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LAND AND AGRARIAN REFORM, AND RURAL LIVELIHOODS IN POST-
APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA: A STUDY ON THE EHLANZENI DISTRICT IN
MPUMALANGA PROVINCE.

BY

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ABSTRACT

The study examines land and agrarian reforms in democratic South Africa focusing on projects implemented under the Comprehensive Rural Development Programme (CRDP) since 2009. Focusing on Bushbuckridge municipal area, the study reviews wide ranging transformative efforts initiated to address agrarian sector inequalities and rural poverty. The review illustrates that modest achievements have been made in restructuring the apartheid political geography manifesting in high levels of asset poverty amongst rural populations and vulnerability to food insecurity. While several factors are explored to explain this, it is discernible that a disjuncture exists between the social justice imperatives and the neoliberal development ideology adopted since transition to democracy.

Adopting the sustainable livelihoods approach, the study examines whether the CRDP is adequate to address the needs for land equity in redistribution and to improve rural livelihoods in Mpumalanga, with particular focus on Bushbuckridge municipal area. Furthermore, the study examines the extent to which the implementation of CRDP has met the objective of equitable land redistribution as specified in the policy and also explores the outcomes of implementation, whether necessary conditions to promote the small-scale agricultural sector have been created; for instance, investments in agricultural infrastructure, support services such as credit measures, inputs and capacity building programmes for subsistence sector farming. Through a qualitative inquiry challenges are identified regarding the achievement of equity in land distribution and sustainable livelihoods. The conclusive chapter argues for paradigm shifts in land acquisition, public engagement, gender equity, funding models for subsistence farming, intersectoral co-operation, funding of rural infrastructural projects particularly markets and agro-processing facilities.

DECLARATION

This dissertation is my original work and it has not been previously submitted for examination in any other university.

Name: Nqobani Maduna-Mafu

Signature: 

Date:

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ASGISA	Accelerated Growth Initiative of South Africa
ALARM	Alliance of Land and Agrarian Reform Movements
ANC	African National Congress
BEE	Black Economic Empowerment
CASP	Comprehensive Agricultural Support Programme
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
CRDP	Comprehensive Rural Development Programme
DARDLEA	Department of Rural Development, Land and Environmental Affairs
DFID	Department for International Development
DLA	Department of Land Affairs
DMP	Drought Management Plan
DRDLR	Department of Rural Development and Land Reform
EFF	Economic Freedom Fighters
FTLRP	Fast Track Land Reform Programme
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution Macro-Economic Policy
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
IFSS	Integrated Food Security Strategy for South Africa
ISRDP	Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Programme
LPM	Landless People's Movement
LRAD	Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development
MLAR	Market-led Agrarian Reform
MTSF	Medium Term Strategic Framework
NCL	National Land Committee
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations

NSDP	National Spatial Development Perspective
NYDA	National Youth Development Agency
PCT	Projecto Cedula Terra
RADP	Land Redistribution, Development and Recapitalisation Programme
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
REID	Rural Enterprise Infrastructure Development
RID	Rural Infrastructure and Development
SACP	South African Communist Party
SLAGS	Settlement and Land Acquisition Grants
SMEs	Small and Medium Enterprises
SNP	Schools Nutrition Programme
SSA	Statistics South Africa
TRIPARRD	Tripartite Partnership for Agrarian Reform and Rural Development

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CHAPTER 1

Background of the study

1. Introduction

The legacy of apartheid shaped disproportionate landholding patterns in democratic South Africa (Hall and Ntsebeza, 2007). During the apartheid system, land policies were aimed at developing commercial agriculture and capitalist profiteering. These policies obliterated native agricultural production systems and restricted indigenous people to communal reserves intended for African occupation (Moyo, 2006). The promulgation of the Native Land Act of 1913 was a significant development which completed the expropriation of around 90 percent of the land surface for commercial agriculture, consequently confining indigenous people to only 13 percent of the land (Thomson, 1995:109). In collaboration with these developments was the introduction of agricultural policies that promoted commodity production thereby challenging the indigenous livelihoods system. These processes led to expanded demand for African labour, the massive proletarianisation of large numbers of people and the subsequent decimation of peasantry in rural South Africa (Moyo, 2006). Subsequent to these developments, South Africa became one of the countries with unequal wealth distribution. To a larger extent, patterns of asset ownership have continued to show a relationship with gender, race and location (May 2000).

With the background above, the enduring challenge facing democratic South Africa is to address widespread poverty, colonially derived unequal land ownership patterns and incomes, discriminatory land regulations, tenure insecurity and structures that perpetuate rural poverty. May and Natrass (2005) postulate that the manifestations of poverty, namely high levels of unemployment, lack of assets, low incomes and food security exist on an infinite measure in South Africa's rural areas. Beyond

returning land to communities that were unfairly dispossessed and redressing land imbalances, land reform has been considered as a platform for the alleviation of poverty through rural development programmes. Henceforth, in pursuit of trajectories premised on redressing historical land imbalances, achieving social equity and sustainable livelihoods, successive African National Congress-led (ANC) governments have formulated diverse policies that can be grouped into three phases; the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) from 1994 to 2000, the Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Programme (ISRDP) from 2000-2009 and the Comprehensive Rural Development Programme (CRDP) from 2009 to the present. These programmes have acknowledged the urgent need to enable the rural poor to control productive assets particularly land as a means of eradicating poverty and promoting equity (IDRC, 1995).

Notwithstanding targets set out in government policies since 1994, the pace of land redistribution has been widely regarded as a failure (Hall, 2005; Anseeuw and Mathebula, 2008). As also cited by Moyo (2006), the fundamental land question that confronts the post-apartheid South African state is that modest advancements have been made to address agrarian sector inequalities. In the main, this is because unequal land ownership patterns were at independence maintained through constitutional provisions that safeguarded property rights and consecrated voluntary land sales as a model of acquiring land for redistribution purposes. These neoliberal land policies have preserved skewed agrarian structures leading to distorted economic development manifesting itself in increasing income inequalities and the marginalization of the majority of rural populations.

Instead, agricultural development policy has favoured commercial farmer export oriented model while neglecting subsistence farming. Moyo (2006) interprets this as a reflection of policy discourses that envisage employment growth in the non-agricultural sectors, perceived shrinking demand for land and ideologies that assume the ineffectiveness of peasant production structures. Furthermore, the scepticism and negative stereotype towards subsistence farming explains limited policy strides in restructuring land ownership patterns in favour of small scale farmer development trajectory (Moyo, 2006). Given ideological constraints in policy design, land hungry individuals and households have remained marginalized. Therefore, landlessness, lack of assets, skills and capabilities, unemployment and food insecurity amongst the rural poor remains high.

Apart from systematic constraints as argued above, the failure of land reforms in post-apartheid South Africa is also attributed to poor co-ordination between government departments responsible for land reform, insufficient financial budgets for agrarian reform programmes and shortage of agriculturally productive land in the possession of the state for redistribution to the poor (Ntsebeza, 2007). Further reviews cite limited involvement of civil society organisations, community participation and inadequate post-settlement support (Thwala, 2003). In communal areas, land and agrarian reform interventions have not been effective either. Lahiff and Cousins (2005) attribute this to existing legislations which reinforce the power of tribal authorities in communal areas in a way that suppresses democracy while reinforcing gender-based land distribution inequalities.

As illustrated above, South Africa's pursuit for equity and sustainable livelihoods through land and agrarian reforms is plagued with diverse institutional and ideological deterrents. The failure of land and agrarian reforms to reach the rural

poor has necessitated rural development policy reconfiguration towards an orientation that addresses their marginalization and existing landholding inequalities. Walker (2003) argues that to achieve land equity and sustainable livelihoods through rural development, land redistribution programmes have to target the land hungry individuals and households in rural areas.

