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<td>THE AGRARIAN QUESTION IN SOUTH AFRICA: AN EVALUATION STUDY OF THE LAND REDISTRIBUTION FOR AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT (LRAD) PROGRAMME IN SELECTED AREAS OF THE BUFFALO CITY</td>
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Lastly, I would like to take this opportunity of thanking my family especially my wife for the support she gave me.
ABSTRACT

This study is based on the view that the ‘agrarian question of the dispossessed’ is not yet resolved in South Africa. Since the early ‘90s, the South African government embarked on a land reform programme that was meant to contribute towards the creation of a better life for the historically dispossessed individuals. Land was given to land reform beneficiaries as grants. However, according to suggestions made by non-governmental organizations, community-based groups and the media, the land reform programme has generally not had any impact and that farms/projects assisted have either collapsed or are not functioning to the levels expected. This is the main reason why the study is conducted: to examine factors that explain why the agrarian question is not yet resolved in South Africa. The purpose is to bring about corrective measures which would result in stopping the wastage of funds that could be better utilized elsewhere.

Qualitative methods were used to collect data using semi-structured interviews from land reform beneficiaries in nineteen farms/projects of the Amathole/ Buffalo City as well as from government officials who implement the programmes. The main findings reflect that the major failure of these projects is because the people who are responsible for implementing the programme lack the capacity to handle a programme of this magnitude. It was also found that there is a serious lack of an integrated approach to development in the planning and implementation of the programme. The study, therefore, recommends that a new structure be set up, that would be able to facilitate and co-ordinate the whole programme. For such a structure to succeed, it would have to have political authority and adopt land reform strategies that have worked in other countries that were previously faced with similar challenges.
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<th>Acronym</th>
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<td>DLA:</td>
<td>Department of Land Affairs</td>
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<td>National Department of Agriculture</td>
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<td>PDoA:</td>
<td>Provincial Department of Land Affairs</td>
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<td>CASP:</td>
<td>Comprehensive Agricultural Support Programme</td>
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<td>LRRP:</td>
<td>Land Reform Revitalization Programme</td>
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<td>LARP:</td>
<td>Land and Agrarian Reform Programme</td>
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<td>GEAR:</td>
<td>Growth, Employment and Redistribution strategy</td>
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<td>LRAD:</td>
<td>Land Reform for Agricultural Development</td>
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<td>PLAS:</td>
<td>Pro-Active Land Acquisition Strategy</td>
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<td>SLAG:</td>
<td>Settlement, Land and Acquisition Grant</td>
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<td>MAFISA:</td>
<td>Micro-Agricultural Finance of South Africa</td>
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<td>KDF:</td>
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CHAPTER 1

THE STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

1.1 Introduction

In an attempt to redress the imbalances of the past, the new democratic order in
South Africa, through its land reform policy, put in place a land reform programme to
give land back to previously dispossessed individuals and groups. Land reform has
three components, land restitution, land tenure reform and land redistribution. Land
redistribution aims to broaden access to land for the dispossessed by purchasing
white-owned land and transferring public land to targeted communities. Land
Redistribution for Agricultural Development (LRAD), is the sub-program of land
redistribution which aims at promoting agricultural development for those whose
land was taken forcefully by white settlers. This program encourages black
commercial farming, food security and the alleviation of poverty in rural areas. In so
doing, LRAD aims to promote access to land for agricultural development, create
job opportunities, promote a better life for all the country’s citizens, and enable
the beneficiaries\(^1\) to be active participants in the country’s agricultural economy

The LRAD program takes place over two phases: namely, the pre-settlement
phase led by the Department Of Land Affairs (DLA) and the post-settlement
phase led by the Provincial Department of Agriculture (PDoA). The DLA
purchases land for beneficiaries from white commercial farmers through the
willing-buyer-willing-seller strategy and the PDoA has a mandate of providing
post settlement agricultural support once land has been transferred to

---

\(^1\) LRAD beneficiaries are farm-dwellers/ labour tenants, the unemployed, illiterate (people who do not possess the skills to make them easily employable), women, youth and the disabled, Africans, Indians and Coloureds. Most of these categories of people are regarded as vulnerable groups in society since most of them rely on government grants to survive.
beneficiaries (Didiza, 2006:23). The focus of this study is on the post-settlement phase of the LRAD projects. The dissertation hopes to evaluate the extent to which LRAD projects are performing in terms of food production in the Buffalo City local municipality of the Amathole District Municipality. Below is a land reform area based map showing the different district municipalities of the province, in particular Amathole, where Buffalo City is located.

Area map showing the different district municipalities of the Eastern Cape Province, in particular Amathole, where Buffalo City is located (KDF, 2009:57).
The Buffalo City Local Municipality was chosen because of its urban and rural nature. Projects in urban contexts had better infrastructure such as electricity, tarred roads, and improved water sources than projects in rural contexts. The former had the kind of enterprises that required electricity and irrigation systems whereas the latter had enterprises that relied mostly on dry land cropping and livestock. Within the Buffalo City, projects in the following areas were chosen for this research: Berlin, Fort Jackson, king William`s Town and Kidd`s Beach. Those closer to East London such as in the Kidd`s beach area, are more urban compared to those in the Berlin and Fort Jackson area and king William`s Town area. These areas were chosen because they allowed the researcher an opportunity to easily:

- move from studying simple situations to complex ones;
- access the study area and perform unhindered; and
- perform in an area where the researcher had already established good rapport with respondents.

1.2 The Problem

Since 2001, food productivity in almost all LRAD projects in the Amathole District Municipality has been either non-existent or lacking. Where some productivity has occurred, it has been very slow. This is directly proportional to the collapse or un-operational nature of many LRAD projects which is often reflected by the rising poverty levels experienced by beneficiaries or the failure of the projects to create better lives for them. Most often, these farms end up being repossessed and bought back by the same white commercial farmers who sold them (Farm Repossession policy paper: 2008). This is contrary to the government`s idea of using land reform to create a better life for all citizens in the rural areas (Didiza, 2006:5). Despite post-settlement agricultural support, which provides funds for infrastructure development and makes it easy for them to access financial institutions for purchasing production inputs, as well as extension services that are provided by the provincial Department of Agriculture; it becomes questionable why such projects continue to be unproductive. Even the very little that
such projects produce in one season is not sustainable, leaving beneficiaries in need of further assistance in the following season (LRRP paper:2006).

As a Project Co-ordinator myself, employed by the National Department of Agriculture, my experience tells me that many land and agrarian reform beneficiaries owning farms have a history of having worked on farms all their lives. Most often, when farms are bought and transferred to the beneficiaries, the assumption is usually that they would use the knowledge and experience they had previously gained from those farms to develop their own farms. What is often forgotten is the fact that in the previous regime, each beneficiary was assigned a particular task in the farm for the rest of his/her life and was not responsible for running the entire farm. So, the current beneficiaries are never taught about how to run the entire farm in a profitable manner. Most often, on transfer of ownership, the only thing the beneficiaries want to know is who the supervisor is and when will they be paid their wages. This is one of the factors that often leads to conflict and ultimately the collapse of the project.

In response to this problem, between 2004 and 2005, the National Government gave provinces capital to provide post-settlement agricultural support to land and agrarian reform beneficiaries. This was combined with a micro-finance agricultural loan scheme or production inputs, to enable those land reform beneficiaries that do not benefit from provincial programmes or cannot receive loans from banks due to lack of collateral to have a start. Thus, the government has formulated the following policies to assist land reform beneficiaries:

- Comprehensive Agricultural Support Program (CASP): a six peg policy looking at on- and off- farm infrastructure development, technical and regulatory advice, financial support, marketing and business development, training and capacity building and knowledge and information (CASP paper: 2004/5);
- Micro- Agricultural Finance in South Africa (MAFISA); a loan scheme for providing inputs to land reform beneficiaries (MAFISA paper: 2008);
- A farmer to farmer mentorship programme to impart technical skills to emerging farmers (Farmer to Farmer Mentorship paper, :2008);
- Land reform revitalization programme (LRRP) aimed at making un-operational farms operational (LRRP:2006);
- Farm repossession policy aimed at bailing out farms that are about to be repossessed (Farm Repossesion paper: 2008).

In this regard, the Eastern Cape Province uses its own budget to assist some beneficiaries with machinery and extension services. Other departments like the Labour Department are to provide training to beneficiaries.

However, despite all these policies and a seemingly integrated development effort, LRAD projects seem to continue to collapse and become less productive. It is against the above background that this study seeks to evaluate LRAD projects by examining the factors that lead to lack of productivity in these projects. The purpose is to investigate why almost all land reform projects experience the problem of low or insufficient food production even though the state has put in place financial support mechanisms to enable them to be productive.

1.3 Research Objectives

The objectives of this study are to evaluate the land and agrarian reform programme and to determine the extent to which the LRAD program improves food security. By identifying the potential factors that contribute to lack of productivity of LRAD projects, it is hoped that means to improve the socio-economic status of LRAD beneficiaries will be established.
1.3.1 Main Research Question

What are the factors that contribute to unproductivity (failure to produce sufficient food) in LRAD farms/projects?

1.3.2 Related Questions:

- Does lack of training of beneficiaries in running a project as a business lead to the demise of LRAD projects?
- What is the role played by the Department of Agriculture (as implementers of the programme), in ensuring the success of these projects?
- What factors should be considered in order to improve production of food in land reform projects?

1.3.3 Significance of the Study

Once completed, the significance of this study would be in helping policy makers to identify some of the contributing factors that lead to lack of productivity in LRAD projects. This would assist in:

- The revitalisation of LRAD projects in general.
- Avoiding wastage of funds. This would save the government from spending money that would have better been utilized on other programmes.
- Making sure that the identified problems would be addressed to ensure the upliftment of socio-economic status of land and agrarian reform beneficiaries.
- Making sure that projects owned by vulnerable groups such as the youth, women and the disabled become operational and productive.
CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides both the theoretical framework on which this study is based and related literature. The discussions will be based on debating the relevance of the Agrarian Question in South Africa. This question is based on the understanding of the agrarian reform which refers to the class character of the relations of production and distribution in farming and related enterprises, and how these connect to the wider class structure (Cousins 2005: 16). The theoretical framework will therefore explore the agrarian reform and its connection with economic and political power; its central focus will be the political economy of land, agriculture and natural resources” (ibid.). The chapter also reviews available literature which is relevant to this study. This includes views and contributions from academics and researchers who have written about a study of this nature.

