderson, 2000: 207).

## **5.6 Capacity Building for Land Reform Beneficiaries in Limpopo Province**

The Nkuzi Development Association assisted in providing training to the land reform beneficiaries in relation to restitution, land redistribution and tenure reform. A number of communities received information about different landholding systems and what they opted for were Communal Property Associations (CPAs). The Nkuzi Development Association subsequently facilitated the CPA process from its inception until the adoption of a constitution for the new CPA. The training workshop for the LPM was conducted by Khanya College with the assistance of the Nkuzi Development Association (Nkuzi Development Association, Annual Report, 2002: 13). These workshops focused on leadership styles, roles and responsibilities.

The training was conducted for the three projects that were beneficiaries of land reform and is pertinent to one key question of this study, which was to establish the extent to which land reform beneficiaries received support. In the event, this training, although valuable, was not enough on its own, alternative models also had to be investigated. Most beneficiaries acquired land reform properties without the necessary skills and capacity, and the need for better post-settlement support cannot be overemphasised. Answers to the question of whether poverty has been reduced among these beneficiaries remain uncertain, since many continue to live in poverty, but the time has come for government to put a stop to the “stories of failed land-reform projects” (Cousins cited in Mail and Guardian, August 2006: 23).

Another recent move in relation to the question of support for beneficiaries has been towards introducing private sector “strategic partners” to manage large commercial operations on behalf of beneficiaries, who will in return receive a share of the profits. Concerns that have been expressed in this regard are how much profit will be left after management fees have been deducted and whether such arrangements will bring real empowerment to claimants (Cousins

cited in Mail and Guardian, August 2006: 23). The strategic partnerships initiative requires in-depth planning to yield benefits to land reform claimants. If the approach is not well thought in terms of setting systems, community development and poverty reduction are likely to remain serious challenges for government. Private sector-led projects are also unlikely to fill the gap when it comes to the extended range of producers in communal areas, who desperately need support.

So far, the support provided to beneficiaries has not been enough in relation to the number of those that need it, and private sector-led projects tend to be associated with highly commercialised farms. One such instance is the Coromandel Farmers Trust, which acknowledged that their R22 million LRAD project needed a high level of commercial and agricultural expertise (Land News, 2004: 18).

Adequate support for land reform beneficiaries is thus a continuing challenge for land redistribution projects to succeed. One example is the Sapekoe Tea Plantation, in the GLM, Limpopo Province, well known for its production of the best tea in the world, which has since collapsed. Similarly, the 14 farms of the Mamahlola Community, in the GLM, which were acquired through restitution, were near collapse when strategic intervention was considered (Malabi, 2006: 4).

## **5.7 The Pace of Land Reform in Limpopo**

The Nkuzi Development Association noted that there was dissatisfaction with the pace of land reform in the country, which was slower than had been anticipated and expected by people. This state of affairs had been acknowledged at the National Land Summit by both officials and politicians (Land News, 2006, Vol 1: 14). This is a significant criticism from Nkuzi Development Association. The organisation is well placed to make such an assessment, because they are a prominent stakeholder of land reform in Limpopo Province. The organisation represents and assists many rural communities to acquire their land. Bradstock (2005: 1982) agrees that the pace of land reform is slow.

In its critique, Nkuzi Development Association argues that an appropriate environment must be created to enable small farmers to succeed. Along with the training that should be offered to them it is crucial for farmers to have access both to inputs and to markets if they are to sell for profit. Intervention should cover the spectrum from provision of the necessary infrastructure, to market access, credit and new technologies for improving productivity (Land News, 2006, V01.1: 2006).

The pace of land reform needs to be doubled, in the view of Stephen Hofstatter (2004 in *This Day*, 25/10/2004). He calls for good management of the land reform process because many farms are major producers. While the state chases the 30% target by 2014, there is concern of agricultural projects failing in black hands. These projects fail due to lack of proper management, farm skills and resources. Also noted is that the land reform farmers are unable to succeed due to lack of technical support. And because the state keeps focusing on those land reform projects that are not doing well this affects the pace of target achievement and impacts negatively on the pace of land reform.

Land owners who contest the land claims also affect the pace of land reform in Limpopo Province. The *Letaba Herald* (23/07/2004) reported the fight for land claims on the properties that were gazetted in the Magoebaskloof area in terms of the Land Restitution Act 22 of 1994. These disputes negatively affect the pace of land reform, diverting the attention of the state from further delivery of more land reform properties. The *Sunday Times'* Bongani Mthethwa (11/03/2009) reported four provinces (Limpopo Province amongst them) which have abandoned productive farms. In Limpopo Province, there is the tea estate Magoebaskloof that has overgrown forest and the macademia farms in Levubu. These cases and others impact on the pace of land reform, because the state turns its attention towards rescuing them.

## **5.8 Dept of Rural Development and Land Reform and NGO Initiatives in Limpopo Province**

The Nkuzi Development Association also initiated programmes with the Makhado Local Municipality and the local structure of the LPM, intended to

create an integrated plan for land reform in the Nzhelele area in Limpopo. The main purpose was to identify land needs and demands in the area and to match them with the available land. Nkuzi Development Association facilitated the project by providing a project manager who had lived in the Dzanani area, and facilitation also included identifying post-settlement support needs and sources of finance and expertise. However, despite hundreds of land claims having been lodged and other redistribution projects proposed, no land reform projects got underway in the area because there were no willing sellers (Nkuzi Development Association, Annual Report, 2002: 11).

The Nkuzi Development Association's land reform initiative was intended to speed up the delivery of land while putting in place measures to enable the effective use of that land for the improvement of people's livelihoods. Community needs were identified and agreements between communities were facilitated. In collaboration with members of the LPM and the Makhado Local Municipality, training workshops were conducted on livelihoods and local development planning.

Nkuzi Development Association made an effort to meet with a variety of stakeholders and government departments responsible for land transfer and post-settlement support, emphasising to the affected communities that showing commitment was a step in the right direction for soliciting support from government departments. The project officer provided by Nkuzi Development Association worked closely with both the structure and the communities who had land claims or other land-related needs (Nkuzi Development Association Annual Report, 2002: 11). In addition, Nkuzi Development Association took it upon itself to investigate and monitor events and development in Muyexe, a rural village which has been adopted as the focal point of a pilot project for the Comprehensive Rural Development Programme, launched by President Jacob Zuma in 2009 (Mafulo, 2010: 9). The programme provides all the facilities that a community requires for development, including health facilities, road infrastructure, housing, electricity, sanitation facilities and water. This approach is referred to as a comprehensive approach to rural development. In the case

of Muxese, the village had nothing in terms of infrastructure; hence the President of South Africa chose it as pilot area.

The Nkuzi Development Association can be seen as a pace-setter in the proactive co-ordination of land-related matters, in contrast with the inactive role of the government as represented by the Limpopo Provincial Office of the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform. Complaints of departmental inertia are easy to find; for example, mention is made in the Nkuzi Development Association Annual Report for 2008 of land owners and beneficiaries clashing with the Department on failure to deliver on its commitments to either party in the implementation of LRAD and PLAS programmes in Limpopo Province (Nkuzi Development Association, Annual Report, 2008: 7).

The Nkuzi Development Association took issue with the 'willing-seller willing-buyer' principle on the grounds that would-be beneficiaries did not know who was willing to sell land. Similarly, it was difficult for the willing sellers to know those communities that had an interest in buying the land. The NGO went an extra mile to solicit support from government departments and provide post-settlement and technical help.

Lessons drawn from the Nkuzi Development Association's participation:

- **Coordination:** The NGO showed how it was possible to coordinate assistance to land redistribution projects from multiple stakeholders, including government departments, municipalities and the LPM, setting an example of administrative efficiency that public officials should be encouraged to emulate.
- **Capacity building:** Nkuzi Development Association organised training workshops on a range of land issues, including livelihoods and local development, thereby showing up gaps in the implementation of land redistribution programmes.
- **Post-settlement support:** Nkuzi Development Association provided the needed support to beneficiaries after their acquisition of land and was also able to direct them to relevant sources of additional finance and

expertise. In doing so, it demonstrated at each point the steps that should have been the responsibility of the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform.

- Fast-tracking land delivery: Nkuzi Development Association were immediately in a position to assist the communities in identifying their needs pertaining to land claims. This suggests that land-related legislation should find a way of accommodating NGOs such as Nkuzi Development Association whose main focus and core function is land-related issues. Those issues could be information dissemination, administration, restitution, management and tenure rights.
- Information dissemination: Poor dissemination of information is a stumbling block in the way of land reform objectives. In this case study, the NGO (Nkuzi Development Association) was capable of dealing with it and information was effectively transmitted to the communities involved. It was also arguable that such an NGO was better able to provide the need than public officials would be, by reason of its closeness to the community.
- Community facilitation: The NGO undertook numerous facilitation activities. Touching on the effectiveness of the South African legislation in addressing the land reform issues, it was evident in this case that the legislation fell short and lacked the potential that civil society organisations have to facilitate community activities such as land reform projects. Future revisions to the legislation could take account of these civil society bodies and what they can contribute from their relatively more open field of activities.

In relation to public administration more specifically, officials did plan around community facilitation when land reform projects were initiated, but their input fell short of what the NGOs could accomplish, probably because the officials have to balance competing departmental commitments, whereas for NGOs this was their core competency.

- Land reform project sustainability: The role played by Nkuzi Development Association in the assistance and training it provided to beneficiaries was a good example of how the government department can be assisted in its management of land reform projects.

## **5.9 Perspectives on Limpopo Land Reform Status**

Land reform is a widely debated issue in South Africa, and three brief examples are offered here of how it is regarded by the South African public and how shortcomings in the policy and in implementation are apparent to them.

5.9.1 As part of a government programme in Limpopo's Maruleng Municipality in the Mopani District, the Limpopo office of the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform hosted an imbizo to which various communities were invited. The imbizo was aimed at informing and educating communities about the Department's programmes and encouraging dialogue and interaction between the Department and the public. It was also intended to create an opportunity for public participation and involvement in land reform implementation.

The number of questions raised at the imbizo by members of the public indicated challenges of land reform policies as experienced by the communities. Many of these were related to the blockages experienced in the implementation of land reform and called for a review of underlying policy. The imbizo gave ordinary people an opportunity to state how the current land reform policy affected them and this in turn elicited input on how best the challenges can be tackled. Community members had much to say on how they felt about the government and service delivery, particularly on land-related issues, and expressed their frustration about not being able to access land and the slow pace of land delivery through the restitution programme in particular. Many questions could not be answered immediately, and people were instead asked to submit these on a form provided by the Department for subsequent response by the Limpopo Land Reform Office (Limpopo imbizo- Land News 2005).

While it was important that the government met with communities, this needed to be done more frequently to avoid the embarrassment of questions which could not be answered on the spot. This was an indication of poor consultation on the part of the Limpopo provincial office, considering that communication about land reform programmes was an explicit mandate of the Department.

5.9.2 In a current affairs programme on Thobela FM, the local SABC radio station in Limpopo Province, two questions were raised by a Democratic Alliance representative in relation to lack of capacity and lack of funds, with the suggestion that the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform should have considered a partnership with commercial farmers. Extension services as a way of building capacity for the beneficiaries were also highlighted (SABC, Thobela FM, Current Affairs programme, 01/11/05), and discussion during the broadcast indicated that there were concerns among the public about the scope and direction of land reform policy, which must above all meet the fundamental needs of the people (Cloete, 1998: 145).

5.8.3 A visit by the NCOP to Limpopo land reform projects found that about 70 farms bought between 1997 and 2002, at a cost of R100m, had collapsed due to lack of aftercare support, lack of capacity, and poor management by the beneficiaries (Sebapela, 2005: 20 in *Sowetan* 2/11/2005). There were strong indications of poorly conducted administrative processes in planning and organisation. Peter Moatshe, the NCOP Land and Environmental Affairs Committee Chairperson, drew attention to the problem of drought in the area and said the government needed to intervene urgently in the face of the harsh realities beneficiaries had to contend with. He added that some beneficiary farmers had borrowed money from the Development Bank of Southern Africa and would be unable to repay the loans if their crops failed. He urged the Minister to immediately step in to remedy the situation (*South African Press Association, Sowetan*, 02/11/2005:10).

## 5.10 Approved Projects on Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development (Lrad) (1 April 2005- 31 March 2006)

The projects listed in Table 5.1 below show that the majority of the projects (17 out of 32) approved during April 2005 to March 2006 were based in the Waterberg District, Limpopo Province. Looking at the figures, and the fact that the demand for productive land has been high, one can conclude that the low number of projects indicates high backlogs for the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform in finalising applications. For instance, in the Mopani District, where the study area was situated, only eight projects were approved and five were approved in Capricorn District (Annual Report, Department of Rural Development and Land Reform, 2005/2006: 80).

**Table 5.1: Approved LRAD projects in Limpopo Province (April 2005-March 2006)**

	District	Number of Projects	Beneficiaries	Youth	Women	Hectares
1	Capricorn	5	27	5	16	769
2	Mopani	8	83	29	42	641
3	Sekhukhune	0	0	0	0	0
4	Vhembe	2	8	3	4	71
5	Waterberg	17	64	18	29	2891
6	Total	32	182	55	91	4372

Source: Annual report 2005-2006, Department of Rural Development and Land Reform

Considering the progress as per the table above, one can conclude that the pace of implementing land reform was slow, particularly in the study area, but also in other districts such as Sekhukhune and Vhembe. The Sekhukhune District, one of the poorest districts in the province, has had no projects approved while Vhembe District has received approval for only two projects. In terms of the size of the properties that the Limpopo districts have acquired, Mopani District where the study was based was the third lowest with 518 ha. The highest number of hectares was found in the Waterberg District with 2342 ha. Other districts like Capricorn were slightly higher than Mopani District with

769 ha. The Vhembe District has acquired only 6 ha while the Sekhukhune District received nothing.