The CRDP implemented since 2009, endeavours to accelerate land acquisition and redistribution to the rural poor to promote land equity and sustainable livelihoods. The programme endeavours to improve the livelihoods of the rural poor through initiating rural businesses, building agro-industries, promoting the development of cooperatives, linking the poor to markets and investing in rural infrastructural development. In addition, the programme emphasises the need to prioritise women and youths in empowerment programmes (CRDP, 2009:13). The CRDP recognises land reform as a critical component towards the upliftment of the rural poor and acknowledges that voluntary land sales have failed to promote equity in the agrarian sector (CRDP, 2009). For the first time since 1994, there has been emphasis on the need to enforce the just and equitable principle espoused in the South African Constitution as an enduring answer towards addressing land ownership imbalances and promoting rural livelihoods (CRDP, 2009). This policy framework divides the land reform programme into three clusters, namely tenure reform, land redistribution and restitution.

According to World Bank (1975) land reform is a process that transforms the legal framework underpinning land relations. Agrarian reforms involve redistribution of agricultural land initiated or implemented by the government. Burgess (2000) and Ghimire (2001) point out that agrarian reform involves policy and legislative instruments to strengthen tenure security and improve the conditions within which

landless communities access land. To achieve equity and sustainable livelihoods, agrarian reforms must ensure tenure security for beneficiaries which enable them to access private sector loans and also provide post settlement services (Cousins, 2007). The CRDP regards land ownership by the rural poor as a fundamental step towards improving rural livelihoods. Chambers and Conway (1992) define rural livelihoods as a combination of activities undertaken to make a living or to access basic needs using endowments both human and material.

After nearly two decades of transition to democracy, it is imperative to study the sustainability of land and agrarian reform programmes on improving rural livelihoods in South Africa. Focusing on land reform projects implemented under the CRDP in Bushbuckridge area, (one of the 21 CRDP pilot sites in 2009) under Ehlanzeni district in Mpumalanga Province, this study aims to assess the adequacy of the CRDP in addressing needs for land equity in redistribution and in improving rural livelihoods. Out of the 21 CRDP sites, this study adopted Bushbuckridge sites in view of their easy access to the researcher compared to others.

Furthermore, various CRDP reports claim that agrarian transformation progress has been made in Bushbuckridge municipal area (CRDP, 2014). This generated interest from the researcher to explore more on the performance of land reform in improving rural livelihoods and achieving equity in landholding patterns. Specifically, this research studied the Hoxane Farmers' Project and New Forest Irrigation Scheme to assess implementation and implications on rural livelihoods.

1.1 Problem statement

Land reform interventions in Mpumalanga province have not addressed rural livelihoods or benefitted small-scale farmers (Levin et al, 1997). Rural development

programmes implemented in this area (both at district and municipality level) have often invested little to promote small scale farming. The inclination of policies has been towards large scale commercial farming. This has constrained a pro-poor agrarian transformation which, among other things, must address income inequalities, reduce poverty, unemployment, household food insecurity, hunger and poor incomes as identified by Elsenburg (2005).

Similarly, implemented rural development policies have not adequately invested in agricultural infrastructure such as irrigation facilities, credit and storage facilities for smallholder farmers. This has marginalised the poor from agricultural production and constrained them from land-based livelihoods as noted by Levin et al (1997).

Furthermore, the limited impact of land reform projects in this area, prior to the CRDP era, has been due to poor coordination between institutions responsible for land reform projects, limited involvement of local people and the subsequent lack of sense of ownership, poor beneficiary targeting and poor participation due to entrenched dependency syndrome (CRDP Report, 2014). These factors have resulted in unsustainable land reform projects and in failure of agrarian reforms to deliver sustainable livelihoods to the rural poor. The consequences of this for Bushbuckridge municipal area are socio-economic challenges; namely high rates of unemployment, poverty, low income per household, reliance on social grants and hunger (Bushbuckridge Local Municipality, 2013). These structural problems affect women and the unemployed youth who continue to suffer poverty the most in this area.

Against this background, this study proceeds from the understanding that land redistribution has done little to promote small-scale farming as a means of improving

rural livelihoods (Lahiff and Cousins, 2005). More specifically, land reform strategy has favoured export oriented commercial farming use. Henceforth, the main research question is; how adequate is the CRDP towards addressing needs for land equity in redistribution and improving rural livelihoods in Mpumalanga province?

1.2 Objectives of the study

The main objective of this study was to assess the adequacy of CRDP to address the needs for land equity in redistribution and to improve rural livelihoods in Mpumalanga, with particular focus on Bushbuckridge municipal area. There are three complimentary objectives, which are to:

- Examine the extent to which the implementation of CRDP has met the objective of equitable land redistribution as specified in the policy.
- Explore the outcomes of implementation, whether necessary conditions to promote the small-scale agricultural sector have been created; for instance, investments in agricultural infrastructure, support services such as credit measures, inputs and capacity building needs for small-scale farmers.
- Identify challenges and constraints in the implementation of CRDP and a way forward for equitable redistribution for sustainable rural livelihoods in Bushbuckridge.

1.3 Significance of the study

This study identified a gap regarding the viability of South Africa's current rural development policy towards achieving equity in land ownership and improving rural livelihoods. Studies on land reform have been undertaken in Mpumalanga province to evaluate land reform programmes and their viability towards promoting equity and improvement of rural livelihoods. These studies have focused on previous rural development policies such as the RDP and the Land Redistribution for Agricultural

Development Programme (LRAD). While these studies have identified the challenges impeding successful land reforms in the province, none of them make reference to the CRDP. Hence, this study assessed whether the CRDP is adequate to address needs for land equity in redistribution and improving livelihoods. This will be informative on whether the new and revised framework for rural development is addressing issues that have impeded previous policies from achieving land equity and improving rural livelihoods. This will generate knowledge on existing constraints to equity-based land reforms.

Subsequently, this will lead to alternatives on how best land reform programmes can be implemented towards the attainment of equity in land redistribution and improvement of rural livelihoods. It is envisaged that the information generated will be used by government departments to improve the design and implementation of land reform projects towards promoting equity in land ownership and sustainable livelihoods.

In addition, this study assessed government commitment towards achieving equity in land distribution as specified in the policy. Subsequently, findings generated are aimed to benefit rural development policy makers; for instance the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform (DRDLR) and the Department of Agriculture, Rural Development, Land Reform and Environmental Affairs (DARDLEA). These are the institutions presently co-ordinating land reform projects implemented under the CRDP. Furthermore, the study is envisaged to be beneficial to small-scale farmers as the supposed beneficiaries of land reform efforts in Mpumalanga province.

1.4 Conclusion

This chapter has illustrated that gross inequalities and poverty remains a persistent feature in post-apartheid South Africa despite the implementation of diverse rural development and land reform policies. This can be attributed to the neoliberal orientation of economic development policies and the subsequent inclination towards commercial export oriented agricultural production at the expense of small farmer development trajectory. In addition, inadequate beneficiary support, low public input and participation in policy making, limited civil society involvement and poor intersectoral coordination have limited the impact of land reform projects.

This chapter has cited the implementation of CRDP in 2009 as an indicator towards a reconfigured rural development policy which endeavours to promote land equity in redistribution, address the marginalisation of the rural poor and improve their livelihoods. Subsequently, the objectives and significance of the study have been presented.

The rest of the dissertation is divided into six chapters. Chapter two discusses the theoretical background and the conceptual framework of the study namely; neoliberal theory, radical populism and the sustainable livelihoods approach. Chapter three articulates the context of land reform in Bushbuckridge area. The chapter also discusses the state of poverty in the area and how it relates to land reform, an exploration of previous poverty interventions and how these have addressed land equity imperatives and their variable impact on small scale and large scale commercial farmers.