2.2 Theoretical framework and Literature Review

This study is based on the Marxist structuralist approach. According to Marcionis “The key to Marx’s thinking is the idea of social conflict, which means struggle among segments of society over valued resources” (1987:101). The Marxist structuralist approach has its roots on the conflict theory of Karl Marx (1818–1883), who sees the social structure as based on the domination of some groups by others” (Smelser, 1981:14). According to Marx (1818-1883), at the heart of capitalism, is conflict among people in different economic classes, especially between those who control wealth and power and those who do not (Kornblum, 1994:22). Those who have political power became rich and wealthy, leaving the powerless in poverty. According to this theory, two distinct classes were developed in South Africa i.e., the capitalists (those dominated by white commercial farmers)
and the workers (those who were struggling to farm because of landlessness, who also lacked the necessary equipment to become farmers).

According to the Marxist structuralist approach, power in a capitalist society like South Africa is concentrated in the hands of a powerful minority (the capitalist). Power is in turn used to further the interests of this minority group at the expense of the powerless majority (Haralombos, 2001: 609). Nicos Poulantzas (1968, 1976) describes the importance of the state in maintaining the stability of the capitalist system. He argues that the state, as part of the superstructure, inevitable serves the interests of the capitalist/ruling class (irrespective of whether they occupy elite positions within the state or not). In this regard, the state implements policies that serves the interests of the capitalists. The consequences of such policies would be the maximization of profits and the furthering of inequalities between racial groups or between the powerful and the powerless groups (Haralombos, 2001: 239). Conflict theorists also believe that conflict between groups will ultimately produce a progressive development of greater equality. One of the beliefs contained in Marx’s theory (1818-1883) was that a socialist society would develop when the rule of the privileged groups is overthrown.

With the advent of democracy in 1994, new policies and programmed aimed at promoting equality and poverty eradication were implemented. Land reform was used as a tool by the democratic government to give land back to the previously dispossessed individuals and groups (White Paper on Land Policy: 1997). This programme was an outcome of negotiations that occurred before 1994 that resulted in reaching a negotiated settlement in 1994. A negotiated settlement meant the implementation of voluntary land reform programme; the price for peace was that government was forced to formalize land policy within the constraints of the negotiated settlement (Didiza, 2006:5). However, to effect changes on a system of dispossession that had developed over many years, was not to be an easy task as can be observed in the current lack of production in many LRAD projects. It seems that conflict still exists and the transition to a democratic state has not taken effect.
This is because the land that was forcibly taken away has not been redistributed in an equitable and systematic way that satisfies everybody. Such a settlement could be the reason why many LRAD projects lack productivity as a result of insufficient resources to make these projects productive.

A number of structural theorists such as Andre Gunder Frank (1969), Theotonio Dos Santos (1971), and Fernando Cardoso (1972) take this argument further. Frank (1969) uses Brazil as an example to explain the development of underdevelopment. The colonial past of Brazil enables him to define the country’s economy as a dual economy, meaning that one economy is more developed than the other. In other words, the more developed economy is many centuries ahead of the other. In this regard, development is expected to lift the other economy according to standards of capitalists, meaning those who come from First World countries. Development assistance by wealthy is regarded as an extension of earlier colonization, and whatever its stated rationale functions to make poverty and inequality in the Third World worse rather than better” (Frank, 1969: 38). This statement holds true for South Africa, which according to Cousins (2005), is characterized by the two economies. Land dispossession resulted in the formation of black peasant farmers who occupied an unproductive, highly erodible farmland as opposed to whites, who occupied highly productive farmland. The tendency, therefore, was the creation of peasant black farmers who could not play any meaningful role in the country’s economy. According to Cousins (2005), so long as these two classes of the poor and the rich exist in South Africa, the agrarian question of the dispossessed will remain unrealized.

The underlying principle of these approaches is that poverty and inequality is caused by the unequal distribution of resources which often causes conflict and coercion in society. It seems then that the development agenda in South Africa, through the implementation of projects that are under-resourced could be perpetuating underdevelopment, which gives rise to more poverty and inequality.
Dos Santos (1971) also considers Latin American countries such as Brazil and Chile, with a colonial past and representing Third World countries, to show how their underdeveloped economies are depended on the First World countries. Dependence refers to a situation in which the economy of certain countries is conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy to which the former is subjected. The relation of interdependence between two or more economies, and between these and world trade, assumes the form of dependence when some countries (dominant ones) can expand and can be self-sustaining, which other countries (the dependent ones) can do this as only a reflection of that expansion, which can either have a positive or a negative effect on their immediate development" (dos Santos, 1971:278). Again this view by dos Santos is in support of the dual economy as propagated by Frank (1969).

This dependence is a characteristic feature of countries such as South Africa that originate from colonialism where the underdeveloped economy becomes permanently dependent on the developed one. South Africa’s commercial agriculture, represents a dominant economy which dominates the economy of the dispossessed (represented by a third world economy). Development of the underdeveloped is negatively affected by this structure of dependence, as can be seen in the collapse of the land reform projects. Cardoso (1972) also looks at Latin American countries such as Brazil to demonstrate the effects of dependency on development for those coming from a colonial past. He says development will always be driven according to the standards set up by capitalist development.

The structuralist approaches mentioned here provide this study with an indication of why land reform programme does not succeed in South Africa. It will argue that the LRAD programme is rolled out according to capitalist development that perpetuates poverty and inequality. The structuralist approach therefore, gives an indication as to why the agrarian question of the dispossessed in South Africa is not producing the desired results, even though support such as CASP and other programmes are provided for beneficiaries. It explains that development is implemented in such a
way that those who are developed, accept that if they fail, it is of their own making. This according to Marx, represents a ‘false consciousness’ as the beneficiaries accept their conditions as normal and natural and do not relate their problems to the deep seated structural problems (Haralombos, 2000: 13).

Marcus (1989) on the other hand, approaches the land question in South Africa by looking at the role that the state played in ‘restructuring commercial agriculture’. She argues that the state used the land question actively to promote and support white commercial farmers, whilst on the other hand, it made sure that the dispossessed remained poor and landless in their own land. This perpetuates poverty and inequality which supports Cousins’s (2005) argument that the ‘agrarian question of the dispossessed’ still has to be resolved in South Africa. This confirms why South Africa still faces structural poverty, unemployment, food insecurity, land hunger and continued rule by chiefs of the rural poor (Cousins, 2005: 6).

De Janvry (1980) relates Latin American countries to capitalist development of agriculture. He describes the role of historical forces that have shaped agriculture in these countries. He argues that such forces have commodified agriculture, making it to look like something that can be bought and sold in the market. A condition for the capital development of agriculture is the commodification of the product and of the means of production. This implies that agricultural products, land and other natural resources, labour, capital and technology all become commodified - which means they can be sold and bought in markets where they acquire price” (De Janvry, 1980:85). This kind of development makes it difficult for agriculture to develop since land is privatized and there is more emphasis on mechanization. This contrasts the current conditions of many LRAD projects.

For a better understanding of the agrarian question of the dispossessed or even why land reform beneficiaries are currently struggling to cope in agriculture, it is necessary to trace the history of land dispossession in South Africa.
2.3 Brief Historical Overview of Land Dispossession in South Africa

Land dispossessions began when South Africa was colonised in 1652 by the British settlers who used Cape Peninsula as trading supply route with the West. Segregation began with the passing of The Land Settlement Act of 1912 to enable Whites to become farmers and landowners. The Native Land Act of 1913 was later passed to (expropriate land from Blacks and to make sure that more agricultural land was given to Whites). The Native Thrust and Land Act of 1936 was passed to create Bantustans/reserves for the settlement of Blacks. These laws resulted in having 87% of the South African land area in the hands of Whites and 13% occupied by Africans.

When the system of Apartheid was institutionalized in 1948, further legislation such as the Group Areas Act, No 41 of 1950, Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, No 55 of 1949 and Population Registration Act, No 30 of 1950 were passed. All these Acts were promulgated to make sure that Africans were removed from White acclaimed areas and settled in the homelands. This negatively affected the farming system by Africans, as they were allocated unproductive land, in sloppy and highly erodible areas with a poor structure and texture. Such land was not suitable for agriculture or farming. The state of farmland in the homelands compelled them to leave their areas in search of employment in the cities. Others remained on the farms as labour tenants and labourers.

However, since 1994, the period of democracy, a new Land Reform Policy was put in place to redress landlessness of Africans. This began with the adoption of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act No. 108 of 1996, which places a duty on government to take steps that would enable citizens to gain access to land. Also a new macro-economic policy called the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) was developed. The RDP seemed to recognize problems facing
the country, including a lack of housing, creation of jobs, health and education. For a while, the RDP notion of growth through redistribution did work. “The building and steel industries, cabling and electrical enterprises, the pharmaceuticals, the textbook publishing companies and computer companies were all significantly boosted through the RDP spending on housing, infrastructure, water and sanitation, electrification, health care and education programmes” (Tsheola, 2002:61). The poor were for the first time able to have safe drinking water from taps within 200m from their houses. There was also improved housing delivery, infrastructure development, health and education programmes. For land reform, the RDP set a strategic objective of delivering about 30% of the land from White commercial farmers to Blacks by 2014.

By 1996, the government changed its stance on the RDP in favour of a new macro-economic policy that was expected to grow the economy by an average of 6% and promote development and employment with a view to creating a better life for the country’s citizens. This was an influence by external international market forces. The assumption was that through this policy, a climate conducive for investors to come and operate would be created and job opportunities would be created. This new economic policy was called Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy.” It assumed that economic growth would translate into the distribution of benefits through employment and income” (Tsheola, 2002:61). GEAR was meant to strengthen and consolidate the focus of government on sustainable agricultural development. During GEAR, cuts were experienced in state spending, privatization of services, role of the state in development diminished significantly. This impacted negatively on funding development programmes such as land reform. As stated earlier, cuts were experienced in meeting the basic needs of poor people.