The figures for the various districts indicate that land redistribution programme is not likely to make a rapid contribution to community development and poverty reduction. This slow pace was acknowledged by the then Director-General, of the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform Mr Glen Thomas who stated that there were “serious concerns about the pace of delivery required if the department is to reach the target of delivering 30% of White-owned commercial agricultural land by 2014” (Annual Report, Department of Rural Development and Land Reform, 2005/2006: 17). He noted, however, that the Department had delivered a total of 152 445 ha nation-wide which represented an advance of 38 770 ha above its original target of 113 675 ha, and said that the Department was optimistic that it would reach its final delivery target by introducing the PLAS.

Of the 152 445 ha that the sub-programme of LRAD has delivered national-wide, the Limpopo Provincial Office of Rural Development and Land Reform has contributed about 4 575 ha of agricultural land, amounting to 3% of all land transferred in the country. In other provinces, this programme has yielded the following results: Mpumalanga 8 951 ha (5.9%), North West 29 785 ha (19.5%), Northern Cape 21 556.5 ha (14.1%), Western Cape 1 321.8 ha (0.9%), Gauteng Province 2 797.8 ha (1.8%), Eastern Cape 11 525 ha (7.8%), Free State 23 943 ha (15.7%) and KwaZulu-Natal 10 954 ha (7.2%). Limpopo Province was the third lowest country-wide in terms of implementing the LRAD programme. The lowest province was Western Cape with 0.9% and the highest was North West Province with 19.5%. These figures are a clear indication of the slow pace of land redistribution in South Africa. From a public administration perspective, the provincial offices of Rural Development and Land Reform should review their strategic plans and improve their current decisions (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2009: 197). This will assist in the review of the strategies adopted to achieve the set targets (Cloete, 1997: 161).

## **5.11 Conclusion**

The chapter looked at the mandate of the Limpopo Provincial Office of the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform. It examined the human resources that enabled the office to execute its policy implementation process. A detailed case study illustrated the strategic intervention by an NGO and the Provincial Office of the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform. Furthermore, there was an indication as to how an NGO can play an important role in capacitating land reform beneficiaries.

It was evident in the case study that other institutions can help the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform to attain its land reform objectives. These institutions are often well-placed to provide capacity to the beneficiaries, as was the case with the Nkuzi Development Association in the training it offered.

Other factors worth noting in the case study were the roles that Further Education and Training (FET) institutions such as the Tompi Seleka Agricultural College can play in land reform projects in partnership with the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform. The role of partnerships was also evident in the example of Khanya College joining forces with the Nkuzi Development Association to conduct workshops on leadership styles, and roles and responsibilities for land reform beneficiaries.

Notably, the Nkuzi Development Association was always accessible as and when the beneficiaries needed their expertise, markedly different from what the beneficiaries could expect from government officials. Overall, the project yielded good results, despite the challenges that the beneficiaries were confronted with. The next chapter will outline the research methodologies that were applied in this study.

# **Chapter 6**

## **Research Methodology**

### **6.1 Introduction**

Any research project is motivated by the need to solve a certain problem. The extent to which a researcher can solve or better understand the research problem is dependent on the methodology used to systematically solve the problem. This methodology is constituted by various steps and actions that a researcher adopts when studying the problem. The methodology further includes the methods or techniques that the researcher uses to (among other things) determine the sample, collect data, analyse it and present the findings of the research.

This chapter provides a synopsis of the methodology followed during the research project. It outlines the research problem and the critical themes of the research study, sets out the research questions, and explains the data collection techniques used to generate information from the respondents.

### **6.2 Geographical Background of the Research Area**

The majority of people in rural areas rely on land as a source of their livelihood. The study area is a predominantly rural local municipality, and like many rural municipalities in Limpopo Province it experienced significant land dispossessions during the apartheid era which impacted negatively on the majority of the black people. In the following subsections, the discussion provides detailed description of land availability and other socio-economic challenges affecting the area.

#### **6.2.1 Description of the area**

The Greater Letaba Local Municipality (GLM), as shown in Appendix C, is one of the rural municipalities in Limpopo Province. It is located in the north-eastern part of the Province within the Mopani District Municipality Area. In the south, the municipality is bordered by the Greater Tzaneen Municipality, in the east by

the Greater Giyani Municipality, in the west by Molemole Municipality, and in the north by Makhado Municipality.

### **6.2.2 Availability of land**

The greater part of the GLM is used for agricultural activity, while a small area consists of a rural, residential settlement. Half of the municipality's land is state land, and the remainder is privately owned.

**Land claims:** An estimated 48% (Greater Letaba Local Municipality, IDP 2011/12: 01) of the land within the municipality is the subject of land claims that are awaiting resolution by the Land Claims Commission. The unresolved claims have caused uncertainty among commercial farmers, making them less inclined to employ additional workers, and have in general had a negative effect on investment in the area.

### **6.2.3 Income and employment**

The majority (88.4%) of households in the GLM had an income of less than R1 600 per month in 2001. By 2008, the number of people earning this amount or less had dropped to 80.8%. This indicates that the rate of job creation was lower than the demand for employment (IDP 2011/12: 29). Many households are headed by females (55.9%) because of male absenteeism, with the result that many residents live in absolute poverty, reliant on social grants and free basic services (IDP 2011/12: 27).

This research recognises that the current South African government has introduced very important land reform programmes, namely: Land Redistribution, Land Restitution and Land Tenure Reform. These programmes are intended to address the imbalances caused by land dispossessions during the apartheid regime. Legislation and regulations have been introduced to address the land reform issue, but progress in this regard has been very slow. This research attempts to establish how the situation could be addressed.

This research focuses on land reform and its impact on the beneficiaries in the GLM of the Mopani District in Limpopo Province. Greater Letaba is one of the five local municipalities in the Mopani District. It has a population of 247 736,

which calculates to 131 people per km<sup>2</sup> (Greater Letaba Municipality Draft IDP 2011/2012: 26).

The municipality comprises of towns, townships and numerous villages. Among these are Modjadjiskloof, GaKgapane, Mooketsi, Sekgosese, Sekgopo and Bolobedu (Modjadji), to name but a few. The predominant economic sector is agriculture, with the town of Mooketsi in the municipality producing as much as 90% of South Africa's tomatoes.

### **6.3 The Research Problem**

South Africa experienced dispossession of land as a result of apartheid legislation which effectively began in 1913 (White Paper on South African Land Policy, 1997: 8). The people of colour were the victims of this exercise as they were left landless and poor (Van Der Waldt & Helmbold, 1995: 179). Poverty became an issue as people of colour had no place to farm and reside. Hence, land reform was introduced as a programme to address these imbalances.

Despite the introduction of the land reform programme, several challenges have been identified. Questions such as whether the quality of life of the beneficiaries has been improved as a result of increased access to land remain critical. Other issues raised relate to the extent to which government has the capacity to both implement the policy and provide the beneficiaries with the support required to ensure that the farms are productive. This has been critical considering the fact that the majority of beneficiaries do not have adequate skills required to manage the farms that have been redistributed.

The research examined the extent to which legislation and regulations have addressed the land reform question. The land reform process commenced 14 years ago and it is important to establish how legislation and policies have been effectively implemented, and how they impacted on the beneficiaries. The research further examined whether the South African public administration system is appropriately structured and resourced to implement the land reform programme.

The research further aimed to determine whether the land reform programmes have contributed to community development and poverty reduction. This is linked to the overall objective of land reform. The 2006 White Paper on South African Land Policy states that “the purpose of the Land Redistribution is to provide the poor with land for residential and productive purposes in order to improve their livelihoods” (White Paper on South African Land Policy, 2006: xii), going on to specify that priority should be given to the poor, since the poor require land in order to earn an income and achieve food security (White Paper on South African Land Policy, 2006: 9). For this objective to be realised however, public institutions need to be appropriately structured and endowed with the necessary resources, and state budgetary allocations should make sufficient provision for implementation of the land reform programmes. This research sought to determine whether the government has allocated enough financial resources for this purpose.

#### **6.4 Research Questions**

The research aimed to answer the following questions:

- To what extent has the legislative and regulatory framework adopted by government addressed the land reform question?
- To what extent have land reform beneficiaries received support?
- Has land reform contributed to community development and poverty reduction?
- What lessons did stakeholders learn from the reforms?

#### **6.5 RESEARCH DESIGN**

This is a descriptive study and the case study method was used. As the research looked at implementation of the public policy in a specific project within the Greater Letaba Local Municipality, a case study method was used. The method was selected because it is one of the research methods that enable the researcher to analyse aspects of a real-world problem in detail, and

from different viewpoints, thereby getting a holistic perspective of the research problem.

There are different types of the case study method, and for the purpose of this study, the explanatory case study method was used. This method was selected because the intention was not only to explore and describe phenomena, but also to understand and explain causal relationships and to develop theory. Although the primary intention of the research was to assess whether the quality of life of the beneficiaries and communities of the land reform programme has been changed, it is also crucial to look at other causal relationships. Those are the ability of the government to support the beneficiaries and the pace at which the land reform programme is being implemented. The reason is that these causal relationships can have an effect on the success of the implementation of the land reform policy.

## **6.6 ETHICAL CONSIDERATION**

There are several ethical issues that a researcher should consider when conducting research. Some of the issues include:

- The safety of the research participants. The researcher should consider the risk of using the information for assessment and monitoring.
- Obtaining written or oral consent from the research participant upon considering the risks and benefits.
- Indicating how privacy and confidentiality will be handled. This includes the protection of information from unauthorized persons.
- Considering how to deal with adverse circumstances, such as, participants' injury and compensation (University of Washington, 2013: 01).

Polonski (2004: 57) agrees that it is the researcher's responsibility to ensure that no harm occurs to the voluntary research participants. It is further noted that the researcher should consider issues relating to voluntary participation informed consent, confidentiality and anonymity during the research design. Capron (1989 in Orb, Eisenhauer & Wynden, 2001: 93) agrees that research

should be guided by the principles of respect for people and justice. He maintains that the research participants' rights should be recognized and respected. They should further be informed about their right to know about the study, the right not to participate and the right to withdraw at any time without penalty.

In this research, the research participants were informed of all these principles through the consent letter. Consideration was given to key issues regarding ethics. The written consent was prepared and it accompanied every questionnaire that was distributed to the research participants. The consent form, detailed issues of confidentiality and that fact the participants could freely withdraw from the research. An oral consent to participate in the research was obtained from the research participants.

## **6.5 Research Instruments**

In any kind of research, the research instruments play a critical role. The instruments enable the researcher to gather and analyse the required data. The research instruments can take various forms such questionnaires, interviews and observations methods. The subsections below discuss the various instruments that were used during the research.

### **6.5.1 Theoretical search**

A theoretical search signifies critical analysis and review of the existing literature on the research subject (Birley & Moreland, 1998: 80). A literature review is a crucial element in any research project because it provides a better and clearer understanding of the research problem. According to Fouché and Delport (no date in de Vos, 2002: 128) a literature review provides better insight into the dimensions and complexity of the research problem. Various books, journals, unpublished dissertations, government reports, and newspaper articles as well as pertinent policies and legislation were reviewed. These sources provided the viewpoints of politicians, academics and other stakeholders on land reform. The Internet was the main instrument used to obtain information on land reform at an international level.

The literature review enriched the quality of the discussion with regard to the historical foundation of land reform in South Africa as well as providing an understanding the various approaches adopted by other countries in dealing with land reform. In addition, literature was consulted on CBOs, NGOs and trade unions at both international and local level to provide a civil society perspective on land reform. The researcher also attended some *imbizos* organised by the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform in order to obtain first-hand information on people's views on the state of land reform.

### **6.5.2 Data collection**

For triangulation purposes, a variety of methods were used to collect data in order to make the study more intensive and comprehensive for quality results. Questionnaires and interviews were used to collect data. Two trained fieldworkers (one for each geographical research area) and a supervisor assisted in the collection of data for this study.

### **6.5.3 Structured questionnaires**

Questionnaires are a widely used method for collecting research data. Delport (no date, in de Vos, 2002: 172) describes a questionnaire as consisting of a set of questions and statements to which participants are requested to respond. In this research, structured questionnaires were used to solicit information from the beneficiaries of the land reform. The questionnaires consisted of both closed and open-ended questions, structured to probe the respondents on various aspects ranging from personal status, to legislation and regulations, poverty alleviation, degree of satisfaction with the pace of land reform and the aftercare support provided. The questionnaires were also used to measure the extent to which land reform impacted on the beneficiaries' livelihoods. This was determined by the income generated from the projects. This assisted the researcher to determine the impact of the land reform on the livelihoods.

### **6.5.4 Research interviews**

According to the neo-positivist view, interviews are an instrument that reflects the truth about reality and helps to get relevant responses (Alvesson &

Karreman (2011: 99). Interviews imply one-on-one discussion meeting between the researcher and the respondent (Rule & John, 2011: 64). The one-on-one interviews, also called face-to-face interviews by Baker (1999: 217), involve one person who addresses questions to another. The relation between the two people prior to and after the interview will affect the success of the results. According to Rule and John (2011) the following guidelines are necessary for conducting successful interviews:

- The interview requires a relaxed atmosphere.
- The nature and purpose has to be explained.
- Interviewees should be allowed to answer clarity questions.
- The ethical obligations to be clearly stated.
- Start the interview with less demanding questions.
- The researcher must listen carefully and not interrupt the participants.
- Afford the interviewee a respect and be sensitive to the emotions.
- Probe and summarise your responses (Rule and John, 2011: 64).

In this research the method helped to supplement the above-mentioned methods, particularly when gathering information from the traditional authorities, municipal councils and departmental officials.

The research utilised interviews as a research instrument and these formed an integral part of data collection. Interviews were conducted with respondents who preferred not to answer the structured questionnaires. The principles outlined by Rule and John (2011: 64) were considered during the research project. Interviews afforded the respondents an opportunity to freely express their viewpoints. The next section indicates the different types of interviews used in research.