Chapter four gives an overview of the methods adopted for collecting and analysing data. Chapter five presents and discusses results of the investigation as guided in

the previously reviewed conceptual framework and from the interviews conducted. Chapter six presents the summary and a general conclusion for the research. This chapter discusses major points raised in preceding chapters, alternative pathways for equity in the agrarian sector and recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER 2

Theoretical and conceptual framework of the study

2. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to present theoretical framework and review literature relevant to the study. The theories underpinning the study are discussed. These are; neoliberalism, radical populism and sustainable livelihoods theory. The chapter begins with conceptualising land and agrarian reform. Thereafter, capitalist accumulation processes and agrarian sector inequalities are explored. The central argument pursued in this chapter is that modest agrarian sector achievements have been made in post-apartheid South Africa due to the adoption of the neoliberal development paradigm. Radical populism as an alternative paradigm is explored. Subsequently, the sustainable livelihoods model is adopted as a viable development framework towards addressing land inequalities and improving rural livelihoods.

2.1 Conceptualising land and agrarian reform

As already shown in the previous chapter, various scholars construe land reform as a process aimed at transforming laws, regulations and customs governing land ownership. It involves reorganizing institutional structures underpinning human relations concerning land through policy interventions aimed at restructuring existing ownership patterns (World Bank, 1975). Ghimire (2001) illustrates that land reform is a comprehensive political process that reconfigures the agrarian structure through land transfers to the disadvantaged social groups. Such a process involves providing post land transfer support services such as tenure securitization, linking beneficiaries with markets, providing inputs and infrastructure to improve agricultural production.

Agrarian reforms according to the World Bank (1975) refer to government-led restructuring of agricultural land ownership patterns and broader changes in the

agrarian system. This process involves land reform programmes. The World Bank further identifies the provision of rural finance, availability of market institutions, input supply channels, agro-processing and market liberalisation as elements of agrarian transformation. Cousins (2004) explains the difference between 'land reform' and 'agrarian reform'. According to Cousins 'land reform' involves land rights, their distribution, strength and character. 'Agrarian reform' does address land rights; however the process is also concerned with broader issues, for instance; relations of production, their class character and distribution in agriculture and how these relate with the broader class system.

Therefore deducing from Cousin (2004), agrarian reforms are concerned with reorganizing power and control over the means of production, in particular land. Therefore, agrarian reform measures include securitizing beneficiaries' tenure rights to improve their opportunities of securing financial support services to compliment agricultural production (Cousins, 2004). Therefore, land and agrarian reforms are interwoven processes that cannot be understood separately and their common goal is the expansion of access to land by disadvantaged people through legal and administrative acts that promote more equitable land ownership (Besley and Burgess, 2000).

There are diverse factors that have historically necessitated land and agrarian reforms in developing countries. These include; promoting social equity, promoting the growth of the economy and reducing poverty through improving the rural poor's asset base poor as noted in Lahiff (2007). Popular land and agrarian reforms have been undertaken in countries like Zimbabwe, Namibia, Mozambique and Ghana to reorganise skewed land distribution patterns created by large-scale colonial land expropriations. In these countries, the post-independence period has offered an

opportunity to undertake agrarian transformations to complete the decolonisation process (Moyo, 2005).

Lahiff (2007) adds that land reforms in the post-colonial period have been grounded on two main developmental paradigms; neoliberalism and radical populism. Land reforms driven by the radical populist ideology seek to promote equity and social justice and are not primarily directed towards economic growth. However, neoliberal land reforms are efficiency-based and largely concerned with macro-economic growth. Apart from efficiency and equity goals, land and agrarian reforms have also been implemented to promote political stability, to address socio-economic challenges such as unemployment, food insecurity and lack of income (May, 2000; IFAD, 2001). These have pursued varying methods of land acquisition and distribution. The types and approaches of land reform are explored in detail below.

2.1.1 Imposed redistributive land reform

Imposed redistributive land reforms are compulsory land expropriations from large landholders and redistribution to poor farmers as defined in Deininger and Binswanger (1999). This includes land nationalisation policies and expropriation for land underutilisation and excessive ownership. A noteworthy characteristic of this approach is that it is based on the use of state power rather than market forces. This type of land reform espouses social justice and equity arguments and is associated with the radical populist development ideology. Deininger and Binswanger (1999) assert that imposed redistributive land reform is largely driven by the state and is based on ideological considerations rather than technical planning. Examples of countries that attempted to redefine land relations through this method include; Bolivia, Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

2.1.2 Land tenure reform

This type is common in all forms of land and agrarian reform. Land tenure reform aims to promote clear land rights through land registrations and tenure security reforms (Lipton, 1974). This type of land reform focuses on building institutions to enhance the efficiency of land tenure systems. Mexico and Thailand addressed rural poverty through securitising the tenure of rural dwellers (Holden et al, 2011)

2.1.3 Community-led land reform

Negotiated land transfers through the alliance of rural movements, private sector organisations and the state is the hallmark of community-led agrarian transformation. Land distribution is based on the mobilisation of grassroots movements representing the landless and civil society organisations (Borras, 2003). These engage the government on land redistribution. This means that the community-led land reform is demand driven in that the landless groups advocate for their own needs in contrast with state-led land reform approach where the state both acquires land for redistribution and selects beneficiaries. Borras (2003) noted that community-led land reform has been used in Latin America in countries like Brazil and Columbia. To a limited extent South Africa has utilised community-led land reform (Moyo, 2006).

2.1.4 Land reform through restitution

Land reform through restitution aims to restore land rights to communities and social groups that were dispossessed of their land through colonial occupations. Restitution is a legal process aimed at the restoration of land rights to a particular period as articulated by Anseeuw and Mathebula (2008). For example, in South Africa such date is 1913. This method of land reform constitutes the central core of South Africa's agrarian transformation programme towards equity.

2.2 Capitalist accumulation processes and inequalities

In most countries particularly in Africa, land inequalities were a predestined outcome of a capitalist project based on the accumulation of capital, expropriation of assets particularly land and related measures aimed at promoting commercial agriculture (Moyo, 2006). These intertwined processes engendered large scale landlessness and institutionalised inequalities. Subsequently, while race is the major lanes through which to construe the skewed agrarian sector, dichotomies also have class and gender dimensions.

Further alluding on disproportions of the agrarian sector Moyo (2006), shows that the common characteristic is the unequal exploitative land relations between the peasantry and large landowners. The peasantry provides labour for commercial production and profit making while their access to the means of livelihood is limited. Land expropriations, proletarianisation of the dispossessed and inequality were extreme in countries like Zimbabwe and Mozambique (Hall and Ntsebeza, 2007). Similarly, the scale of land dispossession and capitalist accumulation in South Africa was far-reaching. Illustratively, approximately 87 percent of the land expropriated for capitalist commercial agriculture with Africans restricted to only seven percent of land ownership under the Native Land Act of 1913 (Hall and Ntsebeza, 2007: 65).

The structural foundations for dispossessing the native communities was aimed at dismantling local systems of agriculture, eliminating competition for corporate farming thereby establishing a source of cheap labour for industrial and agricultural sectors. Equally fundamental, the expansion of the mining sector increased demand for labour and these developments targeted Africans (Hall and Ntsebeza, 2007).

With the above, it is observable that the land ownership patterns under colonialism, structured mechanisms to subordinate indigenous populations for needs and demands of the capitalist economy. The capitalist accumulation processes based on land expropriation and proletarianisation systematically mutilated subsistence farming in South Africa.

In view of the above Cousins (2004) asserts that the land question and poverty in democratic South Africa can be probed within the framework of the 'agrarian question of the dispossessed' that can be addressed through a comprehensive programme of land distribution and post settlement support. Against the foregoing, it is essential to examine the capacity of a post-colonial state in Africa versus a distinct need to redress inequalities bequeathed by racial domination to improve the livelihoods of the poor, particularly in rural areas.