In 1997, the White Paper on South African Land Policy was formulated. “The White Paper sets out the vision and implementation strategy for South Africa’s land policy dealing with, both urban and rural environments. It redresses the injustices of apartheid, fosters national reconciliation and stability underpinning
economic growth, improving household welfare and alleviating poverty” (Didiza 2006:6). A constitutional mandate was then created for the Department of Land Affairs, together with the Commission on the Restitution of Land Rights to ensure that there is equitable land distribution and security of tenure among South Africans (Didiza, 2006:6). This laid the basis for the implementation of the land reform programme. The Department of Land Affairs was mandated to lead the pre-settlement stage and the Department of Agriculture was responsible for the post-settlement phase.

The land reform programme was structured into three pillars, namely: Land Redistribution, Land Restitution and Land Tenure Reform. The Department of Land Affairs (DLA) was tasked with driving the program. The strategic goal of the task was to make sure that about 30% of land was redistributed by 2014. Land redistribution, as one of the pillars, was a response to redistributing the 87% of land that was occupied by whites and the 13% occupied by black reserves/Bantustans. Mainly this was land occupied by commercial farmers and was now up for redistribution to the previously disadvantaged. Groups that were targeted for benefit were Coloureds, Indians and Africans. Those meant to benefit were farm workers and labour tenants who were forcibly removed from their land.

Land restitution involved restoration of land through claims by beneficiaries. Here claims could be settled by means of land acquired or by financial compensation. A Commission on the Restoration of Land Rights was put in place to look at restitution claims. The Restitution of Land Rights Act was developed to verify and finalize claims to claimants. Actors in restitution were DLA, Commission on Land Rights, plus Land Claims Commission. Later this process of restitution was reviewed because of the slow rate of finalizing claims. This was done so as to fast-track the restitution process. But, indications are that the majority of claimants chose to accept financial compensation, giving the impression that the process was faster than redistribution.
Land tenure reform basically looks at the administration of land in communal areas of the former Bantustans. The relevant Act is the Communal Land Rights Act (CLaRa). Mainly land in these areas was administered by chiefs. Again CLaRa looks at those farm dwellers living on commercial farms so as to protect them. The Extension of Security Tenure Act (ESTA) was put in place to protect those who live in such areas so as to secure their rights on land. Because the country’s democracy was achieved through a negotiated settlement, implementation of land reform was to be demand-driven and market based. Thus, it became the willing-seller-willing-buyer kind of a system.

Land redistribution was therefore started by a Settlement, Land and Acquisition Grant Strategy (SLAG) between 1994 and 2001. But, the program collapsed due to lack of post-settlement agricultural support to beneficiaries. Provinces could not budget properly for providing support to SLAG projects. Furthermore, those who were selling the land also charged exorbitant prices. This had the effect of making it difficult for DLA to achieve the 30% target.

DoA papers (2007/08) mention that in support of land reform projects, the DoA released a number of policy papers aimed at providing support to land reform beneficiaries. As from 2001, a new grant system called Land Reform for Agricultural Development (LRAD) was developed to replace SLAG projects. This was a joint program between the DLA and the Department of Agriculture (DoA). LRAD grants were the main focus for DLA and a new post-settlement agricultural support program (Comprehensive Agricultural Support Program – CASP), which was the main focus of DoA, was developed to complement the LRAD system. Another policy paper that was developed was Micro-Agricultural Finance in South Africa (MAFISA) as well as paper on farmer-farmer mentorship, developed in order to supplement the skills required by farmers without going for formal training (Farmer to farmer mentorship:2008).
The formation of the above policies was necessitated by the fact that beneficiaries were struggling to obtain loans from commercial banks to purchase whatever they require for the farms. So, to overcome this problem, the government created a loan scheme that has very low interest rates for emerging farmers. Depending on the level of development and their ability to repay, the maximum amount they borrow is R500 000.

Another policy paper on repossessions of land reform projects was developed to enable farmers to negotiate their debt with the Land Bank without the threat of repossession. The implementation of the land reform program as contained in the White Paper on South African Land Policy (1997) deals with projects from both the urban and rural environments. Also contained in this paper are issues dealing with Apartheid injustices and issues of reconciliation to redress such injustices (Didiza, 2006:6). All these policies did little to improve the conditions of the poor.

### 2.4 The Debate: An evaluation of LRAD programme

This section presents a debate on how researchers have evaluated the LRAD programme in South Africa. According to available literature, many researchers maintain that many LRAD projects have failed PLAAS (2003), CDE (2008), Ngcebetsha (2009), Turner (2002) and Moyo (2005). These researchers and academics point to the following challenges as responsible for the collapse of LRAD Projects:

- Lack of infrastructure such as roads, telecommunication, etc. to get produce to the markets,
- Lack of access to production inputs such as procuring fertilizer, seeds and irrigation infrastructure;
- Lack of provision of agricultural extension services and lack of training,
- Lack of transport and ploughing services;
• Lack of provision of credit, lack of development of rural infrastructure and support to farmers` organizations and co-operatives;
• Lack of planning by government;
• Lack of capacity development (no investment in skills development / financial management;
• Difficulties of implementing market-related policies coupled with economic instability and hyper-inflation, particularly in areas with capitalized farming; plus
• Rising food/fuel costs resulting in rising costs of inputs.

In addition, Cousins (2005: 7) mentions more challenges from the views that lobbyists such as Agri-SA have about agriculture as follows:

1) “Only commercial agriculture is real agriculture and thus sufficient small-scale farming must be a scaled down version of the market-oriented, technologically sophisticated and profit maximizing commercial farmers”. Because commercial farmers have the means to own the resources, they have created markets that would suite their own needs and eliminate the role of land reform beneficiaries.

2) “Subsistence farmers survive as relics of the era of deliberate under-development (colonialism, apartheid), have been deprived of scientific knowledge, are inefficient, and unproductive, and use farming methods which degrade the environment”. Because subsistence farmers do not have the resources to operate, they are often not regarded as serious role players in agriculture.

3) “In the former reserves (now communal areas) farming households have access to plots; many people are no longer farmers or even aspire to be such”. It seems that it is the scarcity of land that has discouraged land reform beneficiaries from taking part in the use of land.
4) “Communal tenure system contribute to low levels of productivity because they provide inadequate security of tenure and prevent the use of land as collateral for bank loans”. The land tenure system that exists does not allow them to have title deeds when they require financial assistance from banks.

5) “Economic development inevitably involves a decline in the rural population, urbanization and a shift from agriculture to industry”. That is why many rural people tend to leave the rural areas for urban areas in search of jobs and better means of livelihood.

6) “Rural poverty in Africa will only be addressed when large numbers of rural people relocate to urban areas to engage in either formal sector wage employment or informal sector self-employment”. It looks like the solution is to encourage rural people to go to the cities in search of jobs.

7) “Land reform programs that redistribute commercial farmland to inefficient subsistence producers, or to people not really interested in farming have at best a welfare function, and transfer a scarce resource to those least able to make productive use of it”. Those who are interested in farming must be allowed to farm.

8) “Appropriate land reform in Southern Africa should focus on de-racializing commercial agriculture, and lowering entry barriers to small-scale producers who are fully market-oriented”. Commercial; agriculture must not only be limited to whites.

Furthermore, some Sociology Departments of tertiary institutions such as the University of the Witwatersrand have also contributed by outlining the challenges of land reform. These are represented by Kariuki and van der Waldt (2000). These
academics view land reform as a process in South Africa that underlines the production of patterns of class, gender and racial inequality.

Kariuki and van der Walt (2000) maintain that commercial farming is the exclusive asset of the white community. In this regard, males are expected to be farmers and therefore are rated as the upper class while those supposed to benefit from land reform occupy a lower status in society. This is against history that tells us that males used to go and work in the urban areas leaving behind their wives to tend the farms.

Ntsebeza (2003) provides an analysis of land tenure reform, which is an important component of the land reform policy. He addresses land administration in the communal areas of the former Bantustans by way of the Communal Land Rights Act of 2004 and how it provides security of tenure to farm dwellers, labour tenants and poor farmers. Mainly he scrutinizes the role and influence of traditional leaders. He also points out that under tenure system, farmers did not own land but traditional leaders had administrative powers over the land. According to him those who were lucky enough to claim entitlement on land in the past did so by way of permission to occupy (PTOs) documents. He points out that these were not permanent documents since they could be taken away anytime by those in power. In other words, PTOs had no legal status. Ntsebeza (2003) analyses this from the time when apartheid was still strong and moves with it up until the setting in of democracy.

Ntsebeza (2003) then highlighted the power struggles that emerged between traditional leaders and civic leaders over administrative powers between the two. The ANC at the time, because it needed votes and regarded traditional leaders as people who were supportive of the old order encouraged the formation of civic bodies in the rural areas. But it had the problem of not wanting to dish away traditional leaders because of the little power they still commanded in the rural areas. To the extent that this was the case, a Council of Traditional Leaders of
South Africa (CONTRALESA) was formed and some traditional leaders joined so as to enjoy some credibility in the eyes of their communities which they had lost before.

It became difficult for councilors from the civic movements to operate due to the fact that those traditional leaders in CONTRLESA were no longer regarded as sell-outs. Again the occupation of becoming a councilor did not come up with attractive offers as compared to those in the urban areas. In this way civic movements did not become strong as activists were leaving rural areas in search of greener pastures in the urban areas. The implications for this were that those traditional leaders who were weakened by the existence of civic movements regained their strengths again.

The DLA, as mandated to administer the land reform policy, tried to overhaul the system to reduce powers of traditional leaders by promulgating acts to have control of land in these rural areas. Quite a numbers of measures were put in place and these would include the formation of Communal Property Associations (CPAs) and the promalagation of an Extension of Security Traditional Act (ESTA) which aimed at protecting farm dwellers who had no rights on land they occupied on commercial farms. The system of tenure is still a problem today and government has put in place the Communal Land Rights Act (ClaRa) which is still an area of conflict between traditional leaders and community leaders over who have more administrative powers on land.