#### **6.7.4.1 STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS**

Structured interviews are necessary to get precise answers for precise questions. This depends on the kind of information the researcher wishes to elicit (Walliman, 2011: 193). This type of interview is similar to questionnaires

which are conducted face-to-face with respondents. The structured interviews help in determining the frequency of answers as well as in establishing how answers relate to different questions. One advantage of structured interviews is in overcoming both misunderstanding and misinterpretations of responses or questions (Bless, Higson-Smith, & Kagee (2011). The disadvantage of these type of interviews is that they allow little flexibility in how questions are asked or answered (Fontana & Frey, No date in Denzin & Lincoln, 2005: 702). Structured interviews were administered to supplement the unstructured interviews with the view of determining patterns and trends on the subject matter.

#### **6.7.4.2 UNSTRUCTURED INTERVIEWS**

According to Bless et al, (2011) the unstructured interview help in clarifying concepts and problems. One is able to develop possible answers or solutions. Unstructured interviews emphasise the ideas of the interviewees, who get an opportunity to express their ideas once the interviewer has introduced the theme or topic. In this study, unstructured interviews were administered to departmental and municipal council officials. The purpose was to establish their perspective on the research subject

#### **6.7.4.2 OBSERVATION METHOD (IZIMBIZO)**

The researcher attended some *imbizos* (traditional/cultural gatherings) organised by the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform where land reform projects were discussed. This enriched the researcher's understanding of the implementation of the land reform programme. It further assisted the researcher to obtain first-hand information from the perspectives of both the public and the beneficiaries regarding the impact of land redistribution. However, due to the fact that the proceedings of the imbizos do not follow a structured approach, the responses are not included in the data.

### **6.6 Population, Sampling and Data Analysis**

A research project is undertaken to understand or solve a problem affecting a certain group of people or an organisation. To this effect, the researcher

studies a population from which the problem can be better understood and solutions proposed. Even within a larger group, a certain number or group, referred to as a sample, is normally studied. This section discusses the research population and the process followed to identify the sample. It further explains how the data collected from the sample was analysed.

### **6.6.1 Population**

In research, population is defined as the set of objects or people which constitute the focus of research and about which the researcher wants to determine some characteristics (Bless, Higson-Smith and Kagee, 2006:98; Brynard and Hanekom, 1997: 134). This means that, for any research, the researcher would identify a set or group of people to study. In this study, the research population were beneficiaries of the land reform projects within the Greater Letaba Municipality, municipal councillors, government officials and traditional leaders. Owing to the size of the population, it was not possible to study all the units, and a fraction of the beneficiaries was therefore selected for the research. This subset of the whole population which was selected and studied as representative of the whole population is referred to as the sample.

### **6.6.2 Sampling frame**

According to Alreck and Settle (1985: 63) sampling refers to the selection of a portion of the population to represent the whole population. This sample has to be properly chosen otherwise it will not be representative and it must be large enough to meet reliability requirements. Sampling is a process of selecting a number of individual cases from a larger population (Adler & Clark, 2011: 100). Sampling is used because time and cost considerations may make it impossible to study every object or member of the group. To determine the sample that would fairly represent the whole, a sampling frame is used. Berends and Zotolla (in Lapan & Quatrolli, 2009) explain that a sampling frame is used to identify the group which is selected for participation in the survey. The sampling frame can be determined in several ways:

- by identification of units of analysis from a list of individuals or objects in the population
- by selection of a sample from a group participating in a specific activity
- by sampling in multiple stages, where individuals are selected from a list
- beginning with a large cluster and at each stage reducing the number of participants Berends and Zotolla (in Lapan & Quatrolli, 2009: 88)

The sampling frame in this research was from the geographical area of the study, which is GLM. The sample for the land reform beneficiaries was drawn from a list provided by the project officer at the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform of participants in the four land redistribution projects within the GLM. The sample for the Traditional Authorities was drawn from all 10 Traditional Authorities that fall within the geographic area of the research. The sample for officials of the Department of Agriculture's extension service was drawn from those working in the GLM. The sample for the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform focused mainly on officials working in the wider Mopani District, which encompasses the research area. The sample for the municipal councils was drawn from 10 councils that comprise the Land and Infrastructure Portfolio Committee within the Greater Letaba Local Municipal Council.

### **6.6.3 Sampling technique and sample size**

Two sampling methods are used in research, namely: probability sampling and non-probability sampling. According to Babbie (1998: 194), while probability sampling technique involves the selection of a "random" sample from a list containing the names of everyone in the population, non-probability sampling is often used in situations where the researcher is unable to select the kinds of samples used in large-scale social surveys. The random sampling method, which is one of the types of probability sampling, was used to determine the units of analysis in this study. This method was selected because it offers each element the same chance of being selected for the sample (Brynard & Hanekom, 1997: 45).

The sample was divided into various categories, and a sample of 30% was selected from each key category. This percentage was considered large enough to provide a fair representation of the characteristics of the entire research population. All the categories came from the GLM, which is the geographic research area, and were categorised as follows:

a) Municipal Council:

A sample of three members was determined from the Land and Infrastructure Portfolio Committee which consists of 10 members.. The councillors were selected in terms of their availability to participate in the research.

b) Traditional Authorities:

Ten Traditional Authorities fall within the GLM. A 30% sample amounted to three Traditional Authorities. The Traditional Authorities' offices were approached to secure an appointment with the presiding head. The three who were readily available for an interview were selected.

c) Land Reform beneficiaries:

Two hundred and seventy people participated in the land redistribution programme. They comprised members of four projects: the Makhamotse Communal Property Association; the Majakaname Communal Property Association; the Lehlareng Communal Property Association; and the Makhabeni Communal Property Association in the GLM. The sample amounted to 81 members. The sample was selected using systematic random sampling, where each name was allocated a number that ranged from 001 to 270. A random starting point was determined and every third name was selected until the total of 81 was reached. This method was used because it was simple, gave each name a chance of being selected, and was cost-effective and time-saving.

d) Government officials:

These were extension officers in the Department of Agriculture working in the GLM, Mopani District Municipality, and officials in the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform working in the Mopani District. They were targeted because they dealt directly with land reform beneficiaries. There were 15 such officials and the 30% sample amounted to five units. The Department of Rural Development and Land Reform recommended one official who worked in the Mopani District that covered the study area. In the case of the Department of Agriculture, four extension officers based in the local office in the GLM were available to respond to both the questionnaire and the interviews. These officials were selected because their prime responsibility was to assist the beneficiaries and other local farmers with extension services. Their duties are related to the implementation of the extension service policy. They plan agricultural activities around extension services and ensure that resources are made available to needy farmers.

#### **6.6.4 Data Analysis**

According to Birley and Moreland (1998: 61), researchers can draw conclusions from quantitative data in two ways. First, data can be presented in the form of pie charts, tables or graphs in order to describe a situation. This method of analysis is referred to as descriptive statistics. Second, inferential statistics can be used, whereby a researcher infers something about the population based on the sample findings.

During the analysis, the descriptive statistics method was mainly used and data was presented in the form of tables, charts and graphs. The collected data was analysed and interpreted using both descriptive and inferential statistics. The data was analysed manually and Microsoft Excel was used to develop different graphs, charts and tables.

#### **6.7 Conclusion**

This chapter detailed the approach used in the study, including the various techniques used to collect the data required for the research. This chapter has

shown that various methods were applied, including interviews, questionnaires and field studies. The research population, sampling frame and the method used for sampling were also outlined. The next chapter outlines the research findings.

# Chapter 7

## Presentation of Findings, Analysis and Discussion

### 7.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the research as sourced from responses to the questionnaires which were conducted with elected respondents. The findings are presented in the form of tables, graphs and narratives from the interviews. The research assessed the impact of land reform on beneficiaries and also those who were not necessarily beneficiaries, such as traditional authorities, councillors and administrative staff in public offices. It further examined service delivery processes involved in land reform programme implementation with a view to understanding the impact of public administration practices on the land reform programme.

### 7.2 Data Categories

The research findings as presented in this chapter fall into two categories:

**Category 1** provides an analysis and interpretation of data from the questionnaires. The analysis focuses on several issues, grouped as follows:

- biographical data of the respondents such as gender, age, marital and educational level
- responses on the beneficiaries' income status, their ability to feed their families from land reform projects and access to agricultural extension services
- policy and conceptual issues of land reform, with responses on the applicability of the land reform legislation and on access to information on land reform
- the impact of land reform with a focus on local economic development, poverty alleviation, employment, community development projects, capacity building and support services

- the degree of satisfaction with the pace of change, addressing questions on how land reform is prioritised in the study area and whether there is satisfaction with the pace of land policy implementation

**Category 2** provides responses and discussions arising from interviews with government officials, traditional authorities, and municipal councils.

### 7.3 Category 1: Data From Beneficiary Questionnaires

The following discussion is a presentation of the responses. The responses were analysed and the findings are represented by tables, charts and graphs:

### 7.4 Beneficiary Demographics

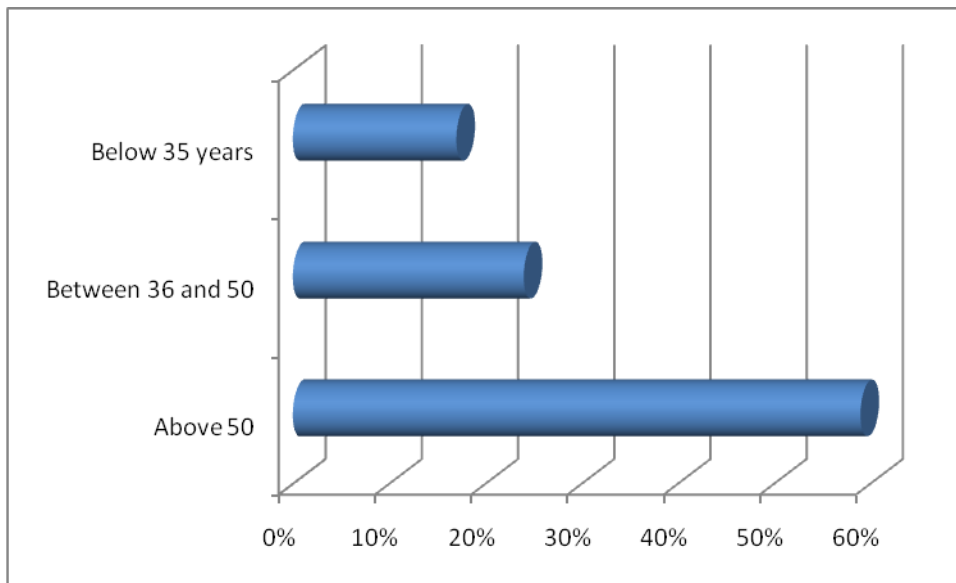
#### 7.4.1 Gender

Gender	Percentages
Males	32
Females	68
Total	100

**Table 7.1: Gender Analysis**

The research sample consisted of 32% males and 68% females. There were a significant number of women among the participants in land reform projects, which might be a reflection of the responsibilities they bore in their various households.

### 7.3.1.2 Age of respondents



**Figure 7.1: Age analysis of the respondents**

Of the respondents interviewed, 59% were over 51 years of age, 24% were between 36-50 years of age, and 17% were below 35 years of age. The high proportion of respondents in their fifties indicated the interest that older people had in land as an economic resource. This could be related to the fact that some of these beneficiaries were previously employed on farms that had been redistributed and had some level of farming experience.

In contrast, the other 41% of respondents were beneficiaries who still had families to bring up and were keen to derive economic advantage from the land reform. They unfortunately lacked experience and were newcomers in the farming industry but had high hopes that the land redistribution programme would improve their living conditions. Beneficiaries in these younger age categories were under pressure to provide food for their families and expected the land reform programme to assist them in meeting those needs.

### 7.4.2 Marital status of respondents

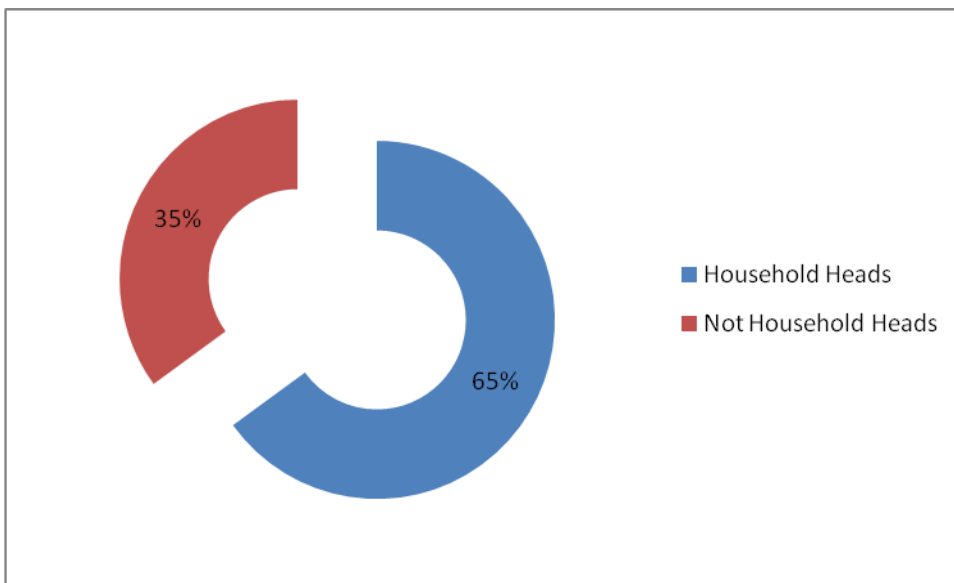
Marital status	Percentage
Married females	17

Married males	56
Single parents	27
Total	100

**Table 7.2: Marital Status**

The majority of the respondents were married, in a ratio of 73% married to 27% single. Both groups showed a need to earn an income from the land reform projects to sustain their families. This has implications for the success of the projects because if there was no income from the projects families would become dysfunctional, with inadequate resources to meet their basic needs.

#### 7.4.3 Number of household heads among respondents



**Figure 7.2: Number of household heads**

A majority of the respondents (65%) were heads of households. The 35% who were not household heads, could be aspiring to have families and their role in land reform cannot be over-looked. They may well have become beneficiaries with the aim of obtaining employment in the agricultural sector. Considering the positive correlation between marital status and household status, it emerged from the study that the majority of the participants were married and also heads of households. This suggests that their participation in the land reform projects stemmed from a need to get income to provide for their families and

the high representation of household heads indicated that families were in need of economic development.