2.3 The state and land reform

The land policy in post-colonial Africa should be formulated against the background of a need for broad-ranging resource transfers to reduce inequalities, poverty and landlessness amongst the rural poor (Moyo, 2006). Furthermore, the post-colonial epoch land policy should compressively restructure institutions to protect vulnerable social classes against land losses, strengthen their tenure rights and embrace marginalized social groups in agrarian development, for example peasants and women living in rural areas. A critical land question exists in South Africa given the extent of land dispossessions and the subsequent agrarian structure. Therefore, the foregoing elements should feature prominently in the post-apartheid land policy.

Alluding on inequalities and the role of the state in post-apartheid South Africa Cousins (2004) concludes that a dual economy exists, consisting of the well-

resourced and a sector consisting of resource-less and poor communities mainly in the rural areas. In his argument Cousins (2004) further shows that there is a disjuncture between the two 'economies' in the sense that the benefits of economic growth in the 'first economy' do not filter down to those in the 'second economy'. However Tereblanche (2002) and Makgetla (2004) argue that poverty is an outcome of structures of inequality within one economy, in ways detrimental to the majority.

Therefore, beyond implementing policies to bridge inequalities, the role of the state in post-apartheid South Africa must be to invest towards creation of employment, reducing land hunger and food insecurity particularly focusing on the marginalized sectors. As part of incorporating the two economies, a well-resourced intervention programme from government aimed at transferring resources and assets to the poor is necessary (Cousins, 2004). In this context, the state is expected to make use of land reform as a central thrust. Along with a broad-based programme of land reform, capacity development and training programmes should be key drivers in the alleviation of poverty in South Africa's rural areas.

Advancing Cousin's dual economy argument, May et al (2004) propose that the role of the state in post-apartheid South Africa should be to reconfigure economic strategy and create links between macro-economic and micro-economic sectors. Micro-economic reforms he argues, must include measures to expand the asset base of the rural poor's asset base through agrarian transformation, infrastructural development and financial sector reforms in favour of the resource-less.

However, the post-apartheid state in South Africa has demonstrated limited capacity to reform institutions that underpin inequality and poverty. Land and agrarian development has not been vigorously used to address poverty, unemployment and

income inequalities. This is a developmental predicament that confronts post-colonial states in Africa as noted by Edigheji (2005). The above implies that the transition to independence has created a state that is underpinned by a capitalist ideology. This has limited its capacity to reform the relations of production in the agrarian sector.

As noted by Ghimire (2001), the concept of state-centred development has been replaced by market based agrarian development. This has created a state that is hostage to the pressures and demands for free market systems and protection of private property rights. Consequently, voluntary land sales through the land market system have been developed and sanctified as the only pathway in the transfer of assets to the poor. In essence, the state in post-colonial Africa has been 'activist' and this has institutionalised pro-capitalist models of development and ultimately the perpetuation of an unequal class system (Reed, 2001).

The 'activist state' has defended and sustained capitalist relations of production and private property rights. This is illustrated in the fact that land and agrarian programmes in the post-apartheid era mimic and reproduce a pro-capitalist system that benefits the privileged at the expense of the resource-less (Veltmeyer, 2003). Elaborating on this argument Veltmeyer (2003) asserts that the role of the state has been key in protecting the privileged class from the demands of peasant organisations. In this way, the use of state power and resulting development policies have continued to marginalize the poor from assets necessary for their livelihoods.

The failure of the post-colonial state to reform the agricultural sector originates from the incapacity of capitalism to transform pre-capitalist relations of production and sustained measures intended to incapacitate indigenous systems of subsistence. The resulting class structure in the agrarian sector shows that the land policies in the

post-colonial era, have created a privileged category of agrarian capitalists at the expense of the previously marginalised (Hall and Ntsebeza, 2007).

The above shows that the capitalist system underpinned by market liberalization and land markets was upon transition to democracy, interwoven into the development ideology and this has incapacitated the post-colonial state in transforming the economy to reduce poverty and agrarian sector inequalities. The resultant trend across post-colonial Africa is that, unequal distribution of productive assets such as land remains profound and this is an outcome of weak political structures and pro-capitalist policies that cannot transfer resources to the poor on a significant pace. This has inevitably constricted the scope for equity in the distribution of land and upliftment of the poor through land reform.

Inferring from the above, policy remedies offered by the Washington Consensus and adopted by the post-colonial state have led to the usurpation of its powers and capacity in development. Henceforth, the neoliberal theory and agrarian sector development is explored below.

2.4 Theoretical framework

2.4.1 Neoliberalism

The neoliberal development model can be construed as substitute paradigm to the Keynesian theories that dominated development discourse from the mid-1940s to the early 1970s as noted by Pillay (2005). Neoliberalism has become a dominant development concept in contemporary phases of capitalist development becoming a governing policy making ideology world over. This has been described as a spread of modernizing capitalism that has challenged the welfare state (Saad and Johnson, 2005). Fundamentally, the system of neoliberalism is driven by self-regulating

markets. This model of development is founded on the notion that the distribution of assets is the core function of economic systems and that the market is the only efficient way through which such distribution takes place. Neoliberals argue that the active involvement of the state in the economy both distorts and weakens markets consequently undermining economic development.

The state-led development concept has been attacked and subsequently overthrown by the model of market-based development. Saad and Johnson (2005) posit that the neoliberalism was developed to remove ancient development philosophies based on the theory of an economically powerful state. As already illustrated in the discussion above, the transference of power from the state to the market has profound consequences on the ability of governments to promote equity and sustainable development. This is because neoliberalism aims to promote competition, strengthen market forces, promote mass production, reduce state driven anti-poverty programs, promote foreign direct investment and maximize consumption.

Neoliberalism is a system that is founded on the assumptions of economic liberalism. One of the core tenets economic liberalism is that the role of the state in the economy and development must be minimal. Instead, state power must be used to create a free market system based on democracy and free enterprise. Ryan (1993) illustrates that liberalism is divided into classical liberalism and modern type of liberalism. Classical liberalism advocated for a system in which citizens have freedom to make choices and that in which the state exercises its power within the limits of the constitution. Therefore, neoliberalism is a political programme whose goals are to protect constitutional democracy, individual liberty and fundamental civil rights that are considered to be instrumental to decent human existence. This

system produces 'a watchman state' whose exclusive purpose is to maintain public order.

As discerned in the foregoing, neoliberal scholars argue that state intervention is not good for the efficiency of markets and broader economic performance because the state does not have adequate information to 'second guess' market signals and that powerful interest groups will inevitably distort and bias state interventions for their own self-benefit (Harvey, 2005). A free market system supposedly generates good consequences for the economy through measures such as deregulation, privatisation and radical tax reductions as noted in Friedman (2006). These market mechanisms are thought to be an efficient way of exchanging commodities. Rothbard (2004:146) further argues as follows:

'The system of free markets and free trade liberates the creativity and entrepreneurial essence which is built into the spontaneous order of any human society thereby leading to more individual liberty, well-being and a more efficient resource allocation'.

In summary, the moral view of the neoliberal ideology is that a virtuous human being is able to participate in a free market system and function as a competent actor. Such a person is considered to have ability to cope with risks related with taking part in free markets and to adjust to changes (Friedman, 1980).

2.4.2 Neo-liberal land policies

It has been shown above that the neoliberal development paradigm is founded on principles of free-market enterprise premised on the protection of private property rights and individual freedom in a constitutional democracy framework. As also illustrated in the discussion above, the free market system has been advanced as an effective method through which to facilitate intra and inter-class asset and wealth

distribution (Clarke, 2005). However, neoliberal land policies were developed in the 1980s. Since their inception, the land policies based on the neoliberal ideology have influenced land questions in countries such as Brazil, Columbia, South Africa and Zimbabwe. Neoliberal land policies can be understood in four broad types, namely; privatisation of land and property rights, promotion of land markets and land sales (Borras, 2003).