In his analysis, Ntsebeza (2005) seeks to demonstrate the negative impact tenure has on development of the land reform program and that not great strides, in terms of distribution, have been made in this area. This has implications for this study in that ownership of land in the communal areas seems to be still problematic and productivity in terms of cultivating the fields in these areas is still going to be low due to insecurity of tenure.

Lastly, Mburhathi (2005) cites the following as challenges of land reform:
i. Guarantee the security of all categories of tenure: Tenure reform which mainly relates to communal areas is another important component of land redistribution. He advocates that those who occupy these areas must have their land rights protected. One would therefore be reminded about the Extension of Security Tenure Act (ESTA)

ii. Keep all categories of land rights (whether individual, communal, and public) clear and unambiguous. Land administration by chiefs should ensure that farm dwellers, labour tenants and peasant farmers are protected even though they have no title deeds.

iii. Provide a robust framework for the marketability, including transfers, of different species of land rights, in specific cultural and economic contexts

iv. Facilitate the sustainable regulation and management of all categories of land, public, private and community.

v. Provide an accurate and transparent land reformation system.

vi. Avail socially acceptable mechanism to sort out disputes
CHAPTER 3
THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This section discusses the research methodology that was used to conduct this study. The Research Methodology is a plan of demonstrating how the study is going to be conducted.

As previously indicated, the study was conducted in selected areas of the Buffalo City municipality. The Buffalo city was chosen because of its diverse environmental features, which are both urban and rural in nature. The rationale for selecting farms/projects in this area was to ensure that the study would generate balanced findings that would be generalisable throughout the district municipality. It was assumed that those farms in the urban set-up would have a good infrastructure such as roads, electricity and easier methods of drawing water from different sources as opposed to the rural set-up which would lack that kind of infrastructure.

3.2 Research Methodology

This study used the qualitative methodology to collect data. This methodology was preferred because it provided data about the lived experiences of the beneficiaries who occupy farms and the meanings they attach to the phenomena being investigated” Babbie and Mouton (1998). The beneficiaries were the ones talking about their experiences and therefore data collected was authentic. “Qualitative research is regarded as a data enhancer since it provides one with an opportunity to expand and interrogate the information provided unlike quantitative research which is based on reliability and regarded as a data condenser” (Newman, 1997:16).

Underlying this methodology is the critical realist epistemological approach which seeks to explain observable phenomena with reference to the underlying social structures and
mechanisms. This approach, according to Sanghera (2008), stratifies social reality into the following three domains:

- **The empirical**: this is made up of observing experiences and events (e.g., lack of productivity and collapse in LRAD projects)
- **The actual**: this includes events whether observed or not (e.g., capitalism, social inequalities)
- **The real**: this consists of processes, structures, powers and causal mechanisms that generate events (e.g., class struggle, economic relations)

Thus, this approach bases its epistemology on building models that would account for the phenomenon being examined (ibid.). It is hoped that these models (e.g. Marxian) will constitute hypothetical descriptions that will reveal the underlying mechanisms of reality (e.g. economic relations, which can only be known by constructing ideas about them). To explain phenomenon, such as poverty or the failure of LRAD projects is not merely to show that it occurs in instances of well established regularities. Instead the researcher will strive to discover the necessary connections between phenomena, by acquiring knowledge of the underlying structures and mechanisms at work (such as market relations generating inequalities). It is only by doing this that the researcher will be able to get beyond the ‘mere appearances’ of things to their nature and essences (Sanghera: 2008).

In this study, land reform beneficiaries provided the data needed to determine why land reform projects lack productivity and continue to fail. The respondents talked about what they have seen and experienced in the projects. These experiences revealed some of the underlying mechanisms to explain why projects collapse. It was hoped that by focusing on the observable conditions, this study would discover the underlying structural factors that contribute to the failure of LRAD farms/projects.
3.3 Research Design

Field Interviews were the main research technique used in this study. Field interviews where in-depth interviews were used to interrogate the respondents’ experiences were undertaken. This involved asking questions, probing, listening, expressing interest and recording what was said” (Neuman, 1997:370). In this way, information collected was deemed to be reliable because it came directly from the beneficiaries.

Preference of who was going to be interviewed was always given to those who started the project from its early stages. Because the numbers of beneficiaries in the farms had dwindled, at least two people who were on the farm at the time of arrival were interviewed.

3.4 Data collection Instrument

An interview schedule was constructed with both open-ended and closed or fixed questions. The closed ended questions asked about the conditions of the farms and government support whereas the open ended questions required respondents to fully explain the challenges they face and their expectations from government support. Similar questions were asked from government officials. An example of an interview schedule used for both respondents and officials appears on pages 61 and 69 respectively.

3.5 Units of analysis and the Sampling Procedure

The unit of analysis refers to the “what” of the study: what “object”, “phenomenon”, “entity”, “process” or “event” the researcher is interested in investigating (Mouton, 2006:51). Since the purpose of the study is to evaluate the status of LRAD projects, the objects of the study were the projects/farms represented by views of farm beneficiaries. 19 farms were visited out of a total of 36 farms in the Buffalo City Municipality (NDLAECLRO, 1994/5).
The 10 farms were selected through random sampling technique. This technique was preferred, since the farms were scattered throughout Buffalo City. Another reason was because in random sampling, each person in the universe has an equal probability of being chosen for the sample, and every collection of persons of the same size has an equal probability of becoming the actual sample (Bailey, 1982:91). Areas considered for inclusion in the sample from the Buffalo City were Kidd’s Beach (6 farms with a total number of 29 beneficiaries); Fort Jackson (5 farms with a total number of 27 beneficiaries); Berlin (3 farms with a total number of 14 beneficiaries) and King William’s Town (5 farms with a total number of 85 beneficiaries). All the 19 projects/farms selected had a total of 160 beneficiaries and two beneficiaries from each farm were interviewed (see table 1 below).

**TABLE 1: PROJECTS/ FARMS VISITED:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name Of farm / project</th>
<th>No of beneficiaries</th>
<th>Total no. of beneficiaries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Lumko farm in Kidd’s Beach</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Rolihlahla in Kidd’s Beach</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Silverton in Ncerha</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Bamrock farm in Greenfields</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Nyangiwe family farm in Greenfields</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Mateza farming cc. in Summerpride</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Elam CPA in Fort Jackson</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Layisha farm in Fort Jackson</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Lusindiso farmers’ co-op. in FortJackson</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Khazimla poultry farm in Berlin.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Macleantonwn farm in Hanover.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Yafele farm in Beacon Bay</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Yellowwoods farm in Bisho</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
14. Kwa Masele shearing shed in King William’s Town  
15. Masizakhe Mamata shearing shed.  
16. Joycedale farm in Kidd’s beach  
17. Gwilligwili farm in Mt. Coke  
18. Gxethu farm in Mt. Coke  

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<th></th>
<th>2</th>
<th>15</th>
<th>17</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>10</th>
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<th>1</th>
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<th>5</th>
<th>13</th>
<th>18</th>
<th>7</th>
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<th>21</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>16</th>
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<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
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**3.6 Interviewing Procedure**

Data was collected by means of semi-structured interview schedule. This is a method that is based on an established set of questions with fixed wording and sequence of presentation. Information was gathered from government officials and from land and agrarian reform beneficiaries. For the implementers, who happen to be government officials, interviews were conducted. The interviews took the form of a conversation, which gave feedback immediately. Data required was based on why land reform projects collapse and fail to produce enough food after having been transferred to land reform beneficiaries. Field visits were undertaken in different projects in different areas. Questionnaires were used to collect data and these were administered to individuals who form a group on a farm.

The beneficiaries were visited in the project sites. Their level of education was taken into account and the right to use their mother tongue was given. Both open-ended and closed questions were used in order to determine the respondents’ knowledge about a farm as a business. The questions were designed to investigate the main problems that lead to the collapse of projects. The nature of support the projects received from other departments like Labour, Public Works and Water Affairs was investigated.
3.7 Limitations of the Study

For any study to be conducted, there must be enough funds. For the purposes of this study this was also the case. Funds required were for transport and fuel for travelling purposes, telephone for setting appointments, accommodation to continue with work even after hours, machinery such as computers and stationery for developing questionnaires. Cell phone bill had to be managed as well because of appointments which were made especially with government officials who normally were called to meetings even when an appointment had already been secured. Issues of money, time, and telephone bills to set up appointments and travelling were caused by random selection of farms and visits to government officials. For the purposes of this study funds were needed.

Since the projects/farms visited were very scattered, this required the researcher to try to find a balance between work demands and study demands. To overcome this problem, any spare time available during working hours, was requested and used for farm visits. It was not easy to get government officials on time. The nature of the job for these officials is by way of meetings and workshops and is therefore not easy to arrange interview times with them. When working with government officials one needed to be patient and explain and convince them about why the study was necessary. Some felt that one was interfering in their work and would be viewed suspiciously thereafter. It was not easier to work with beneficiaries because some felt that more promises, which end up nowhere, were raised again. It was therefore very important to exercise a high degree of openness, assure them about the principle of confidentiality and whenever one interacts with them it was important to observe the protocol or channels of communication. Here protocol must be observed. One should be aware of their channels of communication. Again high absenteeism, caused by conflict on the farms, was another difficulty and to the extent that this was the case, nobody was found on some farms to conduct interviews so new times had to be arranged.
Because LRAD projects are allocated to groups of people, the problem experienced was that those groups no longer existed on those projects/farms. This was as a result of conflict among beneficiaries caused by lack earning expected wages at the end of the week/month. Another problem was that some projects were given to old people, who because of their age, were struggling to farm. In other cases it was because of death. In some instances there were new beneficiaries who didn’t know much about the history of the project. The researcher therefore had to rely on the views of beneficiaries who were available on the farms during my visits and who knew the farms well.

3.8 Ethical issues

In this study all the respondents were openly and honestly informed about what the study was all about. The following ethical issues were considered:

i. Voluntary participation
ii. Informed consent
iii. Confidentiality
iv. Anonymity
v. Risk of harm

Respondents were given assurance that this study was meant to improve the land reform program that they know was not helping them much. It was emphasized that no funding would be given to them after the study.