#### 7.4.4 Respondents' level of education

Education level	Number of participants	Percentages
No formal education	21	33
Primary education	33	52
Secondary education	6	10
Tertiary education	3	5
Total	63 <sup>9</sup>	100

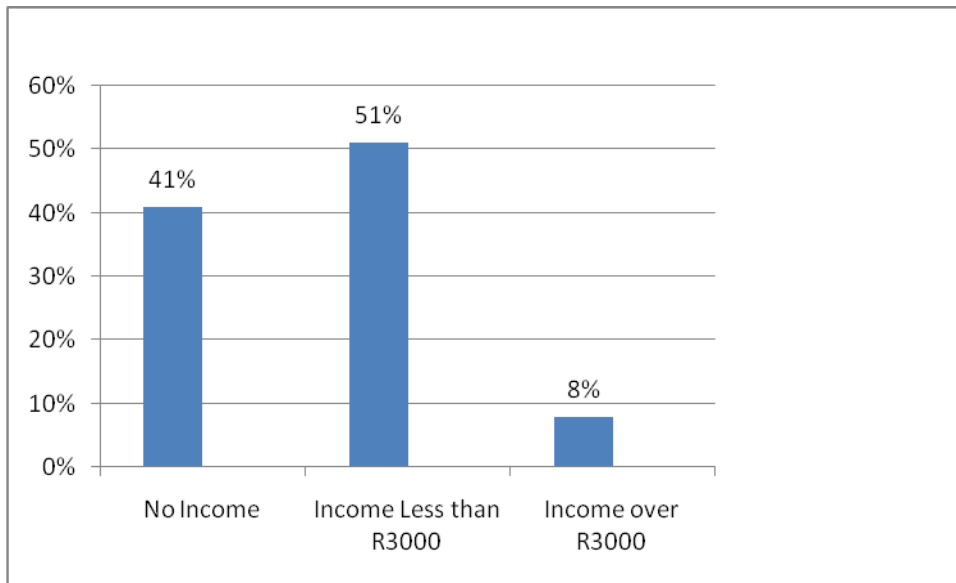
**Table 7.3: Education Level**

It emerged from the research that 33% of the respondents had no formal education; while 52% had only primary education. The 33% with no formal education included persons who were working on the acquired farms, but who, as farm workers, nonetheless had experiential knowledge of agriculture, gained from years of having worked on the same farms. This suggests that there is a strong case for their participation in land reform projects, since most of these projects (and the agricultural sector generally) accommodate people with little or no education, particularly older people who have worked and resided on the farms for many years. They tended to be people who were skilled in various fields although not necessarily with an agricultural background. The spread of the level of education highlighted a need for mentoring and a robust aftercare service to ensure success of the projects.

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<sup>9</sup> The number represents only the beneficiaries of the land reform projects, and excludes government officials, traditional leaders and municipal councilors that participated in the research.

### 7.4.5 Income analysis



**Figure 7.3: Income Analysis**

A substantial proportion (41%) of the respondents indicated that they had no income prior to their participation in the land reform programme, which could explain why they opted to be involved – hoping that land reform projects would provide them with job opportunities and ultimately with income to meet their basic needs. This is a telling reflection of the standard of living of the people within the research area.

The research also showed that 51% of the respondents received an income that was less than R3000. This amount is insufficient for a family, hence the participation in the land reform programme. Only 8% of the respondents earned income over R3000.

### 7.5 Beneficiary Responses on Land Reform Issues

Beneficiaries were asked various questions to determine whether participation in the land reform projects has improved their quality of life. Questions were asked relating to their income, the level of support they received from government and their satisfaction on the pace of land reform. The table hereunder provides a summary of the responses from the beneficiaries on the various issues:

QUESTIONS PUT TO THE RESPONDENTS	YES	NO
<b>Land reform and its beneficiaries</b>		
Did beneficiaries receive sufficient income from land reform projects?	27%	<b>73%</b>
Would beneficiaries encourage others to participate in land reform projects?	<b>81%</b>	19%
Did Dept. of Agriculture extension service officers provide beneficiaries with assistance?	<b>51%</b>	49%
<b>Policy and conceptual issues on land reform</b>		
Was land reform legislation effectively applied?	<b>57%</b>	43%
Should the Minister be allowed to fast-track land acquisition by side-stepping the Land Claims Court?	<b>75%</b>	25%
Were recent changes in legislation relevant to the study area?	24%	<b>76%</b>
Were local people adequately informed about land reform programmes?	<b>70%</b>	30%
<b>Impact of land reform</b>		
Did land redistribution projects assist beneficiaries to acquire new skills?	<b>66%</b>	34%
Did land reform programmes reduce unemployment in the Greater Letaba Local Municipality	<b>59%</b>	41%
Were land reform beneficiaries able to access financial assistance?	46%	<b>54%</b>
Were the operations of the land reform projects affected by lack of financial assistance?	<b>60%</b>	40%
Have land reform projects contributed to the local economy?	86%	14%
Did land reform projects serve as good models for community development	<b>88%</b>	12%

QUESTIONS PUT TO THE RESPONDENTS	YES	NO
<b>Satisfaction with the pace of change</b>		
Were beneficiaries satisfied with the implementation of land reform policy?	67%	33%
Was there support from the local municipality?	57%	43%
Did beneficiaries receive aftercare assistance?	27%	73%
Were respondents satisfied with the aftercare support?	57%	43%

**Table 7.4: Beneficiary responses on land reform issues**

Several issues can be deduced from the table above and the analysis is provided hereunder:

### **7.3.2.1 LAND REFORM AND BENEFICIARIES**

#### **7.5.1 Income received from land reform projects**

Only 27% of the respondents said that they derived sufficient income for their basic needs from land reform projects, while the great majority (73%) reported that this had not been the case for them. With barely a quarter of beneficiaries being able to rely solely on land reform projects for their income, it could be concluded that these programmes do not sufficiently improve people's livelihoods, making it likely that beneficiaries could eventually withdraw and the projects could collapse. Considering that these projects had been in existence for 14 years, the lack of improvement in income provision seems unacceptable.

#### **7.5.2 Motivation to encourage others to participate in land reform projects**

A minority (19%) of the respondents indicated that they would not encourage other people to participate in the land reform programmes, while 81% said that they would encourage others in their communities to participate. The mainly positive response suggests that participants see potential benefits in the programme.

### **7.5.3 Support by agricultural extension officers**

Just over half the respondents (51%) reported that they had been visited by extension officers, which indicates that the land reform is receiving attention from the Department of Agriculture and that officials are taking required control of the projects as a public administration function. This will enable them to identify challenges that the land reform beneficiaries are faced with and provide solutions. The figures also suggest that resources were stretched as the officers were unable to visit all participants.

A similar experience was noted in Zimbabwe where the Ministry of Land and Agriculture stepped up the extension services. Resources were channelled into capacity building of the personnel who were tasked with land reform issues. In addition, funds were allocated for recruiting the new staff to assist the land reform beneficiaries (African Renaissance, 2006: 51). This was an indication of the political will that was prevailing at the time of the Fast Track Land Reform Programme.

### **7.5.4 Suggestions by land reform beneficiaries to the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform**

When the respondents were asked how best they could advise the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform, they raised a variety of issues which could be summarised as follows:

- The department should make sure that land reform projects are properly equipped with the necessary machinery, ploughs, and tractors.
- Respondents expect departmental officials to monitor the smooth running of farming operations on land reform projects, which have been hampered in some cases by problems such as faulty water pumps.
- The department should supply the projects with the necessary infrastructure such as water pumps, tractors and even grading of farm access roads. On some farms that changed ownership

through the land reform process, the infrastructure was not maintained. While the logistics were being sorted out, the properties were left unattended by the previous farm owners. The whole thing took place prior to reoccupation by the land reform beneficiaries. There was no security to ensure that the property remained intact before the occupation took place.

- The department should encourage the land reform beneficiaries to work hard, tilling the land, growing vegetables to feed their families, and, for those with livestock, practicing acceptable methods of cattle farming, such as rotational grazing. Working hard means that beneficiaries must equip themselves with the necessary farming skills, including financial and operational farm management skills.

The fact that respondents were able to come up with practical, focussed suggestions about ways in which the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform could improve their farming situation indicates their level of commitment to these projects. It became clear in the course of the interviews that beneficiaries hoping to make progress in farming were critically hampered by inadequate equipment and infrastructure.

## **7.6 Policy and Conceptual Issues on Land Reform**

The government adopted land the land reform policy and supporting legislation to ensure that the objectives of the policy are achieved. One of the objectives of the land reform policy, for example, is to reduce poverty through improved access to land. The attainments of the objectives are dependent however on the effectiveness and efficiency through which the legislation is implemented. This section provides a synopsis of the findings of the research with regards to the implementation of the policy and the related legislation.

### **7.6.1 Application of the land reform legislation**

When asked whether the legislation formulated to address land reform programmes have been effectively applied in the GLM, a majority of

respondents (57%) thought the legislation and regulations had been appropriate, while 43% disagreed. This suggests that the problem might not be with the legislation and regulations *per se*, but with the public administration that is not implementing the legislation as expected.

### **7.6.2 Reviewed policy on land acquisition**

The majority (75%) of the respondents supported the idea of fast-tracking land reform by allowing the Minister of Rural Development and Land Reform to acquire land without necessarily going through the Land Claims Court. This also indicates that delay in the settlement of land claims is a matter of serious concern for people who are affected. It is against this background that the government should note that the legislative and regulatory framework in place needs review. Accelerating the whole process of land reform would make an enormous contribution towards poverty reduction and community development.

A similar pattern occurred in Zimbabwe's Fast Track Land Reform Programme policy, which yielded good results. Over 220 000 families received farming land by 2006. It indicates that if South Africa can fast track the land reform programme many people can be assisted (African Renaissance, 2006: 51).

### **7.6.3 Legislative review**

Only 24% of the respondents regarded the recent review of legislation as being applicable in the study area. They indicated that numerous land claims had been lodged with the commissioner in their area, signalling the extent of land need there. Most respondents (76%) saw no relevance to local circumstances in the recent changes in legislation. They held this view because numerous redistribution projects in the area had been applied for but were still waiting approval. It should be noted that reviewing the current legislation to fast-track restitution projects was an initiative of the Minister.

### **7.6.4 Information about Land Reform programme**

Asked whether people in the GLM were informed about land reform programmes, in particular land redistribution and land restitution, more than 70% of the respondents agreed that people had been informed about the land

reform programme, with only 30% dissenting from this view. The 70% is a significant proportion, which implies that the government is seriously engaged in a communication campaign about the programme. One could conclude that information is adequately disseminated in the study area.

#### **7.6.5 Proposals for information sharing**

Respondents were asked to provide suggestions on how the community could be informed about the various programmes and the following proposals were offered:

- Workshops and meetings could be used as a mechanism for reaching out to people in various communities. This is an indication that people really need information in order to participate in such initiatives and also that workshops and meetings within the community play a significant role in the gathering of information and knowledge sharing.
- Local municipalities should conduct monthly meetings where people would get information on land reform programmes and other development initiatives.
- In some cases, a forum could be facilitated by the local municipality to communicate various development initiatives and opportunities that are available to the community. The respondents felt that the local municipality should educate people about land reform programmes, and recognised the local municipality as having a key role in the dissemination of information to its constituency in view of its accessibility to everyone in the community.
- Some respondents called for the municipality to approach headmen for discussion meetings pertaining to land reform. At the moment, the two institutions (traditional authorities and local municipalities) do not see eye-to-eye on issues regarding land, since the balance of power seems to have changed in favour of the local municipalities. The municipalities have land administration authority in many rural areas, a function that was initially administered by traditional authorities through the headmen.

This kind of cooperation could assist in establishing linkages relating to land reform and other development initiatives. Currently, local municipalities do not seem to have an interest in land redistribution and the result is that the traditional authorities go it alone. The local municipalities are not involved as authorities in land reform and this makes them less interested in land redistribution. However, the traditional authorities do not have any problem with that, because most of the land reform projects relate to land originally dispossessed from them. In fact, they stand to benefit from the land reform programme more than the municipalities.

- Some respondents suggested that the lack of land-related information in the study area could be resolved through government intervention. Although they did not indicate the type of intervention, this showed that they understood the role that government has to play.

## **7.7 Impact of Land Reform on Key Community Determinants**

For any policy or government programme to be successful, it is important to have supporting services and resources. The research looked at whether the necessary inputs such as financial support, capacity building initiatives and support infrastructure were provided to the beneficiaries. The following section provides a summary of the findings of the research with regard to related support services.

### **7.7.1 Acquisition of new skills**

Asked whether land redistribution projects had assisted them to acquire new skills, a minority (34%) of the respondents said that this had not happened for them. They indicated that they had not acquired the farming skills which they had expected to acquire, they found themselves still short of skills and in the same position as those who had never participated in the projects. The majority (66%) of respondents did however report that the land reform projects assisted them in acquiring new skills. Examples would be acquisition of skills in crop rotation and exposure to new approaches for production. Members of the

nearby community who were employed on the farms learnt new farming skills and commented that they were also able to apply these new skills in the cultivation of smaller vegetable gardens at home, producing vegetables and subtropical fruit like mangos and bananas. Also mentioned were new skills in livestock breeding, such as how to control ticks and other parasites. Overall, the project had made a significant development impact on the community, indicating to stakeholders that promotion of land redistribution projects, offered substantial subsidiary benefits for community members in extending their level of skills.

In the literature review, it was noted that Brazil's land reform beneficiaries were afforded skills training in managing tree nurseries and identifying the seed-bearing trees. This serves as a point of similarity in terms of the approach.

### **7.7.2 Reduced unemployment**

Asked whether land reform programmes reduced unemployment in the GLM, 59% of the respondents said that land reform programmes had reduced unemployment, with 41% dissenting. It should be noted that when these programmes were introduced, an important objective was to create new jobs, and the responses to this question indicate a fair measure of success in this regard.