The World Bank has strongly supported neoliberal land policies as a model that can be used by developing countries to address land hunger and poverty. However, it is noteworthy that these policies are formulated out of criticisms against state-driven agrarian reform (Borras, 2003). In construing neoliberal assumptions on land reform it is important to put into focus the pro-market criticisms against land reforms led by the state. As shall be seen in the discussion below, neoliberals have formulated a myriad of arguments against agrarian reform models based on the use of state power. Subsequently, on the basis of these arguments, the neoliberals have sought to promote an alternative model of agrarian development entirely driven by market forces.

Neoliberal arguments are based on the assumption that the state lacks capacity to lead land redistribution programmes that can successfully benefit the rural poor (Deininger and Binswanger, 1999). Furthermore, neoliberals argue that state-led land reforms are an expensive framework of promoting equitable distribution of land. According to neoliberals, the methods of acquiring land under a state led agrarian reform model, for instance the land size ceiling concept, are antagonistic to large land owners. The neoliberals claim that the land size ceiling concept imposes costs on land owners because they often take legal measures to challenge it. As a result of these limitations, the neoliberals assert that state led land reform promotes a hostile

environment thereby narrowing opportunities for effectual agrarian reform. Deininger and Binswanger (1999) add that the use of state power in agrarian development promotes corruption, red tape and does not promote the beneficiaries' tenure.

In addition, the procedure of compensating displaced landowners is an area that neoliberals have focused on in formulating their arguments against the use of state power in agrarian development. Neoliberals observe that dispossessed land owners are compensated below market prices. This is because the state led land reform model does not provide spot cash payments to dispossessed land owners as is the scenario with the market based model. According to neoliberals, the lack of spot cash payment system deflates the value of the landowners' money (Deininger and Binswanger, 1999). The neoliberals assert that the result of the above is low cooperation of land owners in a framework where the state uses its power to transform land relations. In the lanes of neoliberal proponents, the confrontational nature of state-led programmes affects pace and quality of land reform.

In addition to the above, the neoliberals have argued against the 'supply-driven' nature of redistributive land reforms led by the state. According to neoliberals the state-led agrarian reform model is supply-driven in that state agencies are used in acquiring the land for redistribution and also in beneficiary selection. Deininger and Binswanger (1999) lament this model of implementing agrarian transformation because it impairs economic efficiency. The neoliberals substantiate this argument by pointing out that the 'supply-driven' nature of state-led agrarian reform enables individuals and groups without farming skills to acquire land.

Related to the above, neoliberal scholars postulate that state-led land redistributive land reforms are not based on an efficient beneficiary targeting system. The

subsequent result is that households without capacity to engage in large-scale agricultural production are considered to be beneficiaries (World Bank Report, 1997). This negates both efficiency and equity goals of land reform while inevitably producing phenomenal declines in agricultural production according to neoliberals.

Further still, neoliberals criticise state-driven agrarian reforms for relying on state power, bureaucracy and 'elitist' programme implementation methods. This results in poor beneficiary targeting and implementation of land reform programmes that are at variance with local needs. According to neoliberals, this leads to a higher failure rate of agrarian reforms initiated under the framework of state-led reform. Deininger and Binswanger (1999: 114) augment this assertion as follows:

'State led agrarian reforms impair to both efficiency and equity objectives of land reform because the state and its bureaucracy invariably fail to capture diversity between and within communities and are therefore unable to respond quickly to the actual needs of local villages. Public sector bureaucracies tend to develop their own sets of interests that are at variance with rapid land redistribution and that expropriation at below market prices requires that the state purchases the land rather than beneficiaries. This makes state-led land reform expensive than the market driven reform'.

Moreover, the distortion of land markets has been singled out by neoliberals as one major consequence of active state involvement in land reform programs. Deininger and Binswanger (1999) argue that land market distortions deter more efficient producers from acquiring land and also impede the exit of unproductive farmers. As a result of this state-driven system, efficient producers have been unable to acquire land, external investors have been driven away while inefficient and bankrupt beneficiaries have been able to acquire land. Arguing from this proposition Deininger and Binswanger (1999), criticise state-led land reforms for being distribution centred

leading to the acquisition of land by inefficient beneficiaries. Neoliberals consider this as a destabilizing factor for agricultural productivity and efficiency. Banerjee (1999) adds that land market distortions promote informal land market transactions, corruption and increases in land prices. In view of these factors, neoliberals contend that state-led land reforms cannot be a sustainable system for resource redistribution to address land hunger and inequality.

Finally, neoliberals argue that the state does not have the capacity to provide the necessary agricultural development support services. Elaborating on this argument Deininger and Binswanger (1999) illustrate that the state lacks capacity to provide post land transfer support services to beneficiaries because of the inefficiency related to government bureaucracy. The result is that state-led reforms do not create conditions for efficient agricultural production. Based on the factors identified above, the neoliberals affirm that state led land reforms lead to declines in agricultural productivity due to the failure to reach capable beneficiaries and the lack of systematic empowerment programmes to beneficiaries through the provision of post-settlement support (Deininger and Binswanger, 1999).

2.4.3 The market-driven agrarian reform model

In view of perceived weaknesses associated with state-led agricultural development as presented above, neoliberals dispense the market-driven framework as the most viable route towards land equity and wealth distribution. The discussion below therefore focuses on market-led agrarian reform mechanisms, implementation and implications on land equity and poverty reduction.

2.5 Market-led agrarian reform and land acquisition mechanisms

The market-driven approach to land redistribution has been rationalised on the basis of efficiency. The mechanisms of neoliberal land policies are ostensibly developed to

ensure that land reform reaches the most capable beneficiaries and maintenance of agricultural sector productivity for food sufficiency as noted by Thwala (2003). As such the market-driven system is a substitute approach to the state-led model which is largely concerned with social justice and equity considerations in favour of poor social classes. The market-driven agrarian reform characteristics can be understood in terms of the following issues; acquiring the land, post land purchase development and programme financing (Borras, 2003).

2.5.1 Acquiring the land

The market-led agrarian reform is demand driven in that the acquisition of land is based on voluntary land sales. This implies that landlord co-operation is an important factor for any successful implementation of land reform (Borras, 2003). Henceforth, for this type of land reform to succeed, 'there is need for an active land market, to have willing sellers and buyers' (Borras, 2003: 370). This makes the market-led agrarian reform a voluntary programme given that the approach does not oblige landowners who do not intend to sell. In this model, only the land available in the market can be acquired by the state for redistribution purposes.

Deininger and Binswanger (1999) advocate for the system of voluntary land sales because it a replacement to the confrontational atmosphere associated with use of state power in agrarian transformation programmes. The role of governments should be limited to the establishment of a policy framework that promotes equity between parties but must not venture beyond these imperatives (Van Zyle et al, 1996). Furthermore, a feature related with voluntary land sales is that land owners who agree to sell are paid 100 percent compensation in accordance with the full market value of the land. Borras (2003) shows that the use of the 100 percent spot cash

payment system encourages land owners sell their land and this quickens market driven land redistribution programmes.

The market-led agrarian reform adopts a demand-driven approach in land acquisition and beneficiary targeting. This means that only individuals who explicitly seek land have meaningful opportunities to benefit and that only lands in demand by potential buyers are negotiated for acquisition and redistribution. According to this approach, qualified beneficiaries are then provided with loans to purchase land. Buainain et al (1999) argue that in order to guarantee success, land reforms programmes have to target only beneficiaries with human capital, financial resources and with sufficient skills to engage in efficient agricultural production.

Additionally, support services and technical assistance should be targeted to the poor as noted in World Bank Report (2003). The argument is that without an effective beneficiary targeting system there is a significant risk of elites benefiting at the expense of the poor thus deterring poverty alleviation objectives of land reform. Beyond beneficiary self-process, market driven reform advocates for the formation of beneficiary organisations to strengthen bargaining power during the land purchase and acquisition. The formation of beneficiary organisations enables them to achieve economies of scale.