Consent and confidentiality were requested from them for participation in the study. This would ensure that their names were not used and their responses would be confidential. Any undertaking made to them when they were asked to participate was honored. Such an undertaking would include not putting their views and names into the public domain and that if they needed access to the findings after the research was conducted that would be made available to them.
Respect and punctuality were observed at all times. This was to ensure that the research did not interfere with their interests and that their rights were respected. It was ensured that the environment where the research was conducted made the respondent feel comfortable and relaxed and the tools that were used for the research posed no danger.
CHAPTER 4
DATA ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to analyse the responses that were obtained from respondents in the field. Data was analysed using both quantitative and qualitative methods. To analyse quantitative data, questionnaires were checked and coded by hand, punched into a Microsoft Excel Spreadsheet and then analyzed using the Statistical Computer program to obtain a frequency distribution. This was done to assess the characteristics and skills of LRAD beneficiaries in the research study area. Furthermore, qualitative data was analyzed through the use of grounded theory. Grounded theory is an approach that builds a theory from the ground up brick by brick. It allows us to study a relatively unknown phenomenon around which no specified theory may exist yet (Babbie and Mouton: 1998, 499). This analysis technique involves ‘breaking up’ the data into manageable themes, patterns, trends and relationships (Mouton, 2006:108). The aim of analysis is to understand the various constitutive elements of one’s data through an inspection of the relationships between concepts, constructs and variables, and to see whether there are any patterns or trends that can be identified or isolated, or to establish themes in the data (Mouton,2006:108). Similarities were grouped together and differences isolated. The following is the presentation of the findings.

4.2 Views from farm beneficiaries

4.2.1 Choice of Enterprise:

In all 19 farms/projects visited, livestock e.g., cattle, sheep, goats, pigs and poultry was deemed the major enterprise. Most of the respondents said that they relied on this enterprise due to non-availability of machinery and farm implements. Of all the
farms/projects, 21% were headed by women who specialized in pig and poultry farming. Only 26% specialized in both livestock and crop production.

This kind of information implies that livestock production was much more preferred than crop cultivation in this area. It also suggests that if more attention could be paid to it, the problem of unproductivity could be overcome. This would mean assisting the beneficiaries with developing a proper livestock management program such as practicing rotational grazing and developing a proper vaccination program for their livestock. This would give beneficiaries the opportunity to overcome problems associated with food insecurity.

4.2.2 Lack of machinery and farm implements:

Most beneficiaries in all the 19 farms visited, confirmed that they had no tractors and other farm implements. Unavailability of tractors and other farm implements have led to farmers being unable to till the land on time. This is an important factor that tended to limit beneficiaries to stick on livestock as their preferred enterprise. Without the necessary machinery, there were indications that trainers would struggle to teach beneficiaries about how to run a farm.

Furthermore since the size of many of these farms was big, the respondents found it difficult to plough the fields without tractors and machinery. What they meant by this was that, the land was so big that even if they were to use cattle to plough the fields, vast areas would still remain unattended to. This came as no surprise that these farms become un-operational. History tells us that whites when restructuring commercial agriculture in the past, used mechanization to till their farms. It then became clear that the unavailability of machinery and farm implements, coupled with the sloppiness, high erodibility of soil, and lack of irrigating the farms rendered these farms unproductive.
4.2.3 Lack of Infrastructure:

Most of the farms (about 65%) were properly fenced with boundary fencing only and no camp fencing. They also had dams, but they seemed very poor in state. It appeared that they needed renovation or scooping. For almost all the farms visited the state could only manage to erect boundary fencing.

This was because many farms purchased by the state were obtained in a dilapidated state. It seemed that upon transfer to the new owners, massive infrastructural development was needed. Such development included boundary and camp fencing (for securing livestock and practicing proper management system), development of stock handling facilities, milking sheds, abattoir, dipping tank renovations, scooping of dams, erection of bore-holes and windmills where there is water running through the farms, a proper irrigation system and building of storage sheds.

But the fact that the state is only able to erect camp fencing did not seem to solve the problems that beneficiaries experienced. They argued that the tendency with newly erected fencing was that two or three years down the line, it would deteriorate even before it has served the purpose for which it was erected. This implies that a piecemeal kind of infrastructural development does not solve the problems experienced on these farms, but suggests that a comprehensive kind of assistance is needed if farms are to be made productive. This is a problem of lack of planning by those responsible for implementation. Questions such as what the implications for erecting camp fencing only should be adequately addressed, because if not, the whole program is put into disarray with a negative impact for beneficiaries.

4.2.4 Training:

A little more than half of all the beneficiaries interviewed (53%), agreed that they were given training but they argued that this training was given with no systems in place to enable them to start farming. Those responsible for training appeared to be ahead of
those supposed to provide full infrastructure for farms. This meant that there was a lack of working together of role-players responsible for implementation of these projects.

Regarding the kind of training they received, they said that they were trained on different aspects of running a farm. Some beneficiaries were trained before being given the farms and others were not. The kind of training received was on the whole farm management, crop and livestock production. This was done for beneficiaries regardless of whether they were farmers before or not. The state`s assumption was that as long as somebody had previously worked on a farm, they should have farm knowledge irrespective of the task one had to perform. Some beneficiaries said they received training after transfer on an enterprise chosen, while others did not get any training. This training was given regardless of whether the enterprise chosen was in existence or not. Such training was therefore easily forgotten by farmers since what was learnt was often not immediately put in use. This contributed to the tendency by many of the beneficiaries to be frustrated and end up leaving the farms for urban areas. They would leave with the skills obtained from training with nowhere to apply them. It seems to me that this is a waste of resources that could have been better utilized elsewhere.

4.2.5 Input supply:

The idea of grouping beneficiaries in land reform was to make sure that some kinds of jobs were created. This means that once beneficiaries occupy the farms; inputs should have been supplied at the start of the season because they are unemployed and therefore unable to purchase them.

All respondents on all the farms that were visited confirmed that they rarely received inputs from governments` provincial programs. This was a problem as the state failed to provide inputs such as seeds and fertilizers to land reform beneficiaries from their provincial programs on time. This obviously led to beneficiaries being unable to start ploughing the fields, which is one of the factors leading to the collapse of projects.
4.2.6 Extension services:

This is an important area for beneficiaries as it helps them with receiving technical advice to be able to avoid the pitfalls of agriculture. Without this important service, it is like seeing a flock of sheep without a shepherd.

Almost all respondents on all the farms/projects acknowledged that they knew who their extension officer was. However, the extension officer does not frequently pay them visits, leaving these services to be rarely provided. In many cases they said the last time they saw the extension officer was during the time of the land transfer. This implied that technical advice was rarely given to farmers.

Again, this is a state problem because extension workers are directly employed by the state. Without these services, obviously the state does not have an idea of what is happening in the farms. This implies that there was no link between the state and the beneficiaries. Lack of extension services can negatively affect the smooth running of the programme/project.

4.2.7 Provincial programs offered to farmers:

Since extension services were obviously lacking, the dissemination of information about government program was negatively affected. The beneficiaries agreed that while extension officers do tell them about programs offered by the government, they do not normally benefit from such programs. From the lack of extension services it becomes difficult to see how these can be brought to the attention of beneficiaries. Rarely do they benefit from provincial support programs. One of the ways to demonstrate that they did not know about these support programs, was their tendency to equate the Comprehensive Agricultural Support Program (CASP) with fencing only, without encompassing other variables as well. Furthermore, funds available for land reform beneficiaries were used to supplement provincial budgets, but provinces tended to use such funds as stand alone funds that must be used and not supplemented. Therefore
Land reform beneficiaries tended to suffer from this lack of provision and this seems to have led to the collapse of farms as a result of inadequate support.

4.2.8 Access to financial institutions:

Financial institutions always operate according to productivity and income. If, as is the case with land reform beneficiaries, productivity is lacking, this obviously disqualifies them from receiving financial assistance. They end up having to rely on assistance from the state which is not always forthcoming. This implies disaster for them.

According to information from beneficiaries, the Land Bank seems to be the only financial institution they know about and banks that they have approached they do not succeed in getting finance. Beneficiaries are struggling to apply for loans from financial institutions because of lack of collateral. Unavailability of financial support impedes progress in these farms/projects. Even with the Land Bank the support is limited to the purchase of the property during the pre-settlement phase. Once a property is purchased and there is a balance that beneficiaries have to service, they find themselves being unable to do so leading to the collapse of the farm and ultimately its repossession.

4.2.9 Existence of farmers` co-operatives:

All beneficiaries on all the farms/projects pointed to the existence of Umthiza as a farmers` co-operative that sells them inputs such as fertilizers and other farm requirements. The farmers` co-operatives provide easier ways of getting farm requirements at a discount. Umthiza is a wholesale for farmers who normally buy in bulk. Presently for land reform beneficiaries, it is the only co-op that is close to them in terms of understanding their needs. Mainly they rely on Umthiza farmers` co-operative, which sells farming materials at affordable prices. The main reason for this was noted to be the short distance they travel to reach Umthiza. This is one area which is not a problem as almost all beneficiaries are able to reach Umthiza outlets since it is found in all the areas.
4.2.10 Availability of research institutions:

All the respondents said that they relied on the Dohne research station in Stutterheim to get information regarding land related matters. They often have to travel to Stutterheim in order to access the research station. Mainly they utilize this for purchasing of livestock. Even if a research station was available closer, the level of education of the beneficiaries did not allow them to utilize one. A research station would be important and of use to them if they were already serious players in the economy of the country and playing an active role in the import – export market.

4.2.11 Theft and vandalism:

For those farms/projects situated near human settlements, there was a general complaint about theft and vandalism. But those deeper in rural areas complained about wild animals scavenging their livestock. This is not a problem that is unique to land reform beneficiaries, but one that affects the entire country. It is very disruptive to farming operations and to the extent that this is a problem, some farmers end up forgetting about farming due to the unavailability of police operations. Such operations are made difficult by the fact that roads in the rural areas are difficult to travel on; hence there is no police presence on a frequent basis.