### **7.7.3 Access to financial assistance**

Just over half of the respondents (54%) said that they had not been able to access financial assistance from the financial institutions, while 46% said that they had been able to access financial assistance. These figures present land reform stakeholders with a serious challenge because finance is crucial to the success of any project and failure to prioritise financial assistance will seriously jeopardise land reform outcomes.

While financial assistance is crucial in every project, the actual provision of assistance in a land reform programmes can take the form of either loans or grants, according to the specific needs of the project. Loan criteria can be designed to suit the beneficiaries' circumstances, and grants to land reform

beneficiaries from financial institutions such as banks can serve as corporate social investment by the financial institution concerned. The financial assistance received by land reform beneficiaries in this study came from the Land Bank.

When the respondents were asked for suggestions about how to win the support of financial institutions, they mentioned the need for land reform beneficiaries to work hard so as to create a good impression for financial institutions and thereby heighten their possible interest in providing financial backing.

In comparison, the Brazilian government gave the producer groups amongst the land reform communities not only training, but also financial support in certifying their products (Cullen, Alger and Rambaltdt, 2005: 752). This approach can also be adopted by the South African government.

#### **7.7.4 Consequences of inadequate financial assistance**

With regard to the consequences of a shortfall in financial assistance, 60% of the respondents indicated that this has negatively affected their operations, although a minority (40%) said that lack of financial assistance had not affected the projects at all. The point has already been made that finance is key to any operation and a shortfall could have detrimental effects, as was the case with these land reform projects.

With a majority of beneficiaries reporting that their operations were affected by the lack of financial assistance/support, it is evident that the support was quite minimal. As a consequence, community development will be far from being achieved and poverty reduction will remain a challenge, both in the study area and in other areas that have land reform projects. Lack of financial support, such as was the case in this study, heightens the problem of unemployment. In turn the resulting increase in welfare dependency puts a heavier burden on the taxpayers who fill the government's coffers.

#### **(a) Contribution of land reform projects to local economic development**

The responses indicate that the land reform projects in this research have contributed positively to the local economy, with a significant 86% of the respondents agreeing that this was the case, as opposed to 14% who disagreed. The benefits to communities that flowed from redistribution would be in relation to job opportunities and the possibility of cultivating produce.

The lesson to be drawn by stakeholders from these projects is that if they are taken seriously – and are supported with the necessary requirements such as infrastructure, tractors and seeds – they can make a strong contribution to the local economy. This should encourage belief in these land reform programmes on the part of conscientious officials who can give proper account for their day-to-day activities.

#### **(b) Land Reform projects serving as good models for community development**

A majority of respondents (88%) regarded the land reform projects as good models for developing communities. Notably, only 12% disagreed. The 88% saw the land reform projects as an opportunity for disadvantaged people to access property and participate in the mainstream economy. This showed that strategic planning on the part of the public officials involved in administration processes had been very good (Haynes, 2003: 113). In whatever decisions they arrived at in their action planning, the objectives were effectively geared towards improvement (Denhardt and Denhardt, 2009: 197).

For most participants, the land reform programmes created employment in the form of job opportunities on the newly acquired farms. This was one area where the South African legislation can be considered to have addressed the inequalities of the past. One particular positive impact of land reform is that it immediately extends the number of individuals who have access to property in contrast to the previous situation where ownership of a farm was vested in just a single person.

## 7.8 Extent of Satisfaction with the Pace of Change

One of the objectives of the research was to determine the gaps in the implementation of the land reform programme. One of the areas identified as critical was the pace of implementing the land reform programme. The research assessed whether various stakeholders were satisfied with the pace of land reform, and the responses are summarised hereunder.

### 7.8.1 Satisfaction with the implementation of land reform policy

There was relatively wide satisfaction, at 67% of respondents, with the rate of implementation of the land reform in the area. In an indication of their willingness to continuously participate in these land reform programmes, the respondents suggested areas that needed improvement. Among their suggestions were the following:

- **Leadership to visit land reform projects.** Respondents noted that once projects had been awarded, that appeared to be the end of their interaction with political leadership. They felt that politicians should make time to visit the projects in order to get first-hand information on the status of the land reform projects. Fortunately, the visit by the NCOP to Nkowankowa Township, in the Greater Tzaneen Municipality, Limpopo Province, had been a good gesture. During the week-long official visit, time was set aside for NCOP members to visit some of the land reform projects in the vicinity. To its dismay, NCOP they found the situation so chaotic that the Minister was compelled to convene a special parliamentary session to consider their findings. It was found that most of the projects had ground to a halt due to implementation problems. Some lacked the necessary equipment to till the soil, while others did not have the necessary farming infrastructure. Had it not been for the visit to these projects, they would not have known of these massive challenges that faced the beneficiaries.
- **Financial support and information on how to access these important aspects.** This was a matter of acute concern for the land reform beneficiaries because without access to funds farming

operations would be seriously hampered. The importance of financial resources cannot be overemphasised.

- **Putting the farming activities in order.** The departments that had a direct role to play in supporting land reform programmes should review their priorities. For instance, the Department of Agriculture should define its roles, responsibilities and objectives. It should put together a clearly defined programme for the agricultural extension officers who would be important in providing support services.
- **Local municipalities should develop an integrated plan as they work out their IDPs that cover land reform projects.** A budget should be set aside to cater for the land reform programmes. If need be, the budget from the Municipal Infrastructure Grant (MIG) should also incorporate the land reform projects.

#### **(a) Prioritising land reform programmes in Greater Letaba Local Municipality**

When respondents were asked whether the GLM gave priority to land reform programmes, 57% said yes, and 43% said no. The fact that only 57% agreed that the Municipality had given this priority is a somewhat doubtful confirmation of municipal commitment to the land reform process.

The respondents made various suggestions regarding ways in which the community can be awarded projects, among which was the suggestion that hard work by the community would provide added motivation for government to assist further. They emphasised the necessity of looking after projects, taking ownership of the projects rather than thinking that this was purely a concern for government and not for themselves.

Respondents also felt that working with the government was another way they could give support, and that community cooperation with the government was important for successful implementation of land reform.

The beneficiaries in the GLM sought to avoid the collapse of land reform projects by working as hard as they were able to. This was important to attract

support, since no-one would wish to invest where people were inactive. They sought to be vigorous and careful when working on these acquired properties. Where they encountered doubtful issues, it was very important for the ultimate survival of the project to engage in consultation. The respondents further suggested that the beneficiaries should learn to tackle problems head-on, rather than rely solely on external assistance.

### **(b) Aftercare service**

A majority (73%) of the respondents indicated that land reform beneficiaries in the study area were not receiving aftercare assistance; with only 27% reporting that beneficiaries had received such assistance. The minimal level of support thus indicated, could seriously affect the beneficiaries' operations.

It emerged further that the aftercare assistance that some land reform beneficiaries had in fact received, covered advice on both farming and technical operations, both of these being key aspects for any successful farming venture. It was unfortunate that the majority within the research area had not had access to this assistance, and it should be a major concern for all stakeholders that the awarded projects receive full attention to sustain their operations.

In comparison, as indicated in the literature review, China's redistributive land reform programme. was intended to improve rural development This was done by prioritising access to inputs, liberalising output markets and improving agricultural trade. In fact, China's approach was focused on improving the economy by supporting the land reform programme (Griffin, Khan & Ickowitz, 2001: 50). This resulted in high growth rates and living standards in the country. In South Africa all these stakeholders were expected to be committed from the outset and to keep their input as constant as possible. Perhaps, there should be mechanisms to measure the extent of this aftercare with the intention of establishing the gaps and filling them. In fact, aftercare should have a timeframe within which feedback should be solicited; this would afford opportunities for intervention. The need for aftercare support, particularly for land reform beneficiaries, cannot be overemphasised. In fact, the NGOs,

municipalities, Department of Rural Development and Land Reform, Department of Agriculture, and private sector should provide assistance to these projects, because they are a key priority for the country's democracy. If the government can introduce tax incentives that were linked to land reform projects, both the private sector and the NGOs will be attracted to participating in the programme. The government might also consider subsidising the services to beneficiaries rendered by both NGOs and the private sector.

The advice that the respondents provided to the stakeholders on the aftercare services covered a number of issues, some of which are discussed below:

- **The need for financial management and financial skills.**

It is encouraging to realise that the beneficiaries were able to identify their inabilities. For instance, effective management was integral to the success of their farming activities. Previous discussions highlighted the fact that some projects had collapsed, and inadequate management was one of the causes. Perhaps intervention by various stakeholders is necessary to avert such problems. Finance, too, is a priority in any farming operation, and financial advice should; therefore, be welcomed.

- **Provision of farming infrastructure and the necessary inputs.**

The request by the beneficiaries of both farming infrastructure and inputs is an indication of the beneficiaries' commitment to the awarded projects. In addition to the input of farming activity the beneficiaries also required relevant infrastructure, as mentioned in the previous discussion. For instance, it was indicated that they needed fencing material, tractors and water. Perhaps if the stakeholders had heeded this call, improvements would be noticed with time.

## **7.9 Category 2: Interviews**

Interviews were held with government officials, councillors and traditional leaders. The section below summarises the responses obtained during the interview.

## 7.10 Interviews with Government Officials

Government officials were interviewed from the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform and the Department of Agriculture in the Limpopo District. A summary follows of their responses to the schedule of questions put to them:

- The interviewees responded that the local community showed little interest in supporting land reform programmes, as could be seen in their failure to purchase produce from the land reform projects. For example, when the members of the community needed to purchase a cow for slaughter at an occasion such as a funeral or a festivity, they chose to buy from commercial farmers. Furthermore when meetings were called by the farmers to share issues regarding farming, very few community members showed up. They further noted that land reform beneficiaries often failed to stick to the approved business plan for project implementation. All too often, the business plan that had been drawn up to secure the farm was left in the office to gather dust, regarded as having no further significance once the farm had passed to the beneficiaries. Planting was done without any coordination, as if they were still just engaged in subsistence farming. In addition, there was no attempt to draw on the experience of established commercial farmers who could pass on farming skills to the beneficiaries, nor in many cases did advanced commercial farmers see the need to assist land reform recipients. There was no mutual cooperation between the two parties, whereas it could have been very helpful for the commercial farmers to share their farming skills with land reform beneficiaries who were new to the farming industry.
- All interviewees agreed that the land reform programme attracted investment in the GLM, as evidenced in projects such as the Sapekoe Tea Estates. Following near collapse of the project after the beneficiaries occupied the properties. Production was restored once the investor company became involved.

- All interviewees concurred that land reform beneficiaries in the GLM had not received any training in farm production. Most agreed that inadequate finance had been a serious shortcoming in the implementation of the land reform programme. The interviewees mentioned that the programme had made no significant contribution to the reduction of unemployment, and they saw the neglect of capacity building for land reform beneficiaries as a serious flaw in the programme.
- All interviewees strongly agreed that the review of land acquisition policy to allow the Minister of Rural Development and Land Reform to acquire land without going through the Land's Claim Court would fast track the process of land reform. The respondents regarded court action as a way of delaying the land acquisition process. This frequently caused frustration for stakeholders who were impatient to acquire the properties, whereas the reviewed process ensured that the Minister would acquire the property provided there were land reform beneficiaries who needed it. According to another review arrangement, the Minister would, if the state deemed it necessary, expropriate the property for allocation to the land reform beneficiaries.

### **7.11 Interviews with Municipal Council Members in the Land and Infrastructure Portfolio**

Members on the municipal portfolio committee that dealt with land allocation and infrastructure development in the GLM were interviewed. The following responses were recorded from the interview sessions:

- The councillors were of the view that the land reform projects created an opportunity for local people to explore both farming and entrepreneurial skills. They further noted that more such opportunities should be created by the municipality.
- The interviewees were all in agreement that the land reform projects made a significant contribution to the local economy. However, there

were those who maintained that such contribution came at a very slow pace due to inadequate resources.

- The councillors highlighted the following as challenges in the implementation of the Land Reform programme in the study area: poor financial management by beneficiaries; insufficient support by the agricultural extension service officers; beneficiaries with no background farming knowledge; and lack of coordination of roles and responsibilities between the department and the municipality.
- There was disagreement among councillors as to whether poverty had diminished since the inception of land reform in the study area, since there were people working on the land reform projects who still relied on state pension grants.
- The councillors acknowledged that unemployment was a continuing problem that was unlikely to be solved quickly. They saw the surrounding farms as assisting in local employment provision, even if only at a basic level.

## **7.12 Interviews with Traditional Authorities in the Greater Letaba Local Municipality**

Traditional leaders have authority over much of the area that falls within the GLM. They reported that land reform beneficiaries continually complained to their offices about support services not being provided by the Department of Agriculture's extension services and about long delays before departmental officials responded to any request.

The traditional authorities agreed that lack of financial assistance hampered the operations of land reform projects, as evident in the fact that there had been no improvements in infrastructure and that production had continued to decline.

The traditional authorities indicated that the collapse of land reform projects could be avoided by:

- strengthening the farm management

- exposing the beneficiaries to continuous training rather than once-off training
- government assistance in marketing farm products
- ensuring that farms went to people who have an interest in farming

The traditional authorities maintained that there was not enough input from stakeholders to the success of land reform programmes. They said that major stakeholders such as established commercial farmers were reluctant to support the programme, and that persuading them to contribute remains a challenge for the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform.

### **7.13 Conclusion**

The chapter outlined responses from the questionnaires which furnished data for analysis and interpretation. The discussion revealed the impact of Land Reform on the beneficiaries, and inferences and conclusions could be drawn from the acquired data.

The discussion of the responses of the interviews from government officials, traditional authorities and municipal councillors, provided insight into the land reform programme. The discussion of their responses clarified issues concerning their role in the land reform programme and their perceptions of the programme. The next chapter will provide conclusions and recommendations from this research.

## **Chapter 8**

### **Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations**

#### **8.1 Introduction**

This chapter presents the conclusions drawn after the data collected from both questionnaires and interviews was interpreted. Based on these conclusions, recommendations are provided to clarify the status of land reform and suggest measures to deal with the impact of land redistribution.