In addition, neoliberals postulate that market driven agrarian reform works faster and efficiently in distributing land since there are no land compensation disputes associated with state-led land acquisition (Deininger and Binswanger, 1999). A related argument is that the market-led agrarian reform is cheaper given that land prices are expected to be lower because the '100 percent spot cash payment to landlords principle' avoids transaction costs incurred under the state led approach. In

view of these supposed strengths, neoliberals argue that to efficiently distribute resources, there is need for a system that stimulates land markets.

2.5.2 Post land purchase development

Neoliberals criticise state-led land reforms on the basis of flawed implementation sequence (distributing land without viable farm plans) leading to high failure rate of land reform projects. Based on this, the market-led agrarian reform model advocates for farm plans before land purchase. This approach ostensibly ensures that farm plans guarantee effectual farm development and assures productivity since no land will be purchased without viable farm plans for diversified commercial farming (Borras, 2003). A further assumption presented by Deininger (1996) is that with viable farm development plans and grants availed to beneficiaries development will be quicker.

This means that opportunities for successful land reform are significantly higher in market driven methods in comparison to state led agrarian development framework. Moreover, neoliberals argue that the '100 percent spot cash payment' principle allows beneficiaries to assume immediate ownership of land. This empowers them to access credit and investment sources because with outright land purchase, they are able to use their land titles as collaterals to acquire bank loans (Borras, 2003).

Further to that, neoliberal scholars claim that the market driven land reform enhances investment opportunities in agriculture in comparison to state-led agrarian reform. Deininger and Binswanger (1999) assert that with the market-led agrarian reform prohibitions on land sales and rentals by beneficiaries will be avoided. This is expected to attract more investment thereby increasing prerequisites for successful agrarian reform (Deininger and Binswanger, 1999).

2.5.3 Programme financing

Finally, neoliberal scholars portray the market-led agrarian reform as the most sustainable mechanism to address landlessness and redistributing resources because it adopts a flexible loan granting financing system (Boras, 2003). Elaborating on this approach Van Zyle and Binswanger (1996: 419), explain as follows;

'The beneficiaries are given a fixed sum of money and are free to use the fund on condition that whatever the portion is used to buy the land, that portion is considered as a grant and has to be repaid by the beneficiary at market rates. The remainder after the land purchase is availed to the beneficiary for post land transfer development projects and is not to be repaid by the beneficiary.'

Conclusively, in light of these arguments, neoliberal scholars present the market-led agrarian reform model as a cheaper alternative because it is free from huge and expensive government bureaucracies, land prices are lower and the beneficiaries pay 100 percent of the land cost (Boras, 2003). Van Den Brink et al (1996) further point out that the adoption of a market-driven model creates better prospects of successful agrarian reform because multilateral and bilateral assistance institutions will finance the programmes particularly in post-land transfer development.

2.6 Market-led agrarian reform and implications on equity

Neoliberal land reform policies have not significantly transferred assets to the poor in many developing countries as envisaged by pro-market scholars. Deducing from experiences in most countries, neoliberal land policies lack mechanisms to ensure that the resource-less social groups benefit from land reform. The land reform models discussed above have been implemented in a number of countries including Brazil, Columbia and Zimbabwe. The implementation of neoliberal land policies in

did not produce significant agrarian structural transformations in these countries. The denominating trend is that the poor largely remained marginalized (Borras, 2003).

The agrarian structure in these countries did not change because the system of redefining land relations was based on voluntary land sales. This is a compelling manifestation that a neoliberal system based on voluntary land sales cannot reach vulnerable groups. Instead, the system reproduces unequal landholding patterns because it allows current landowners to dictate the availability of land in the process thus obstructing land delivery programmes to the poor. Consequently, this deters land redistribution for equity while narrowing opportunities to empower the poor through expanding their asset base.

To illustrate on the above, the *Projecto Cedula Terra Programme* (PCT) in Brazil and *Agrarian Law 160* in Columbia failed to acquire agriculturally productive land. The majority of land acquired for redistribution to the poor, was in remote areas without assets necessary for the attainment of sustainable livelihoods such as good road networks, irrigation and markets. This is because the landowners were not willing transactors as suggested by neoliberals. Therefore, they were able to retain large productive land as noted by Borras (2003). This illustrates that the voluntary nature of the market-driven land reform is not a model for empowering the poor.

Buainain (1999) further articulates that neoliberal land policies failed to reach those marginalised in the mainstream economy because of high income ceiling measures put in place as a beneficiary selection strategy. As a result, the programmes were captured by agrarian bourgeoisies because a majority of beneficiaries were privileged groups (Deininger, 1999). Hence, inferring from these case studies, the market driven agrarian reform model can be criticised on the basis that it tends to

promote an environment in which the poor and rich social segments compete for scarce resources.

2.7 Neo-liberalism and land reform in South Africa

Land and agrarian transformation with its imperative on promoting equity and social justice is premised on Section (25) of the South African Constitution adopted in 1996. South Africa's land policy comprises of land redistribution, land restitution and land tenure. The post-apartheid governments have utilized land redistribution and restitution to address the land question. Redistributive land reform programmes endeavour to promote equity in the agrarian sector through transferring commercial farmland to the poor particularly those living in the former reserves. Hall (2004) highlights that the major objective of restitution is to return land to communities that were affected by forced removals.

Notwithstanding the commitments above, the state in post-apartheid South Africa has lacked capacity to transform land relations and to empower the poor as specified in various socio-economic development programmes. Modest progress has been made in all the land reform components (Hall and Ntsebeza, 2007). The neoliberal land policies based on the model of voluntary land sales adopted through the White Paper for South Africa's land reform in 1997 have narrowed the scope for a radical agrarian transformation. The system of voluntary land sales has limited the state from acquiring land and this has recurrently deterred rural development programmes from addressing the need for equity in the agrarian sector.

The adoption of neoliberal land policies in post-apartheid South Africa has created a discrete state role in agrarian reform. Subsequently, the state has not actively intervened in land markets to address the needs of the landless. This has yielded to

an agrarian structure that retains dichotomies created by the apartheid system. In essence, poorer and resource-less groups particularly those living in the rural areas have remained marginalized. Against this background, a brief overview of policy choices pointing to the influence of the neoliberal development philosophy in post-apartheid South Africa is given below.

2.7.1 The property clause and significance on agrarian sector equity

Limited state involvement in markets and the emphasis on institutional frameworks that protect strong property rights under constitutional democracy are central tenets of the neoliberal theory. In the context of South Africa, the political process that led to transition to democracy produced a constitutional framework that guarantees private property rights. The terms related to these political developments are defined under the 'property clause'. Hence, in terms of the South African Constitution of 1996, every form of land expropriation was excluded (Hall and Ntsebeza, 2007).

According to the ANC (1994) and the World Bank (1994) economic efficiency was to be achieved through a free market system. In line with this ideological stance, the system of voluntary land sales was adopted as a model of agrarian development. Hall (2004) argues that the acceptance of a conservative land policy by the ANC was also based need to maintain the national productive capacities for economic stability. However, Hall highlights that the conservative land policy stance was at variance with the social justice imperatives that confronted future administrations.

Therefore, the South African Constitution embraced neoliberal assumptions through the property clause contained in Section (25). Chaskalson (1994) illustrates that the constitutional framework within which democratic governments in the post-apartheid period must redefine land relations is contradictory. To illustrate on this, Chaskalson

explains that property clause upholds the property rights of landowners while at the same time committing to measures to address social justice issues through redistribution of land to the previously disadvantaged. The premise of this argument is that to an extent, agrarian transformation for equity has to be based on land expropriations led by the state. The adoption of a property clause that excludes expropriation implies that the latitude for a comprehensive land reform programme for equity is narrow.