4.2.12 Reliance on informal markets:

As pointed out earlier, a lack of a well-developed infrastructure such as roads, storage of perishables and telecommunications make it difficult for beneficiaries to organize a formal market for their produce, especially for those lucky enough to produce.

All the respondents said that they relied on local informal markets to sell their produce. They said this was because of the difficulty they experienced in a formal market due to lack of transport and the low quality of their produce. This problem of non-productivity is
at the core of this study because it leads to getting repossessed due to lack of income to service their debt.

**4.2.13 Returns per annum:**

The returns they make per season are a drop in the ocean and are unlikely to change their economic status. Much of what they get comes from selling livestock. They said they can make up to R25 000 per season due to the fact that they rely on only one enterprise, namely, livestock which is seasonal. If livestock is their main enterprise as stated earlier, and they make more or less this amount per season, then they are unlikely to survive for long in farming. This is one of the reasons why they vacate their farms in search of jobs in the urban areas.

**4.2.14 Interest in farming:** A further question that was addressed was whether LRAD beneficiaries honestly had an interest in farming. Many respondents indicated that they were drawn to the projects because of their previous experiences with the previous owners who sold the farm to government. It should be borne in mind that the initial objectives of grouping people into one farm was `to create a better life for all through job creation`. By purchasing these farms from previous owners and giving them to beneficiaries, the government thought that the beneficiaries would be more productive and be able to sell to the market. It was thought that this in turn would improve their economic status. As illustrated, conflicts leading to the collapse of the farms seemed related to the fact that beneficiaries expected remuneration at the end of the week or month from the funds earmarked for developing the farm. This showed a combination of illiteracy and lack of understanding that they own the farm and it has to be run like a business, which will bring profits that they can share amongst themselves in the long run. If the beneficiaries were engaged and consulted before the program started, they would be having a clearer understanding of what was expected from them. The technicalities about running farms like businesses that have to make a profit would have been very easily understood by them.
4.3 VIEWS FROM STATE OFFICIALS

Interviewing state officials for this study was very important in that they are the ones responsible for implementation. Government officials interviewed were the district coordinator of PDA, and the provincial coordinator of DAFF.

4.3.1 Lack of an integrated approach to land reform:

The district co-ordinator of the provincial Department of Agriculture (PDA) and provincial coordinator of DAFF described themselves as the custodians of the land reform post-settlement stage. They said that they were supposed to meet as different stake-holders once a month to discuss what kind of support they were to provide to land reform beneficiaries. The district coordinator said that stakeholders who play a role were RuDev & Land Affairs Department, Department of Agriculture, Fisheries and Forestry (DAFF), Department Of Water Affairs, financial institutions such as Land Bank and Uvimba Bank, Standard Bank and AbSA., Public Works and Labour Departments.

The view expressed by the coordinator was that lack of an integrated approach starts when planning is done, and different stakeholders tended to work in silos. For example, the whole program of land reform required that both provincial and national departments of agriculture work closely during the pre-settlement stage with land affairs to make sure that land delivered was suitable for agricultural purposes. However, the Land Affairs officials believed that this was hindering their mandate to deliver about 30% of the land by 2015. One of them said: “to find ourselves having to consult other role-players with a different mandate to ours, is delaying progress.” This was based, on the fact that they have to be accompanied by an official from the Department of Agriculture to conduct a feasibility study. On the one hand, officials from agriculture believed that concentrating only on delivering a big amount of land in hectares was having a negative impact on land reform. This was because the DLA officials tended to purchase land that was not suitable for
agricultural purposes. At the same time, the demand on agricultural officers was to support the beneficiaries to produce on that land which was unproductive.

This means that while officials are still struggling to find one another, beneficiaries were not receiving the service that they were entitled to. The kind of service expected was support to farms to make them productive. From this, one can see that officials between departments were unable to effectively implement the program and at the same time extension services, as stated earlier, were not available to farmers. This ends up with farms becoming un-operational, defeating the whole objective of having a land reform policy addressing the inequities in land dispossession of the past.

4.3.2 Lack of Capital Resources:

The above point regarding lack of integration makes it difficult to understand why resources can be said to be lacking when stakeholders struggle to find one another. If this is allowed to continue, it would definitely lead to a multitude of problems such as competition to support the same client and in some cases duplication of work. All the officials complained about the problem of availability of funds to roll-out the program. They said this had serious implications for land reform program since they regarded whole program as totally dependent on the grant system. They pointed to some of the challenges faced by beneficiaries, including the following:

- they struggle to purchase machinery and implement;
- they struggle to purchase inputs such as seed and fertilizers;
- lack of transport for extension workers to perform extension work was a very serious problem; plus
- lack or insufficient funds available to develop skills for role-players to meet the challenges of land reform.
4.3.3 Ownership:

When the government officials were asked about the actual owners of the projects/farms, they indicated that the land reform beneficiaries suddenly found themselves being told that the farms belong to them and yet they were never given resources to support themselves, and so they struggled to accept this reality.

The responses indicated that ownership of the farms was never properly communicated to them or understood that they were actually the owners who had to run the farms as businesses in order to make a profit. Once this did not happen, conflict started and they believed that this could be one of the factors that led to many of these farms collapsing. A solution to such conflicts was very difficult to find and the state ended up hiring mediators at a cost to solve the conflict. The money used for this purpose could have been invested better elsewhere.

4.3.4 The willing - buyer - willing - seller strategy:

The Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 concretised ownership of the land into the hands of whites. This effectively gave them power to charge whatever price when selling their land since they were the owners. The state, when disposing of the land today, finds itself in a position of having to negotiate the price and end up accepting whatever price is on the table. Because of this, farmers tended to charge exorbitant prices which left beneficiaries having to pay the remaining debt after the state has paid the major portion. With problems of productivity mentioned above, beneficiaries struggle to service it, and end up being repossessed by financial institutions.

This places extra burden on the shoulders of beneficiaries as they find themselves having to struggle with servicing debt and making a profit at the same time. According to a planner from DLA, this was one of the problems retarding the roll-out of the program. This approach is disorganizing the land reform program. Since land is obtained from commercial farmers, they tended to charge exorbitant prices thus
negatively affecting delivery of land and as a result there’s no competition since the state found itself with an obligation to redress historical land dispossession in the country. The LRDA system was used to purchase land, but due to the slow progress with this strategy, the state decided to use the PLAS (Pro-Active Land Acquisition strategy) to fast track land delivery.

4.3.5 No clear communication strategy at inter-governmental level:

The lack of integration mentioned earlier often leads to confusion with officials not really knowing what was expected from them. This confusion filters down up to beneficiaries who end up receiving mixed signals about what they must expect from government. Beneficiaries tended to pick up that there was confusion and lost hope of ever getting any support once they discovered this.

Officials from the province argued that they always received different messages about what was expected to happen with post-settlement support. For example, they cite the example of whether production inputs were expected to be funded from CASP. The national department was telling them something different from what they knew. This amounts to a lack of a proper communication to arrive at the same strategic plan about land reform. Also between sector departments mandated to drive land reform this is lacking. For example, PDoA does not communicate with DLA before land is purchased about whether a particular piece of land is suitable for agricultural purposes or not. The result is land from mountainous areas is bought for agricultural purposes.

4.3.6 Training inadequacies:

Officials from the Department of Agriculture say lack of available resources makes it difficult to train beneficiaries before farm occupation and after occupation. There was no machinery and implements available to make demonstrations. This serious lack of resources made it difficult for them to apply the skills they have been taught.
Officials from the national department said that the following programs were put in place to assist beneficiaries.

- a farmer-to-farmer mentorship program was put in place to assist farmers to obtain skills that they lack to run the farms; plus
- a Land reform revitalization program was developed to make sure that those that received financial support before, but failed to produce enough, are assisted again to make sure that their farms are operational.

4.3.7 Inability to service their bank debts:

Officials say that beneficiaries struggle to service their bank debts because they cannot produce enough. And land bought for beneficiaries ends up being repossessed because there is no production taking place, so they find themselves being unable to service their bank debts. This defeats the whole objective of land reform.

4.4 Summary: Common facts highlighted by both officials and beneficiaries

4.4.1 Lack of a coherent or integrated plan: The findings indicate that there is lack of a coherent or integrated plan on rolling out the land reform programme. Government officials who are mandated to roll out this programme seemed to work in silos. For example, PDA regarded the post-settlement support phase as their own territory and other stakeholders did not have much say. This suggests that they can spend available funds as they wish. Currently, in almost all the farms, only fencing was done. The same thing occurs with the Dept. of Labour which provides training to beneficiaries. Training is conducted without consulting the Department of Agriculture about the timing of providing training to beneficiaries. Yet the primary client in all land reform projects is the farmer, but stakeholders come from different directions with assistance, which tends to confuse the farmer.
4.4.2 Lack of Capital resources

Lack of Capital resources was highlighted as the greatest factor affecting land reform in the following ways:-

- Not enough capital is available to revitalize the massive infrastructure development mentioned above.
- Non-availability of machinery and other farm implements to be able to practice crop production.
- Non availability of funds for providing skills through training of extension workers.
- Non availability of funds for extension workers to have transport to move around farms rendering technical advice. The absence of this creates a distance between them and farmers, making it difficult to inform beneficiaries about what the Department offers as support and what new innovations need to be followed.
- Non availability of capital results in no inputs being provided to beneficiaries and where they have been, they arrive late.

Lack of capital resources make it difficult to roll out the programme. Capital resources are needed to assist the farmer with all farm requirements. This is for infrastructure development, machinery and farm implements, purchasing of inputs such as fertilizers, seeds and chemical substances for pest control. Available funds are only limited to assisting the farmer with one item, which in this case, happens to be fencing.

4.4.3 Training

Training was highlighted as one of the important factors that were provided to beneficiaries. In many instances, respondents argued that it was provided to beneficiaries who do not have farming equipment to apply the skills they had been trained on. However, it seemed that this was provided at inappropriate times
when there were either no inputs or farming equipment to apply. Because of this, the beneficiaries end up forgetting what they were trained.