Conclusions are drawn in relation to the extent to which the South African legislation and framework addressed the land reform objectives as well as the impact of the land reform programme on community development. Furthermore, conclusions relating to the processes and functions followed during the implementation of land redistribution are provided. The section further captures the gaps identified during the research. In the chapter, recommendations are detailed in respect of the findings.

The recommendations cover the role that different stakeholders such as the municipality, Department of Land Reform and Rural Development and traditional leaders should play to support the land reform programme.

#### **8.2 Summary and Conclusions**

It has been noted in this study that South Africa's rural areas are characterised by high levels of poverty, unemployment and inequality. A number of authors regard access to land as a key factor in addressing these challenges, since the skewed land ownership patterns imposed by apartheid make it necessary for land to be redistributed. The summary and conclusions hereunder were discussed in respect of the research objectives as outlined in Chapter 1.

##### **8.2.1 The extent to which the South African legislative and policy framework addressed the land reform issue:**

This research indicated shortcomings in the implementation of land redistribution affected the achievement of this objective.

- Lack of support by agricultural extension officers was cited as a problem by just over half of the respondents, who said that no visits had been made to their project by any agricultural extension officer (Section 7.3.2.1 Table 7.4). This suggests that urgent intervention is needed from the Department of Agriculture if those programmes are to succeed. From a public administration point of view, in the hierarchy of policies, politicians adopt policies, but it is the responsibility of officials to implement them. The research revealed that policy is in place, but its implementation falls short. The intended policy outcomes are not being realised because extension officers are not providing the necessary support to land redistribution beneficiaries.
- Monitoring and evaluation is crucial to the success of any public project, and the research showed that land redistribution projects were not being adequately monitored by the Department to make sure that production on the redistributed farms remained uninterrupted. The beneficiaries called for much closer supervision by Department, since much of what happened on these projects took place without the Department's knowledge.

8.2.2 Whether the processes and functions followed in implementing the land redistribution programme enabled the attainment of the programme objectives. The conclusions to be drawn are as follows:

- Programmes are failing because the necessary resources are not at hand. In particular, project beneficiaries often did not have access to the necessary farming machinery, and they called for better oversight by the Department to ensure that projects are properly equipped.
- A particular difficulty for officials trying to ensure that all land reform beneficiaries had access to financial assistance was that beneficiaries themselves often failed to meet requirements imposed by the financial institutions. One such requirement which frustrated land reform officials was that the financial institutions required collateral security but land reform beneficiaries were not permitted to use land as collateral.

Beneficiaries were advised to approach the financial institutions for capital investment, but without success. Land reform officials need to find ways to mobilise financial resources from potential stakeholders for assistance to beneficiaries. Likewise, the state needs to improve its planning for land redistribution projects to make sure that aftercare services are delivered appropriately. Land reform officials were sympathetic towards beneficiaries who had not received the aftercare that should have been given by Department of Agriculture officials, and expressed disappointment about the lack of commitment on the part of Agriculture officials. Rather than visit the land reform projects, Agriculture officials preferred to visit projects which fell within their own initiatives in the Department of Agriculture. This is a situation where public officials, as implementers of land reform policy, need to be held accountable for projects that do not attain the set objectives, but the chain of responsibility is often flawed. Progress stalls when, as too often happens, reports submitted by junior officials about the status of the land redistribution projects are ignored by their seniors. In turn, problems of budget constraints and staff shortages circulate in-house, behind closed doors, and are not communicated to the affected project beneficiaries. Officials are left in the position of trying to balance the need for open communication with preserving confidence in the public image of the department.

- Although it was important for beneficiaries to succeed on the redistributed land allocated to them, that they should receive training in up-to-date production methods, and although departmental officials had a responsibility to see that this kind of training was provided, the study found that for the most part, land reform beneficiaries did not receive such training. One reason was that budget constraints prevented the department from outsourcing services of this kind, but in any case, the department did not regard training of the land reform beneficiaries as its priority. Rather, it felt that its main responsibility was the provision of land. As far as the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform

was concerned, training and agricultural mentorship was the responsibility of the Department of Agriculture. For an appropriate value chain to be established in this regard, interdepartmental coordination (and coordination generally between the various role-players) is clearly very necessary. The study revealed that this kind of cooperation and coordination between the two departments was lacking. They were expected to plan programmes that were geared to capacitate land reform beneficiaries, but it was evident that such planning and coordination had not been undertaken by either department.

- It was also evident that departmental officials were not visiting the land redistribution projects regularly to provide aftercare service. This indicated a general level of inefficiency in that budget allocations earmarked for land reform communities had been diverted to other departmental commitments.

#### 8.2.3 How far the land redistribution programme had contributed to community development and poverty reduction?

- Two-thirds of the respondents indicated that the land redistribution programme had assisted them in acquiring new farming skills, although this had not happened for a significant remaining third (Section 7.3.2.3). It can be concluded that the land redistribution projects have been making a positive impact in equipping beneficiaries with new farming skills, but with room for further improvement.
- One of the government's priorities was job creation to reduce the high unemployment rate. On this point, a majority (59%) of the respondents said that land reform programmes have reduced unemployment, with a minority (41%) dissenting (Section 7.3.2.3). Clearly, unemployment remains a challenge, and the mechanisms of land redistribution need to be overhauled to raise the level of job creation.

- Almost three-quarters of the land redistribution beneficiaries did not receive any income from the projects (Section 7.3.2.1). It can therefore be concluded that the land redistribution projects still have a long way to go in improving the livelihoods of the beneficiaries; poverty reduction remains a challenge, and land redistribution is not yet making meaningful contribution to community development.

### **8.2.2 Gaps discovered in the implementation of the land redistribution programme:**

- Land reform beneficiaries were unable to access financial assistance from financial institutions. The kinds of financial support that is needed would be in the form of either loans tailored to suit the particular needs of a given project or of grants to land reform beneficiaries which would also constitute corporate social investment on the part of the particular financial institution. The absence of such financial assistance prevented the land redistribution programme from achieving its objectives. The study found that less than half of the respondents had been able to access financial assistance from financial institutions (Section 7.3.2.3). This suggests that the government should devise approaches that would induce financial institutions to develop an interest in land reform programmes.
- Almost three-quarters of the respondents received no aftercare service (Section 7.3.2.4). This indicates a gap in the planning and organisation of the programme, for which the officials concerned need to account.

### **8.2.3 What lessons could the main stakeholders in land reform learn to improve the implementation strategy? The following conclusions were drawn:**

- The international perspective shows that in most countries land redistribution has not contributed to community development or poverty reduction. These countries face numerous challenges. The literature review reveals that in Zimbabwe, for example, land resettlement has not

succeeded in increasing production; instead, agricultural production has been reduced to the level of subsistence farming, leading to an escalation in poverty and people fleeing the country. In Namibia, the land redistribution programme's willing-seller willing-buyer approach has not contributed to community development. In some cases, the slow pace of land redistribution has even led Namibian farm workers to threaten action against White-owned farms. Similarly, in Ethiopia's land redistribution, the equally distributed plots of land allocated to recipients were too small for the farmers to produce enough to both feed their families and sell in the market. The programme encouraged subsistence production and failed to promote community development and poverty reduction. South Africa's land redistribution corresponds with the experience of land redistribution in other African countries. Various stakeholders have raised concerns regarding the pace at which land is being redistributed according to the willing-seller willing-buyer principle. The land reform programme has failed to make a significant impact on poverty and community development, with a large proportion of land recipients who responded in this study indicating that their income was not sufficient for their needs.

- The research revealed that all the land redistribution models adopted by various countries around the world, in particular the willing-buyer willing-seller principle, were open to controversy in one way or another. The willing-buyer willing-seller principle, based on the World Bank's market-led land reform, met with difficulties in Zimbabwe because it needed more funding and the ultimate result, to mention just one consequence, was land grabbing without compensation. In South Africa, the model led to challenges that resulted in the National Land Summit of 2005, with calls for a moratorium on the principle. In Namibia, farm dwellers were hounded off the farms that had been sold and the government had insufficient funds to purchase farms that were on the market.
- The literature review also showed that public-private partnerships can be entered into both by local municipalities and, as discussed in Chapter

2, between government and civil society organisations to accelerate land redistribution.

- The case study of *Bophelo Ke Semphekgo* outlined in Chapter 5 indicates that NGOs such as the Nkuzi Development Association can provide valuable assistance in capacity building for land redistribution projects. With help from Khanya College, the assistance provided to land redistribution beneficiaries by this NGO in the form of training in project and financial management shows that the success of land reform projects calls for a concerted effort on the part of all stakeholders, not just government alone. The same NGO has also collaborated productively with the Makhado Municipality and the LPM in developing strategic planning for land reform projects. In each case, it should be noted, the assistance and the capacity building for the land reform beneficiaries were provided free of charge by the NGO.

### **8.3 Recommendations**

Taking into account the findings of the survey, in conjunction with the literature review, the following recommendations, for government in particular, are provided:

#### **8.3.1 Incorporate land reform in Municipal Integrated Development Plans**

As part of the LED strategy, the local municipalities should include land reform projects in their IDPs and make provision for land reform in their IDP budgeting. The budget for the Municipal Infrastructure Grant (MIG) should likewise incorporate land reform projects (Section 7.3.2.4-). In the study area, it was established that the local municipality did provide some support to land reform beneficiaries, as confirmed by 57% of the respondents, although 43% said that such support had not been forthcoming (Section 7.3.2; Table 7.4) . The municipality kept the communities informed about the land redistribution projects and this recommendation thus seeks to extend and consolidate municipal commitment, since there is currently no policy that obligates

municipalities to support land reform projects. Municipal officials can also assist in co-ordinating and mobilising other stakeholders, such as the Department of Roads and Transport (for farm access roads) and the department responsible for the support of Small and Medium Micro Enterprises (SMMEs).

### **8.3.2 Financial Support**

The research found that a majority (54%) of the respondents had been unable to access the finance they required for farming operations (Section 7.3.2.3 ). This indicates that need for financial support and information on how to access the resources - to make the land redistribution projects viable. There is a range of stakeholders from whom this support should be forthcoming, including the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform, the Industrial Development Corporation and the Land Bank. The support can take various forms such as development of programmes that will mobilise other stakeholders to join in supporting the land redistribution beneficiaries. Appropriate incentives, in the form of tax rebates, should be offered to encourage established commercial farmers to develop an interest in and support land redistribution projects. The state could also develop mechanisms to encourage state enterprises such as MAFISA to assist land redistribution beneficiaries with funds and skills development. It should also be made obligatory for the Department of Agriculture to provide its extension services to land reform beneficiaries.

### **8.3.3 The Role of political leadership**

Respondents indicated the need for improvement in the role of the political leadership, considering that all too often political intervention came to a halt once projects were approved and awarded (Section 7.3.2.4). This was regarded by the respondents as contributing to the failure of their operations.

The role of the political leadership, in addition to developing laws and policies, is to exercise oversight over the administration to ensure that the policies and laws are implemented as envisaged, and to carry out this oversight through a regular commitment to visit the land reform projects and thus acquaint

themselves at first hand with the challenges faced by the land reform beneficiaries. Having proposed the land reform policy in the first place, political leaders have a responsibility to ensure that it succeeds. Strengthening the oversight role through structured monitoring and evaluation processes is something that happens at present through the National Council of Provinces (NCOP), even if only on an *ad hoc* basis. In view of the findings of the research, there is a need for this institution to consolidate its role in a specific programme relating to land redistribution. Consolidating the NCOP's role will mean, among other things, establishing sub-committees designated for each of the nine provinces. They should have offices within the nine provinces, instead of having to travel when they conduct izimbizo. The NCOP staff should be capacitated to conduct monitoring and evaluation for the land redistribution projects on a regular base.

#### **8.3.4 Aftercare needed for land reform**

The findings showed that there was a critical need for aftercare for land reform beneficiaries; with a - majority (73%) of the respondents saying that aftercare had been inadequate (Section 7.3.2.4). Aftercare services will create opportunities for the leadership in land redistribution project to acquire the requisite skills to undertake financial, operational, and resources management, and develop their leadership and institutional management capacity, without which some land redistribution projects threaten to collapse. Management was identified as an integral ingredient for the success of farming activities. Aftercare services should not be sourced from the Department of Agriculture alone, since there is a wide variety of institutions with vested interests in agriculture which could offer constructive input in this regard.

#### **8.3.5 Agricultural infrastructure required**

Another finding was that the requisite aftercare included provision of agricultural infrastructure and related inputs such as fencing material, water pumps and other equipment. It is the responsibility of the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform to coordinate the provision of the necessary infrastructure and inputs such as water, seeds and fencing material. Some of

the farms in the research area acquired by beneficiaries had old infrastructure (fencing, water pumps, etc.) that was no longer functional and needed to be replaced with assistance from the Department. In other instances the former owners simply neglected the farms once the negotiations for the farm purchase began. Prolonged by slow bureaucratic procedures, it is not unusual for the process of acquisition to take a year or more to reach completion after the willing buyer and willing seller have first registered their interest with the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform. During this time, some owners simply stop farming operations, knowing that the property will soon be changing hands.

### **8.3.6 Extension officers accounting to politicians**

The research found that almost half (49%) of the beneficiaries had not been visited by extension services officers at the project site (Section 7.3.2.1 ). Steps must be taken by the Department of Agriculture's extension service to raise the level of their activities, including report-back to political representatives. Extension service oversight of land redistribution projects must include the provision of regular updates on the status of the projects, and requiring extension officers to furnish reports to the political structures in municipality, would be a way to impress upon them the importance of their responsibilities in the land reform processes.

### **8.3.7 Increasing the Department of Agriculture staff complement**

The research revealed that there was a shortage of staff to monitor farm activities. It is recommended that there be an increase of staff in the Department of Agriculture. At present, too many responsibilities are imposed upon an inadequate staff complement. The monitoring of land redistribution projects, for instance, would best be executed by a specifically assigned unit within the Department. Currently, the Department of Agriculture's officials regard land redistribution projects as just one of the many farming schemes that they deal with in the range of their general activities, and a specialist unit needs to be assigned that would have an exclusive focus on assistance to land redistribution recipients. In other words, a customer-driven government unit

that can cut through the layers of bureaucracy to directly tackle the needs of its customers is necessary.