Chaskalson (1994) concludes that the neoliberal influence and the resulting contradictions in the constitution explain the failure of the state to acquire land for the benefit of the poor and the modest progress in reorganizing landholding patterns since transition to democracy. Hall (2004) points out that the expropriation powers contained in the Constitution have been weakened by the government's adoption of willing buyer willing seller policy promoted by the World Bank. In summary, these arguments suggest that the slow pace of land redistribution for equity purposes is a consequence of various policies that entrench the property clause of the Constitution and endorse the system of voluntary land sale as the only instrument through which the state can acquire land.

The endorsement of the neoliberal agenda in South Africa's land policy has not transformed power relations in the agrarian sector. The large landowners have retained the power to decide which land to sell and to whom. As a consequence, there has been limited land available for redistribution available in the market. In turn, rural development programmes have not availed productive land to the rural poor for subsistence farming and other livelihood activities (Tilley, 2004). Summarily, landlessness remains high particularly in South Africa's rural areas, however, the neoliberal policy environment within which land reform programmes have been

pursued has not adequately addressed these challenges. This illustrates that the market-led agrarian reform is not a pro-poor model.

2.7.2 Macro-economic growth considerations and agrarian sector reform

Promoting economic efficiency and mass production are fundamental premises of neoliberal arguments (Lahiff, 2007). It is notable that successive post-apartheid land and agrarian policies have been driven by macro-economic growth considerations. The overriding objective of development policies has been the achievement of economic growth through maintaining and expanding productivity in key economic sectors including agriculture (Van Vuuren, 2013). This has produced policies that are not adequate to address the welfare needs of the poor. The conservative policies primarily aimed at macro-economic growth virtually removed the transformation of rural livelihoods on the agenda.

With regards to the agrarian sector, conservative policy stances have been created by stereotyped conceptualisations of agricultural development. There has been a clear policy bias towards commercial farming at the expense subsistence farming. Cousins (2007) notes that policy makers assume that commercial farming rather than subsistence farming, is the model that can contribute to economic growth. This explains the development of agrarian sector policies that are aimed at developing commercial farming that can engage in mass production for the market. As shall be elaborated in the next chapter, the Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development Programme (LRAD) and the Comprehensive Agricultural Support Programme (CASP) demonstrated this.

Furthermore, Cousins (2007) highlights that policy stereotypes against subsistence agriculture are based on the assumption that poverty in South Africa's rural areas

can only be addressed when larger numbers of rural poor people relocate to urban areas to engage in formal sector employment and informal sector self-employment. This has led to policies that underplay the importance of land based livelihoods in rural areas. The net effect of these policy limitations has been the negation of a broad based programme of land reform and further marginalisation of the rural poor.

2.7.3 The limitations of neoliberal land policies

The discussions above show fundamental flaws in neoliberal arguments regarding agrarian development. Furthermore, the above has shown that neoliberal land policies failed to address land questions in a number of countries. The case studies above indicate that land redistribution programmes driven by market forces are expensive for the poor because landowners dictate land prices. The neoliberals neglect that political power and class relations are important determinants in setting land prices in developing countries (Borras, 2003). The market-driven land reform system does not transform power and class relations and this produces a framework that preserves the privilege of landowners thus perpetuating agrarian sector inequalities (Reidinger et al, 2001).

In the case of South Africa, neoliberalism can be criticised on the basis of its diverse implications in pursuit for equity in land redistribution. The policies undertaken to address landlessness have largely lacked capacity to improve the livelihoods of the rural poor in a sustainable manner. The land policies as noted above clearly endorse the neoliberal agenda in line with the government's broader economic policy formulated to facilitate South Africa's integration into a globalising free market economy (Negrao, 2002). As a result, land reform not been used as a panacea for improving the entitlements and subsequently to improve the food security situation for a majority of households living in the rural areas (Andrews, 2007).

In a nutshell, the pursuit of agrarian transformation within the neoliberal development philosophy has incapacitated the state in using land reform to address social justice commitments. The land market system has allowed privileged and powerful classes in the agrarian sector to determine the terms of agrarian transformation and this has deterred successive land reform programmes from transferring assets to the poor for equity. Therefore, neoliberal land policies cannot promote equity through improving the poor's asset base. The discussion below explores the radical populist paradigm and prospects for equity and sustainable rural livelihoods.

2.8 The radical populist paradigm

The discussion above has illustrated that land reforms based on the neoliberal ideology cannot be a sustainable solution to the contradictions that exist in the agrarian sector. The continuing livelihood crisis of the poor and the failure of land reforms have predicated calls for alternative models of agrarian development as noted by Moyo (2008). These calls are based on the assertion that the land question can only be addressed through an interventionist model in which the state leads agrarian development programmes. Moyo (2006) illustrates that demands for radical populist paradigm in land reform have been founded on socialist views which argue that the control of productive assets by the poor is a central precondition to equity and poverty alleviation. Agricultural development models demanded by radical populists include nationalising the land, expropriating commercial farmland without compensation and collectivising agriculture (Hall and Ntsebeza, 2007).

Land and agrarian reform programmes based on the radical populist paradigm have occurred in Bolivia, China, Russia and Vietnam (Moise, 1983; De Janvry, 1981). These land reforms have been carried out as part of economic restructuring programmes aimed at empowering the landless. In these countries, the transfer of

land from big landowners to small scale farmers was used as the propelling force of economic reform. Recently, Zimbabwe implemented a radical Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) from 1999-2005 (Moyo, 2005). Alluding further Moyo (2005) illustrates that contemporary radical land policies result from poor political commitment to address inequitable natural resource ownership patterns and skewed economic opportunities.

2.8.1 Conceptualizing radical populism

The proponents for a radical populist development include the anarchists, Marxists and trade unionists (Keaney, 1997). The radical populist paradigm is founded on the Marxist hypothesis that equity and public ownership of the means of production are critical components towards actualizing freedom and justice for the poor (Marx and Engels, 1846). Globalising liberalism and the unequal class structure resulting from this process catalysed the growth of the radical populist paradigm among intellectuals and working class (Dugger, 1988). However, it is notable that in modern times radical populism is framed as a contest against societal dichotomies (Keaney 1997). In this context, the radical populists view neoliberalism and resulting conservative policy stances as a system that marginalizes the poor (Keaney, 1997). Therefore, radical populism constitutes emancipatory expression of democracy in that it endeavours to draw marginalized social classes into politics and development. In summary, the radical populist paradigm is premised on the notion that politics and development is constant conflict between the resource-less and the privileged.

2.8.2 Radical populism and land reform

According to Lahiff (2007), the debate on the pathways for equity in the agrarian sector has been based on three approaches. These are; modernization, neo-liberalism explored above and the radical-populist paradigm. The modernization

camp advocates for capital-intensive development and maximum extraction of value from the agrarian sector. Lahiff (2007: 18) further explores as follows:

'The neoliberal system or neoliberal populist overlaps with modernisation, however, it extensively focuses on removing economic 'distortions' and liberalising markets as explored in the foregoing discussions. On the other hand, its neo-populist variant promotes 'family-sized' farms'.

Radical populism commonly embraced by peasant movements and landless people across the world is not fundamentally concerned with macro-economic growth. Rather, it is concerned with protecting and advocating for the interests of resource less social groups (Lahiff, 2007). Subsequently, radical populist positions are premised on the view that redistributing land to resource lessclasses directly lessens poverty rather than trickle-down effects from broader economic growth as encouraged by neoliberals (Borras, 2006). This argument suggests that effective ownership and power over the means of production, in particular water and land by the rural poor is essential to their capabilities to attain self-sufficiency. This is because transfer of productive resources to the poor will promote self-employment and not wage employment thereby promoting equity andgenerate economic growth in the long-term (Lahiff, 2007). In view of the above, radical populists regard obstinate poverty and inequality in many societies anoutcome of poor people's lack of ownership and control over productive assets.