This could be confused with the general assumption that, if one is interested in farming and has worked on a farm before, he or she knows about farming regardless of the enterprise that one was specializing in. In some instances, people have worked for commercial farmers, but were looking after the farmer’s dogs for twenty years. Because he or she has worked on a farm, he or she is regarded as a farmer.

4.4.3 Lack of capacity building and skills development:

It appeared that those who are charged with rolling out the programme lacked the necessary skills starting from preparation of business plans to outsource funds, that would ensure that service delivery happens on time without delays. There is therefore a need to organize periodically in-service training for officials who implement the programme.

4.4.5 Lack of provision of inputs, infrastructure development and machinery and implements:

Findings indicated that many of the beneficiaries were not provided with relevant inputs such as seeds on time. This is directly linked to non-availability of capital resources which would be used to purchase farm inputs and deliver them on time.

4.4.6 Lack of access to informal markets:

Since the farmers struggle to produce, the little they are able to produce is sold locally to people who rely on government pension to buy. So there are no chances of being paid on time. The quality of what they produce also makes it difficult even to secure this local market.
CHAPTER 5
DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction:

This chapter discusses the main findings of the study and links them to the structural Marxist theory. From the previous chapter the main findings of this study indicates that LRAD farms/projects continue to collapse because they lacked a coherent and integrated plan, capital resources, inputs, infrastructure, and access to informal markets.

Although these findings do not much from the challenges found other researchers, they add to current literature by exposing the weaknesses experienced in the post-settlement stage of LRAD projects. The findings confirm that this stage is indeed faced with a number of problems and challenges as pointed out earlier by other academics and researchers who have interrogated failure of land reform. It is clear that after 1994, the problems faced by land redistribution such as lack of capacity and lack of capital resources made it difficult for the state to realize the strategic objective of the RDP of returning 30% of the land by 2014. Not even the Growth, Employment & Redistribution Strategy, which promised more jobs for the poor could improve the conditions of the poor.

According to the structural Marxist approach, it seems that power in a capitalist society like South Africa is still concentrated in the hands of a minority. The state uses power to further the interests of the powerful capitalist at the expense of the powerless majority (Haralambos, 2000: 609). This according to Nicos Poulantzas (1968, 1976) is to maintain the stability of the capitalist system. It should be noted that whether the capitalists occupy elite positions in government or not, the state inevitable functions to benefit them. In this regard, the state implements policies that serves the interests of the capitalists. The consequences of such policies would be the maximization of profits and the furthering of inequalities between racial groups or between the powerful and the powerless groups (Haralambos, 2000: 239). In support of this view, many of the fundamentals of the policy
framework in South Africa seem to be ill-suited to the goal of poverty reduction. Land reform policies such as the macro-economic policies adopted by the South African government that emphasise the willing-seller-willing-buyer approach to land redistribution are good examples. The defining features of these policies, are ‘a gradual and modest redistribution of land through consensual, market-based methods’; This is a ‘clear shift away from a programme that is aimed at the rural poor and landless to one aimed at the creation of a new class of commercial farmers’; noninterference with existing property rights (most evident in the ‘willing seller-willing buyer’ approach to land acquisition); and the failure to integrate land reform into a broader programme of rural development, together with a general neglect of post-transfer support (Cousins, 2005). All these, from a Marxist structuralist approach, are serving the interests of the capitalist, as they seem to be making the rich richer and the poor poorer.

What seems to be coming out clearly is that these challenges confirm our earlier assertion that the ‘agrarian question for the dispossessed’ in South Africa is not yet resolved. Because the dispossessed represent the dominated class, they do not determine what needs to be done to benefit them. It is only the dominating class that thinks about what kind of development is suitable for them. The fact that the projects are failing shows that there was never any prior consultation. The fact that organized agriculture such as Agri-SA and other elites in government have succeeded in presenting land reform through the eye of commercial farming rather than through the eye of the dispossessed, represents ‘accumulation from above’ as opposed to ‘accumulation form below’. The fact that the beneficiaries were never consulted before implementing the projects reflects Cousin’s ‘accumulation from above.’ This is an indication that so long as there is no consultation with those who are meant to benefit from development plans, no ‘accumulation from below’ is possible and hence no sustainable development will occur. In this regard, the dominant wealthy and rich, powerful class stand a chance of ensuring that they continue to control all the resources, which in turn would bring the dominated classes to their level. Under such conditions, even the capacity of the implementers may not succeed in their attempts to successfully roll out the programme. Instead, the support given would be ineffective until the
dispossessed accept their failure as having been of their own making. This is what Marx calls ‘false consciousness’.

It is therefore clear that the ‘accumulation from above’ does not resolve the agrarian question of the dispossessed. Thus, Marcus (1989) concurs with Cousins (2005:2) in his argument that “…the agrarian question of the dispossessed could only be resolved through wide-ranging agrarian reform that must include the redistribution of land and the securing of land rights.” Cousins goes on to suggest that this process should “go beyond the land question and restructure the agrarian political economy as a whole” (ibid.). Cousins (2005) further points out that a major weakness in both land redistribution and restitution programmes is in relation to post-transfer support for beneficiaries such as the Comprehensive Agricultural Support Programme. He considers this programme to be underfunded, to have inadequate resources and to have a programme whose thrust and content is still unclear. This is an indication that land reform projects are poorly integrated into the development plans of local government bodies.

If this condition persists in regions where LRAD projects exist, this would reflect the perpetuation of development of underdevelopment and dependency on development where local produce would continue to be undermined and local markets will continue to be dependent on produce from the other countries. If this persists in South Africa, then the agrarian question of the dispossessed is still to be resolved and poverty and inequality will prevail even though support is provided by government.

This study therefore concurs with the views of Peet (2002) and Tsheola (2002), who point a finger at the country’s macro-economic policy for making beneficiaries of development to rely on grants for support. It is clear that the economic policy that was in place after 1994 was meant to serve and develop the minority white community which depicted agriculture along commercial farming. If this continues, it implies that macroeconomic policies of the ANC as recommended by global market forces such as World Bank and International Monetary Funds still benefit those who already own the land and are not helping the dispossessed, hence confirming that the agrarian question still has to be
resolved in South Africa. However, debate currently underway is whether the time has come for the country to have another policy that would meet the country’s challenges, including land reform issues.

Another myth that needed to be dispelled was that agriculture would be a success if it was treated along commercial lines. The more sensible thing to do, it seems, would be to look at the accumulation of capital from below by involving the new emerging farmers in commercial agriculture. Resources available in the past were reserved for a minority of whites and now needed to be spread to all the country’s citizens. This would therefore resuscitate the ailing subsistence farming mainly practiced by Africans because of land dispossession.
CHAPTER 6
CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

The main purpose of the study was to investigate why land reform projects collapse and become unproductive even though the government has put in place policies to support them. The study evaluated the post-settlement phase of the land reform program in selected LRAD projects of the Buffalo City. Role-players in land reform were consulted to gather information required to come to the findings of these study.

6.2 Conclusions

The major findings indicated that lack of productivity in LRAD projects/farms was the result of a number of weaknesses in the implementation of the land reform program. These ranged from lack of training in enterprise production and running the farm as a business; lack of supply of inputs, lack of infrastructure, and lack of an implementation structure with the necessary capacity and skills to coordinate and roll-out the whole program. For productivity to improve, there is therefore a need to restructure agriculture in order to eliminate poverty and improve rural life of all South Africans. This means developing a new macro-economic policy which would make the beneficiaries not rely solely on grants from the state, but also become meaningful and effective players in the country’s economy.

In order to ensure that the agrarian reform, in particular the implementation of LRAD projects, effectively addresses the agrarian question of the dispossessed, “there should be enough rural economic space and socio-political relations, that creates conditions for accumulation from below Cousins (2005:10). Based on this view, the following recommendations are made:
The formation of a Land Reform Development Agency: In agreement with Ben Cousins (2005:19), putting in place a Land Reform Development Agency/implementation board with political authority to administer the land reform program is crucial. This is in accordance with the argument that “political dynamics rather than rational arrangements are likely to be the key determinant of the content of land and agrarian reform in South Africa in years to come (Cousins, 2005:19). If this is done, problems similar to the ones encountered in the farms that were studied in this project would be reduced. The form this would take would be negotiated by all the sectors of society ranging from politicians, trade unions, civil society groups, community based organizations, youth and women movements and organized agriculture. More capital resources should be engaged to make sure that whoever participates in the implementation board is skilled enough to deliver on the mandate.

An overhaul of all the structures: A major overhaul of all the structures mandated to roll-out the program is necessary. Both the DLA responsible for the pre-settlement stage, and the PDA responsible for post-settlement stage and other role-players, such as the Department of Labour playing a secondary role should work together. It is important to note that once an overhaul is complete, there should be a comprehensive and simultaneous coordination of all the functions needed to roll-out land reform program during both the planning and implementation stages. This integrated approach should make sure that all role-players are on the same wavelength.

Improve access to Inputs: Beneficiaries must have enough access to inputs, tools and equipment, draught power and marketing outlets. Without these, beneficiaries would find it difficult to till the fields as is the case now. Hence, they stand to continue to have a problem of un-productivity.

Development of Infrastructure: There should be infrastructure development, transport and communication system, extension services and marketing on farms.
Since the farms that are purchased come from commercial farmers, who sold them because of problems with running them, they tend to leave them in a dilapidated state. Infrastructure on such farms needs to be improved because if not, livestock will tend to roam onto nearby roads posing a danger to road users. It is not only fencing that needs attention, also irrigation system where there is water, dam scooping, renovation of dipping tanks and handling facilities are some of the things to look at. Failure to improve these may seriously hamper farm operations.

- **Area-based plan:** As advocated by Cousins (2005:12), an area-based plan should be created. He believes that this can be used to plan land transfers on a large scale. This kind of plan recognizes the uniqueness of each area.

- **Proper coordination:** There should be proper co-ordination between stakeholders when implementing the land reform program. This encourages stakeholders to operate as a unit when rolling out the program. A situation must be avoided where each partner operates in its own corner doing its own thing when the client in land reform is the same. This should also avoid confusion for the farmer who should know exactly who to deal with on land-related matters.