### **8.3.8 Sufficient training in agricultural production**

The government officials indicated that the land redistribution beneficiaries did not receive adequate training in agricultural production. It needs to be impressed upon the officials who should be delivering this training that their primary duty is to render service to the public (in this case the land redistribution beneficiaries), and that this service must accordingly be of the highest possible standard (Section 7.3.2.1). The land beneficiaries need to have continuous in-service training that capacitates them in their day-to-day activities, including aspects of farming such as crop rotation and livestock breeding. The officials must be competent to mentor and coach the land reform beneficiaries who are seeking to acquire these skills and they must also understand which particular skills the land reform beneficiaries in need of. What happens at present is that Instead of being assisted, the beneficiaries simply get referred to the Department of Agriculture. If the land reform officials were themselves skilled and capacitated in farming activities they would genuinely be in a position to help the beneficiaries. So, the land reform officials too need specific training in farming ventures, with some having to specialise in cattle raising and others in vegetable cultivation or poultry production, etc. One way to achieve this would be for a series of specialist workshops to be conducted for land reform programme staff to integrate their work more closely with the particular land reform project they have responsibility for.

### **8.3.9 Need for financial resources**

Officers of the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform (and government officials in general) need to give priority to financial controls. More financial resources are required to ensure that the land reform projects make a contribution to the local economy (Section 7.4.2 ). The budget for aftercare services should also be increased. s required in public administration, officials are expected to perform their duties thoroughly to the best of their abilities. The

allocated budget should be spent accurately and economically to achieve quality outcomes.

#### **8.3.10 Need for strict control measures**

Land reform projects require strict control measures to be maintained by the public officials charged with this particular responsibility. It is recommended that the public officials, including political office-bearers, should conduct regular inspections and audits on all land reform projects so that any difficulties that crop up are quickly identified and recorded a way of establishing the challenges on time. These challenges will be noted in regular short-term departmental reports rather than being held over to the Annual Reports (Section 7.3.2.4). Presently, these audit reports are sometimes suppressed within the bureaucracy because certain officials do not want to be seen as incompetent. Project-level and junior officers are discouraged and demotivated when they submit detailed reports about irregularities, only to find, when it comes to the Annual Report that, the information has been censored by the Director to whom they are answerable.

#### **8.3.11 Disregard of business plans by land reform beneficiaries**

Findings from the interviews with officials of the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform indicate that most land reform beneficiaries fail to operate the acquired farms according to the business plans provided for the Department (Section 7.4.1). It is recommended that departmental officials should closely monitor the implementation of business plans to make sure that they are adhered to. The carefully drawn up business plan according to which a land redistribution project is judged to be viable is a key requirement for Ministerial approval of the project, and failure to adhere to it can seriously undermine the legitimacy of the project. As noted in Chapter 7, officials accuse land redistribution beneficiaries of ignoring these business plans, and for this reason, the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform needs to assign a specific official for each project to oversee the implementation of its business plan. This would be a step towards restoring integrity and honesty to this area of public administration.

### **8.3.12 Increase extension services**

The findings further indicate the need for extension services in land redistribution projects (Section 7.3.2.1). These services need to be expanded, with agricultural officers being more closely involved in assisting the planning process in various farming operations. On land used for cattle farming, for example, extension officers should advise the land reform beneficiaries on how to avoid overgrazing by subdividing the farm according to its per hectare carrying capacity that is recommended by the experts in the Department of Agriculture.

### **8.3.13 Problems with the willing-seller willing-buyer principle**

Experience of the willing-seller willing-buyer principle in different countries indicates that the disadvantages of this model, based on the World Bank's market-led land reform programme, outweigh its advantages (Section 8.2) . It requires more funding because sellers inflate farm prices and governments cannot afford to buy. It is recommended that the productive value of the farm be considered instead of the market-related value. This would ensure that the farms are affordable for the government to purchase for the land reform beneficiaries.

### **8.3.14 Communication**

The availability of relevant information is critical for the success of any business. The study revealed that although information was shared by means of the *imbizos*, information sharing remained insufficient. A Communication strategy needs to be improved. It is also recommended that emerging farmers should establish their own forum where they will share experiences (Section 7.3.2.2). This information sharing should also be extended by occasionally inviting established commercial farmers to share best practices. Municipalities and the Department of Agriculture should work together to facilitate the sessions.

### **8.3.15 Need for community support**

It was noted that community members living next to the land redistribution projects hardly ever purchased vegetables from these farms (Section 7.4.1 ). Marketing by the emerging farmers needs to be improved, with a specific budget allocation for marketing their produce to the general public. Land redistribution projects located in the same vicinity should be encouraged to share the costs by appointing one institution to market their produce. The traditional authorities should also assist by marketing produce from the land redistribution projects at their council meetings and community gatherings.

### **8.3.16 Capacity building for beneficiaries**

The findings revealed a lack of farming skills amongst the beneficiaries who acquired the land redistribution farms (Section 7.4.1; Section 7.4.2 and Section 7.4.3 ). One remedy for this would be for commercial farmers to be drawn into the projects to pass on their farming skills to the land reform beneficiaries, with government initiating arrangements for this and monitoring how it unfolds. A possible arrangement would be to enter into a contract for three to five years with an experienced farm manager whose role would be to monitor, guide and coach the new incumbents on acceptable farming practices. The manager could be a former owner who is willing to transfer his skills, particularly since he would know the farm better than any other person.

### **8.3.17 Partnerships**

Most of the farms that the land reform beneficiaries acquired had been highly productive. The Department should set up partnerships with experienced institutions to avoid a decline in production, following the example of the Sapekoe Tea Estate which was rescued by an investment company.

### **8.3.18 Strong coordination between Municipality and department**

There should be strong coordination between the Department and the municipality (Section 7.3.2.4). Policy and legislation should be developed to ensure that this coordination works. Municipalities are in closer proximity to land redistribution projects than the Department of Rural Development and

Land Reform, and the national department should provide a budget to the municipalities to enable them to assist with aftercare services. Municipal staff members need to be capacitated for agricultural farming operations.

#### **8.3.19 Strategic support from traditional authorities**

The traditional authorities should provide strategic support to land reform beneficiaries. These institutions are in close contact with the land reform beneficiaries (Section 7.4.3), which makes them well placed to monitor the projects. They should assist in persuading the Department and government not to lose sight of the projects and they should also be called on to assist in conflict resolution, since conflicts often arise in the course of land redistribution.

### **8.4 Conclusion**

Challenges remain in working towards the commendable objectives of poverty alleviation and community development in South Africa's land reform process. If these objectives are to be achieved, it is especially important for the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform to meet the highest possible standards in its public administration functions and processes, but the ultimate success of land reform and land redistribution in South Africa depends on the active commitment of all stakeholders.

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## **Appendix A:**

Interview Questions: Impact of Land Reform in the Greater Letaba Local Municipality.

### **Information for participants**

All participants are requested to read Section **D** prior to participating in the interview. The purpose of this section is to ensure that the participants are informed of the nature and the purpose of the project and that the information given will be kept confidential.

Your responses will be used as a lesson to stakeholders such as the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform, Department of Agriculture, the non-governmental organisations and municipalities. Your responses will be handled with anonymity and confidentiality.

**SECTION A: POLICY AND CONCEPTUAL ISSUES OF LAND REFORM**

Strongly disagree	1
Disagree	2
Neither agree/ nor disagree	3
Agree	4
Strongly agree	5

1. The Land Reform policy receives greater attention in my area

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

2. The legislation formulated to address land reform programmes have been applicable in my area

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

3. Land Reform components viz. Redistribution and Restitution are receiving a greater attention in my area

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

4. The policy on land acquisition that has been recently reviewed to allow the Minister of Rural Development and Land Reform to acquire land without necessary going through the Land Claim's Court will fast track the process

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

5. The recent piece of legislation applicable will not be applicable in my area as it has some gaps

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

6. People receive briefings on how Land Reform policy works in the Greater Letaba Local Municipality

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

7. People in the Greater Letaba Local Municipality are informed about Land Reform programmes, particularly Land Restitution and Redistribution

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

8. If people are not informed about Land Reform, what do you think could be done to help them with the knowledge?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

9. The Land Reform legislation has been repealed and reviewed. Do you find the situation changed in Greater Letaba Local Municipality

Yes	1
No	2

10. If yes, describe the change in few sentences

.....

.....

.....

.....

11. Are there forums where people talk about Land Reform issues in your area?

Yes	1
No	2

12. If yes, please list

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

13. Do you know of the issues that are discussed at such forum (s)?

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

## SECTION B: IMPACT OF LAND REFORM

To what extent do you agree or disagree with some of the following (use the following scale provided)

Strongly disagree	1
Disagree	2
Neither agree/ nor disagree	3
Agree	4
Strongly agree	5

### 1. Local Economic Development

1.1 The approved Land Reform projects have made a significant contribution to the local economy

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

1.2 The Land Reform projects have created an opportunity for the local people to explore their farming skills as well as entrepreneurial skills

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

1.3 With regard to the following, to what extent do you believe the Land Reform projects in your area have managed to provide:

1.3.1 Progress

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

1.3.2 Growth

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

1.3.3 Challenges

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

1.4 The Land Reform projects have assisted in integration of local resources

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

1.5 The community has started to realise the infrastructure development as a result of the Land Reform programme

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

1.6 The Land Reform programme in the Greater Letaba Local Municipality serves to attract investment to the area

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

**2. Poverty Alleviation**

2.1 Greater Letaba Local Municipality is predominantly a rural municipality located in the poor province of Limpopo. Land Reform has assisted in bringing down levels of poverty

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

2.2 Please explain your choice

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

2.3 People in the Greater Letaba Local Municipality are able to feed their families from the Land Reform projects

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

2.4 Since the Land Reform programmes were kick started, poverty has been reduced in the Greater Letaba Local Municipality

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

2.5 The community's livelihood has improved due to Land Reform programme in the Greater Letaba Local Municipality

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

### 3. Employment

3.1 There is a lot of unemployment in the Greater Letaba Local Municipality. Land Reform programmes succeeded in reducing unemployment rate.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

3.2 The Land Redistribution projects in the Greater Letaba Local Municipality are capable of providing jobs for the communities.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

3.3 The Land Redistribution programmes have helped the Municipality to transform from a labour pool (supplier) for other centres into labour utilisation.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

**4. Community Development projects**

4.1 Greater Letaba Local Municipality has been awarded many Land Reform projects

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

4.2 The projects, if any, that the communities have received have assisted the participants in acquiring skills

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

4.3 The Land Reform programme has managed to trigger other development related projects in the municipality

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

4.4 The stakeholders in the communities refer to the Land Reform projects as good models for community development

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

4.5 The Democratic government has introduced the Land Reform programmes. Do you think this is given priority in the Greater Letaba Local Municipality?

Yes	1
No	2

4.6 If yes, provide reasons

.....

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

4.7 The government requires support in its implementation of the Land Reform programme from beneficiaries.

What kind of support can communities provide?

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

4.8 Some of the Land Reform projects have collapsed in other areas. How can the beneficiaries in the Greater Letaba Local Municipality avoid a similar experience?

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

**5. Capacity Building**

5.1 The Land Reform beneficiaries in Greater Letaba Local Municipality are able to access financial assistance

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

5.2 If you agree, which institutions provide the assistance.

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

5.3 If you do not agree, propose what should be done to win the support of these financial institutions.

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

5.4 Lack of financial assistance affects the operations of the Land Reform projects in the Greater Letaba Local Municipality

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

5.5 The beneficiaries receive training with regard to the farming products.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

**6. Support Services**

6.1 The beneficiaries of Land Reform in Greater Letaba Local Municipality area receive the necessary support service.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

6.2 The support service enables them to undertake their day-to-day activities

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

6.3 Since the beneficiaries received land transfer the Department of Agriculture has been sending extension service officers

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

6.4 People in my area are satisfied with the support service that they receive

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

6.5 The support service provided by Non-Government Organisations, Department of Agriculture, Department of Rural development and Land Reform and Municipality is sufficient enough to sustain the Land Reform projects in my area.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

6.6 Since the antagonists of Land Reform programmes complained that beneficiaries received no support services, there has been lot of improvements.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

6.7 If you have to advice the stakeholders on aftercare service, which areas would you like them to focus on?

.....  
 .....  
 .....  
 .....

**SECTION C: EXTENT OF SATISFACTION WITH THE PACE OF CHANGE**

1. As a resident/official of the Greater Letaba Local Municipality I find the Land Reform legislation and regulations satisfactorily applied.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

2. I am satisfied with the pace at which Land Reform policy gets implemented in the Greater Letaba Local Municipality.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

3. I am satisfied with the access people have to Land Reform projects in Greater Letaba Local Municipality.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

4. There is a significant change in the process of Land Reform implementation.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

5. The beneficiaries find themselves empowered economically as a result of the change brought by the Land Reform projects in my area.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

**SECTION D: CONSENT**

1. The project studies the effect of land reform in the Greater Letaba Local Municipality.
2. This project aims at establishing the contribution that the land reform programmes have made to community development and poverty reduction.
3. The random sampling method was used to select the required sample.
4. Participants will be required to answer questions through an interview. This may take approximately 30 minutes of their time.
5. By participation in the study, you will be informed on the land reform issues in the area as well as the country at large. This could also serve as an opportunity for the participants to interact with other people.
6. Participants, who will be asked to converge at an area other than their place of work or home, shall be reimbursed for transport and incidental expenses.

7. Any information gathered during the research will be used solely for the research; consent will be sought from responsible participants.
8. The participants' responses will be treated with confidentiality. Your identity will remain anonymous.
9. The participants are under no circumstance compelled to participate in the study. Such a decision will not disadvantage them.
10. Participants are free to withdraw from the study on personal reasons.

## **Appendix B:**

Questionnaire on the Impact of Land Reform in the Greater Letaba Local Municipality.

### **Information for participants**

All participants are requested to attend to Section H prior to answering this questionnaire. The purpose of this section is to ensure that the participants are informed of the nature and the purpose of the project and that the information given will be kept confidential.

Your responses will be used as a lesson to stakeholders such as the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform, Department of Agriculture, the non-governmental organisations and municipalities. Your responses will be handled with anonymity and confidentiality.

**NB: SECTION C (2)** should be answered by Land Reform beneficiaries only.

## SECTION A: BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

Please indicate your answer with a cross (X) alongside the appropriate responses:

### 1. Gender

Male	1
Female	2

### 2. Age

Below 35	1
36-50	2
51 and above	3

### 3. Your position in the household

Wife	1
Husband	2
Single parent	3
Other (specify)	4

### 4. Are you the head of the household?

Yes	1
No	2

### 5. If no, who is the head of the household?

Father	1
Mother	2

Other (specify)	3
-----------------	---

6. Your highest level of education

No informal education	1
Primary education	2
Secondary education	3
Tertiary education	4

7. Your occupation

Municipal Councillor	1
Government official	2
Land Reform beneficiary	3
Traditional Authority	4
Other (specify)	5

8. What is the estimated range of your gross monthly income? (Tick only one)

R100-R1000	1
R1001-R3000	2
R3001-R5000	3
R5001-R7000	4
R7001-R9000	5
Above R9000	6

9. If you add up all the monthly income of all earning persons in the household, what will be the range?

R100-R5000	1
R5001-R10 000	2
R1001-R15 000	3
R15 001-R20 000	4
Above R20 000	5

1. How many people live in the house/ in the family?  
 .....

2. How many children (below 18 years) are in the household?  
 .....

3. How many of the adults in the household?  
 .....

4. How many of the adults in the household are:

Unemployed?	1
Students/ Apprentices?	2
Pensioner/ Retired?	3

5. How many children attended school? .....

6. How many young children of not school going age?  
 .....

**SECTION B: POLICY AND CONCEPTUAL ISSUES OF LAND REFORM**

Strongly disagree	1
Disagree	2
Neither agree/ nor disagree	3

Agree	4
Strongly agree	5

14. The Land Reform policy receives greater attention in my area

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

15. The legislation formulated to address land reform programmes have been applicable in my area

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

16. Land Reform components viz. Redistribution and Restitution are receiving a greater attention in my area

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

17. The policy on land acquisition that has been recently reviewed to allow the Minister of Rural Development and Land Reform to acquire land without necessarily going through the Land Claim's Court will fast track the process

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

18. The recent piece of legislation applicable will not be applicable in my area as it has some gaps

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

19. People receive briefings on how Land Reform policy works in the Greater Letaba Local Municipality

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

20. People in the Greater Letaba Local Municipality are informed about Land Reform programmes, particularly Land Restitution and Redistribution

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

21. If people are not informed about Land Reform, what do you think could be done to help them with the knowledge?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

22. The Land Reform legislation has been repealed and reviewed. Do you find the situation changed in Greater Letaba Local Municipality

Yes	1
No	2

23. If yes, describe the change in few sentences

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

24. Are there forums where people talk about Land Reform issues in your area?

Yes	1
No	2

25. If yes, which one are those

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

26. Do you know of the issues that are discussed at such forum (s)?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

**SECTION C: LAND REFORM AND BENEFICIARIES**

Strongly disagree	1
Disagree	2
Neither agree/ nor disagree	3

Agree	4
Strongly agree	5

**1. Land Reform**

1.1 Land Reform is a government programme introduced to address the inequalities in land distribution

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

1.2 It is through land reform that those people whose land has been dispossessed after 1913 can be able to claim it back

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

1.3 In land reform the state can acquire land through the process of willing-seller willing-buyer

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

1.4 In some instances the dispossessed communities can acquire their land through restitution process

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

1.5 The land reform programme is also intended to combat poverty in the society

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

1.6 To date, people in my area have received land through the Land Reform programme

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

1.7 In my community there are people who have already received land through the Land Reform programme

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

1.8 People in my area have responded positively towards land reform programmes

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

**2. Beneficiaries**

2.1 I received sufficient income from the Land Reform project in which I am a beneficiary

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

2.2 I am able to feed my family with the income received from the project

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

2.3 I will encourage the person in my community to opt for a Land Reform project

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

2.4 There are things you want improvement on for the project to survive. Please list three important once.

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

.....  
 .....  
 2.5 The agricultural extension service officers visit our Land Reform project quite frequently

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

2.6 If you were to advise the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform, which areas would you like them to look at?

.....  
 .....  
 .....  
 .....  
 .....  
 .....  
 .....  
 .....

2.7 I am satisfied with how the Land Reform projects help me to meet my financial needs

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

**SECTION D: IMPACT OF LAND REFORM**

To what extent do you agree or disagree with some of the following (use the following scale provided)

Strongly disagree	1
Disagree	2
Neither agree/ nor disagree	3
Agree	4

Strongly agree	5
----------------	---

## 7. Local Economic Development

7.1 The approved Land Reform projects have made a significant contribution to the local economy

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

7.2 The Land Reform projects have created an opportunity for the local people to explore their farming skills as well as entrepreneurial skills

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

7.3 With regard to the following, to what extent do you believe the Land Reform projects in your area have managed to provide:

7.3.1 Progress

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

7.3.2 Growth

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

7.3.3 Challenges

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

7.3.4 Economic Boom

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

7.4 The Land Reform projects have assisted in integration of local resources

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

7.5 The community has started to realise the infrastructure development as a result of the Land Reform programme

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

7.6 The Land Reform programme in the Greater Letaba Local Municipality serves to attract investment to the area

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

**8. Poverty Alleviation**

8.1 Greater Letaba Local Municipality is predominantly a rural municipality located in the poor province of Limpopo. Land Reform has assisted in bringing down levels of poverty

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

8.2 Please explain your choice

.....

.....

.....

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.....

.....

8.3 People in the Greater Letaba Local Municipality are able to feed their families from the Land Reform projects

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

8.4 Since the Land Reform programmes were kick started, poverty has been reduced in the Greater Letaba Local Municipality

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

8.5 The community's livelihood has improved due to Land Reform programme in the Greater Letaba Local Municipality

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

## 9. Employment

9.1 There is a lot of unemployment in the Greater Letaba Local Municipality. Land Reform programmes succeeded in reducing unemployment rate.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

9.2 The Land Redistribution projects in the Greater Letaba Local Municipality are capable of providing jobs for the communities.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

9.3 The Land Redistribution programmes have helped the Municipality to transform from a labour pool (supplier) for other centres into labour utilisation.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

## 10. Community Development projects

10.1 Greater Letaba Local Municipality has been awarded many Land Reform projects

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

10.2 The projects, if any, that the communities have received have assisted the participants in acquiring skills

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

10.3 The Land Reform programme has managed to trigger other development related projects in the municipality

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

10.4 The stakeholders in the communities refer to the Land Reform projects as good models for community development

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

10.5 The Democratic government has introduced the Land Reform programmes. Do you think this is given priority in the Greater Letaba Local Municipality?

Yes	1
No	2

10.6 If yes, provide reasons

.....

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10.7 The government requires support in its implementation of the Land Reform programme from beneficiaries.

What kind of support can communities provide?

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10.8 Some of the Land Reform projects have collapsed in other areas. How can the beneficiaries in the Greater Letaba Local Municipality avoid a similar experience?

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**11.Capacity Building**

11.1 The Land Reform beneficiaries in Greater Letaba Local Municipality are able to access financial assistance

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

11.2 If you agree, from which institutions is the assistance coming.

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

.....  
.....

11.3 If you do not agree, propose what should be done to win the support of these financial institutions.

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

11.4 Lack of financial assistance affects the operations of the Land Reform projects in the Greater Letaba Local Municipality

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

11.5 The beneficiaries receive training with regard to the farming products.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

**12. Support Services**

12.1 The beneficiaries of Land Reform in Greater Letaba Local Municipality area receive the necessary support service.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

12.2 The support service enables them to undertake their day-to-day activities

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

12.3 Since the beneficiaries received land transfer the Department of Agriculture has been sending extension service officers

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

12.4 People in my area are satisfied with the support service that they receive

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

12.5 The support service provided by Non-Government Organisations, Department of Agriculture, Department of Rural development and Land Reform and Municipality is sufficient enough to sustain the Land Reform projects in my area.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

12.6 Since the antagonists of Land Reform programmes complained that beneficiaries received no support services, there has been lot of improvements.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

12.7 If you have to advice the stakeholders on aftercare service, which areas would you like them to focus on?

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
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.....

.....  
.....

**E. EXTENT OF SATISFACTION WITH THE PACE OF CHANGE**

1. As a resident of the Greater Letaba Local Municipality I find the Land Reform legislation and regulations satisfactorily applied.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

2. I am satisfied with the pace at which Land Reform policy gets implemented in the Greater Letaba Local Municipality.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

3. I am satisfied with the access people have to Land Reform projects in Greater Letaba Local Municipality.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

4. There is a significant change in the process of Land Reform implementation.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

5. The beneficiaries find themselves empowered economically as a result of the change brought by the Land Reform projects in my area.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

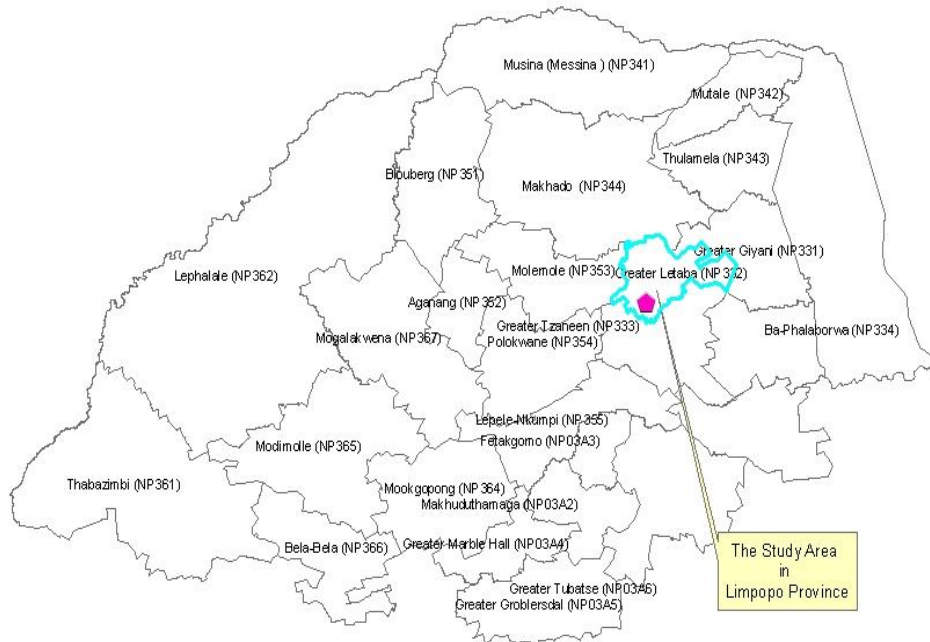
## **SECTION H: CONSENT**

11. The project studies the effect of land reform in the Greater Letaba Local Municipality.
12. This project aims at establishing the contribution that the land reform programmes have made to community development and poverty reduction.
13. Mahlatse Themba will be the investigator. He has Grade 12 qualifications and a teaching qualification.
14. Nthai Mohale will be the project supervisor. The contact number is 0833969866
15. The random sampling method was used to select the required sample.
16. Participants will be required to answer questions through an interview as well as the completion of questionnaires. This may take approximately 30 minutes of their time.
17. By participation in the study, one will be informed on the land reform issues in the area as well as the country at large. This could also serve as an opportunity for the participants to interact with other people.
18. Participants, who will be asked to converge at an area other than their place of work or home, shall be reimbursed for transport and incidental expenses.
19. Any written, audio or video recordings made during the study will be used solely for the study; consent will be sought from responsible participants.
20. The participants' responses will be treated with confidentiality. Your identity will remain anonymous.
21. The participants are under no circumstance compelled to participate in the study. Such a decision will not disadvantage them.
22. Participants are free to withdraw from the study on personal reasons.

23. Participants shall be given two weeks within which they could put their responses to the questionnaires. There shall be enough time for responses to be returned for consideration.

## Appendix C:

### Map – Greater Letaba Municipality



**Appendix D:**  
**Ethical clearance certificate**

18/01/2012 13:18      Netia 9000      2/4  
7-JAN-2012 09:18 From:      To:0834620025      P.1/3

**University of KwaZulu-Natal**  
The Universities of Durban-Westville and Natal merged to become the  
University of KwaZulu-Natal on 1 January 2004

**RESEARCH MANAGEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION**

03 MARCH 2004

**MR. T. A. MALAHLELA**  
**PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION**

Dear Mr. Malahlela


**ETHICAL CLEARANCE – NUMBER: 04057A**

I wish to confirm that ethical clearance has been granted for the following project subject to minor adjustment being attended to on the form (see attached)

*"A study of Land Reform and its impact in the Greater Letaba Local Municipality of the Mopani District in the Limpopo Province"*

Thank you

Yours faithfully

  
.....  
**MS. PHUME XIMBA**  
**(for) HEAD: RESEARCH ADMINISTRATION**

**PS: The following general condition is applicable to all projects that have been granted ethical clearance:**

**THE RELEVANT AUTHORITIES SHOULD BE CONTACTED IN ORDER TO OBTAIN THE NECESSARY APPROVAL SHOULD THE RESEARCH INVOLVE UTILIZATION OF SPACE AND/OR FACILITIES AT OTHER INSTITUTIONS/ORGANISATIONS. WHERE QUESTIONNAIRES ARE USED IN THE PROJECT, THE RESEARCHER SHOULD ENSURE THAT THE QUESTIONNAIRE INCLUDES A SECTION AT THE END WHICH SHOULD BE COMPLETED BY THE PARTICIPANT (PRIOR TO THE COMPLETION OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE) INDICATING THAT HE/SHE WAS INFORMED OF THE NATURE AND PURPOSE OF THE PROJECT AND THAT THE INFORMATION GIVEN WILL BE KEPT CONFIDENTIAL.**

cc: Director of School  
cc: Supervisor