- **Capacity Building:** There must be huge investments in capacity building and innovative institutions must be in place. Here Cousins (2005:14) means that that capacity building and skills development should enjoy top priority if the program is to succeed. If this is done, those active in the implementation would know what to do and when instead of working alone.

- **Improve interest in farming:** Generally, it seemed that the beneficiaries had no interest in farming. They just accepted involvement in the projects for the sake of getting employed. Indications are that this was never a people-driven programme based on consultation; people just accepted what they asked to do.
Having agreed that those who qualify under LRAD did not have an interest in farming, the guidelines for qualification under the grant need to be revisited. The guidelines are:

- A farm/project must be economically viable
- Preference must be given to Africans, Coloreds and Indians
- Women, youth and the disabled must be the first to benefit
- Politicians and civil servants should not qualify.

**Further research:** There is a need for the research institutes to conduct further research into land reform. The research institute should operate along the lines of the Dohne research station in Stutterheim that happens to be the only one in the province other than academic institutions. Also the Formation of Rural Enterprise Development Centers is recommended, which should advise beneficiaries about what enterprise is suitable for which area. Academic institutions must be encouraged to be directly involved in developing innovations in how the program must be accelerated.

**Paradigm shift to focus on agrarian reform:** As suggested by Cousins (2005), there has to be a paradigm shift that focuses on agrarian reform policies. This refers to the development of policies that would eliminate the market-based approaches. There should be a decisive break with market-led approaches. This refers to the willing buyer-willing seller strategies and other market-based land reforms which have failed the land reform. These approaches make it difficult for the state to meet the 30% target by 2014. In most of these cases, the farmers take advantage in that they are the only sellers in the market and government the sole buyer of farms; they tend to charge exorbitant prices.

The much-talked about policy presently is the `Expropriation Bill` which seeks to expropriate land for redistribution at a price mutually agreed upon, without one partner becoming a stumbling block in the process. There should therefore a review of this Bill. It should be borne in mind that the land reform process needs to be
speedily completed. In other words, delivery of land to the rural poor can no longer be postponed. It is a long overdue process. Getting redistribution on the right track and at a significant scale should be correctly implemented for the majority of the landless.

- **Monitoring and evaluation:** Monitoring and evaluation of projects is very important to be able timeously determine weaknesses and strengths and the change that such projects are bringing to beneficiaries. If this is in place, at different stages of the project, corrective measures could be done.

- **Restructuring commercial agriculture:** In agreement with Cousins (2005), commercial agriculture in South Africa needs to be restructured. It should be fused with the demands of subsistence farming. Furthermore, commercial agriculture needs to be de-racialised, so that it is not regarded as an exclusive domain of whites. Peet (2002) gives an indication of how commercial agriculture could be restructured. This will however need to be broadened to include those who were dispossessed in the past.

- **Review Land Reform:** These findings indicate that all the three components of the land reform program, namely, redistribution, tenure reform and restitution, have failed. The state therefore needs to revisit the land reform programme. In my view, both restitution and redistribution should not only deal with restoring land that was unfairly dispossessed after 1913 by way of compensation, it should ensure that the people receive lasting benefits from land. The land tenure reform needs not be considered as well in that the majority of rural people in the communal areas already occupy and all that was needed was proper land administration by way of entitlement. But redistribution is recommended for consideration in that it deals with the diversification of the ownership structure of white commercial farmland, where they occupy about 87% compared to the 13% by Africans.
The review would therefore start by looking at the strategic objective set earlier of ‘creating a better life for all through job creation’ and find a new way of achieving this. The major point of departure would be to move away from `group farming` as contained in LRAD. This would be replaced by developing a pool of small business entrepreneurs selected from recently graduated agriculture graduates/diplomats and encourage them to come straight into farming instead of looking for jobs.

They would be encouraged to become farmers who would benefit from government support programs, be assisted with accessibility to financial institutions and market exposure. Obviously, with the element of illiteracy set aside by this, they would understand that they would be running businesses which required them to employ people. A program such as this would run for a period of at least ten years and could be used as a benchmark to show beneficiaries what was expected from them when the land reform program was introduced. This strategy, although not proven, to me would open up massive job opportunities.

This review of the redistribution component is made because, talking informally to people about providing comprehensive support, they made the claim that some farms benefitted from such support but beneficiaries after the first produce found it difficult to operate on their own again. They found themselves having to look for support again the following season. The state found itself with no exit strategy from projects/farms already supported.
REFERENCES


**INTERVIEW SCHEDULE**

*Instructions:* You are hereby requested to provide answers in the empty spaces provided. Your contribution will be highly valued as it will assist in providing answers as to how we can improve productivity in our farms/projects.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Administrative Area:</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Project Name:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Position of respondent:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date of interview:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A. **Farm/Project Information**

1. Indicate kind of ownership (tick relevant block)?

|------------------|--------|--------------|---------|---------|

2. How many beneficiaries are registered as owners?

____________________________________________________________________

From the above beneficiaries, indicate the number of vulnerable persons.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vulnerable groups</th>
<th>1.Women</th>
<th>2.Youth</th>
<th>3.Disabled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

3. What is the major type of enterprise?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of enterprise</th>
<th>1.Animal</th>
<th>2.Crop</th>
<th>3.Combination</th>
<th>4.Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Specify. If it is animal, state whether cattle/sheep/goats/pigs/poultry? Also state if dairy/beef cattle.

____________________________________________________________________

If it is crop, state whether annual, biannual or perennial?

____________________________________________________________________

4. What is the size of your farm/project in ha?

____________________________________________________________________
5. Give the size of irrigable area? In ha.

6. Give the size of the grazing area in ha?

7. How many dams do you have in your farm/project?

8. Is there a river crossing through the farm/project? If yes, name of river

9. Is there a research station closer to the farm? If yes what is it called?

10. Is there a co-operative closer to your farm? If yes, what is it called?

11. Do you have a formal / informal market closer to your farm?

12. What is the annual turn-over of the farm?

13. What facilities does the farm have?

1. farm-house
   2. storage facilities
   3. Other
14. What is their condition?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Good</th>
<th>2. Fair</th>
<th>3. Poor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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</table>

15. What is your source of energy?

16. Is the farm fenced? If yes give condition of fence.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Good</th>
<th>Fair</th>
<th>Poor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

17. Who provided you with fencing and how long has the farm been fenced?

18. What is your source of water? Do you have a borehole/windmill?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>taps</th>
<th>borehole</th>
<th>windmill</th>
<th>River/dam</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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</table>

What is the condition?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Good</th>
<th>Fair</th>
<th>Poor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

19. Who erected the windmill?

20. Do you have farming equipment and implements? Give the name and condition of each implement.
Condition | Tractor | hoes | spades | seedlings? | ?
---|---|---|---|---|---
Good | | | | | |
Fair | | | | | |
Poor | | | | | |

21. Who provided you with these implements and how long have you been having them?

______________________________

B Pre-settlement Planning

22. Before becoming one of the beneficiaries, were you involved in farming?

1. Yes  2. No

23. If yes, in what capacity?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Farm owner</th>
<th>Farm labourer</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

24. In what enterprise(s) or areas were you specialising?

________________________________________________________________

25. Was your area of specialization considered by Department of Land Affairs when the farm was transferred to you? Explain.

________________________________________________________________
26. Were you trained before you occupied the farm?

27. If yes, who provided training and what kind of training did you receive? In other words, briefly explain its relevance to your enterprise.

28. Were you told about the name of the institution funding your project? If so, what institution?

29. If yes, what kind of assistance was the institution supposed to render you and when was it supposed to stop?

C. Post-settlement Period

30. Do you know your local extension officer?

1.Yes  2.No

31. What information did you get from him?

32. Do you know about the post-settlement support available to farmers from the Department of Agriculture?
1. Yes  
2. No

33. If yes, how did you hear about it and what form of support has it provided you?

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<th>Support</th>
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<td>market accessibility</td>
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<td>input accessibility</td>
<td>financial accessibility</td>
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34. Were you trained on how to manage a farm when it was handed over to you by the department of agriculture? Explain.

35. Which support programmes were you informed about?

1. Comprehensive Agricultural Support Programme (CASP)  
2. Micro Agricultural Finance Scheme (MAFISA) and how to access that support?  
3. Other

36. If you were, have they been implemented in this farm?

1. Yes  
2. No

37. If they have, what have you benefited from these programmes?
38. Are you satisfied with the support you`ve been given so far?


39. If no, what were you expecting from government? Outline your expectations and challenges?


40. General Comment:

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME
The state is currently rolling out the land reform programme. As government officials you are playing a leading role in the implementation process. But media reports and other publications suggest that the programme is not in any way close to achieving its objectives. This study seeks to investigate the causes of the failures of this ideal. You are therefore kindly requested to share your experiences on the challenges you experience in implementing the programme. Your answers must be on the spaces provided.

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<td>Official status</td>
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</table>
1. What is your level of operation in your department?
   ______________________________________________________________

2. Give the names of other relevant stakeholders working with you in implementing the programme.
   ______________________________________________________________
   ______________________________________________________________
   ______________________________________________________________
   ______________________________________________________________

3. Which stakeholder is mandated to play a co-ordinating and facilitating role?
   ______________________________________________________________
   ______________________________________________________________
   ______________________________________________________________

4. How often do you meet to decide your next course of action? Indicate what exactly do you discuss in your meetings and the outcome.

5. In rolling out the programme, what challenges do you meet?
   ______________________________________________________________
   ______________________________________________________________
   ______________________________________________________________

6. Do you have enough budget to operate? If not, how do you overcome this?
   ______________________________________________________________
   ______________________________________________________________
   ______________________________________________________________

7. What difficulties do you experience with the land reform beneficiaries?
   ______________________________________________________________
   ______________________________________________________________
   ______________________________________________________________

8. Do you give training to beneficiaries? If yes, on what?
   ______________________________________________________________
9. If you were to be asked to redo the programme again, what would you improve?

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

10. Generally speaking do you think the programme will be a success in the future?

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

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NOTE: If the spaces provided are not enough to provide answers, you are free to use the back of the page to contribute more.