With the above arguments, swift resource transfer to poorer classes is central to radical populist arguments. As a result, radical populist discourses have tended to focus on the necessity for the removal of institutional constraints that hinder poor people from acquiring and owning resources. With regards to the agrarian sector, radical populism is opposed to economic democracy, the protection of private

property and a minimalist role of the state in land reform programmes. In addition, to the radical populist camp the land markets system moderated by a system of willing seller willing buyer model is obdurate and cannot be used as a framework of redistributing assets to promote equity and alleviate poverty (Thwala, 2006). In contrast, the radical populists view active state involvement as a necessity in agrarian development to confront the power of big landowners.

Against this background, radical state-led land reforms are aimed at compulsory confiscation of land from large landowners and redistributing to social groups considered to be resource-less. According to Ladeijinsky (1964), under this approach the state principally initiates and implements the land reform process. Bernstein (2002) adds that the state as the guardian and manager of national development along with its centralized organs and agencies, assumes the primary role of undertaking land reform. The essential objective of the transformation process, usually driven by social justice and equity arguments, is the dispossession of large landowners and redistribution to poor classes. The dispossessed landowners are either compensated below the market value or are not compensated. The FTLRP in Zimbabwe from 1997 and 2004 is an example of a dissident example of radical land reform as identified by Moyo (2005). The following section illustrates that radical populism has been integral to South /Africa's agrarian transformation discourse both in the pre and post-apartheid period.

2.8.3 Radical populism and the land question in South Africa

The radical populist paradigm has influenced South Africa's agrarian transformation discourse both in the pre-transition and post-transition epoch although the neoliberal system has led policy making trajectories as already argued above. Radical state-led land reforms have been supported by civil society groups, namely; the National Land

Committee (NLC), the Alliance of Land and Agrarian Reform Movements (ALARM), the Landless People's Movement (LPM) and liberation movements such as the African National Congress (ANC), the South African Communist Party (SACP), the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and recently the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF).

Although radical populism has been central in South Africa's land reform trajectory, as illustrated in pre-transition documents like the Freedom Charter, the ANC's Bill of Rights and government policy blue-prints, the neoliberal development paradigm has been adopted and with it, a clear shift from the emancipatory objectives of the liberation struggle. The radical populist camp in South Africa argues that this has constrained equity-based land reforms while entrapping the poor to persistent poverty.

In this context, the radical populists have called for a land policy in which the state is the central and leading stakeholder in the implementation of agrarian transformation programmes. Furthermore, a range of reforms have been advocated for by radical populists including the following; the rejection of voluntary land sales, the emphasis of land reform on poor and vulnerable classes and the expropriation of land to benefit subsistence farmers and other land hungry groups (Andrews, 2007). However, Lahiff (1997) observes that the major weakness of the radical populist camp has not presented systematic technical arguments with regards to critical agrarian transformation issues like post transfer support, beneficiary targeting and post purchase land development beyond demanding the foregoing reforms. The section below explores the implementation of radical land reform in Zimbabwe and outcomes of agrarian sector equity.

2.8.4 Radical populism and prospects for equity in land redistribution

The FTLRP in Zimbabwe at the turn of the century is a more recent model of radical populism in agrarian development. The state along with 'nationalist forces' such as the war veterans assumed a central role in the implementation of land reform. It is worth noting that the adoption of radical reforms based on land expropriation with or without compensation had occasionally been experienced in Zimbabwe's post-independence agrarian reforms as noted by (Moyo, 2000). For example, the Land Acquisition Act enacted in 1992 was an indication of government objectives to pursue radical agrarian reforms.

Although the government passed a plethora of legislations towards compulsory acquisition of land, programmes to reform the highly skewed agricultural sector remained modest in the 1980s into the late 1990s. This is attributable to the fact that the state could only acquire land through market based system driven by voluntary land sales. According to Moyo (2000) the system allowed large landowners to legally challenge land expropriations by the government. The continuing inequalities in the agrarian sector and the incapacity of the state to address these augmented demands for an alternative approach. Moyo (2000) illustrates that the impasse in transforming the agrarian sector led to sporadic and community-led land occupations fronted by war veterans, politicians and community leaders.

However, there were other developments that prefigured radical land expropriations in Zimbabwe. Among these was the refusal of the new Labour government in Britain to fund the land reform programme and the rejection of a new constitution in 2000. The period from year 2000 heralded increasing radicalization of land reform pitting

the 'nationalist forces' inside Zimbabwe against 'the white capital' (Moyo, 2001).

Moyo (2000: 21) further narrates as follows:

Increasing radicalization was indicated by attempts to compulsorily expropriate 3,000 farms by 2000, later revised to 5,000 farms by 2001, and subsequently over 6,000 farms 2002. By the end of 2003, approximately 9,000 farms had been registered for expropriation and around 7.7 million hectares out of 11.8 million hectares had been seized'.

2.8.5 The outcomes on equity and livelihoods

The Zimbabwean land reform programme presented worthwhile insights relating to the weaknesses of the radical populist paradigm in agrarian development. Moyo and Yeros (2007) show that the radical land reform in Zimbabwe managed to restructure landholding patterns. Moyo (2000: 34) summarises as follows:

'By 2003, about 130, 641 families had benefited from smallholder (A1) allocations while around 20, 4003 commercial (A2) beneficiaries had gained ownership on 6.5 million hectares of land. 87 percent of beneficiaries were the rural poor, communal farmers, farmworkers and a proportion of the urban poor. The gender dimension of the distributional outcomes suggested that women were mostly marginalized in development programmes'

However, it is notable that the radical land reform programme in Zimbabwe largely substantiates criticisms against state-led agrarian reforms presented earlier in this chapter. The radical populist paradigm as demonstrated in the Zimbabwean case study is criticised in several studies for numerous reasons. Among these the FLRP has been criticised for the confrontational atmosphere that it engendered. Furthermore, some scholars argue that it disempowered the very people it aimed to empower. Chambati and Moyo (2004) highlight that farm labourers were the major victims of the radicalised land question. The intense occupation of farms led to their

loss of employment and homes. They did not benefit from the land redistribution programme (Moyo and Sukume, 2004).

Chambati and Moyo (2004: 68) further illustrate that approximately 80,000 farm labourers retained employment in remaining large-scale commercial farms while 95,000 former farm-workers were dispersed into communal areas. Others were re-employed in A1/A2, resettled, and relocated to informal settlements, former compounds and doing non-farm work. Furthermore, approximately 30,000 were evacuated to informal settlements.

Further arguments against state-led land reform are that it generates corruption and elites benefit at the expense of the landless (Binswanger and Dieninger, 1999). These trends manifested in Zimbabwe's land reform as noted in various studies. Moyo (2007) highlights that the elites specifically those with influential political and security positions acquired well-endowed land apportionments while there were instances of multiple farm ownership or oversized farms consequently crowding out potential poorer beneficiaries such as women, farm workers and rural dwellers. Moyo (2007: 78) indicates that around '178 elites secured more than one land allocation covering an area of 150 000 hectares'.

A related argument suggests that FTLRP was limited in reaching poorer segments of society, for instance; women. The programme had a minimal impact on unequal gender-based land ownership patterns entrenched across society. Moyo (2007: 78) notes the following;

'Women received the least resettlement land although their labour and skills are critical in food production processes and rural livelihoods. These structural problems have continued to affect women and their children and continue to bear the brunt of poverty'.

In addition to the foregoing Deininger and Binswanger (1999), deplore state-led agrarian reform for failing to create conditions for successful land reform through providing technical services to beneficiaries. The failure to empower beneficiaries with technical services leads to the underutilisation of land and productivity declines. Studies point out that the radical state-led agrarian reform in Zimbabwe registered modest success in creating conditions for successful agrarian transformation (Magaramobe, 2003). Fundamental elements such as the provision of training services, irrigation equipment, land rights securitization and finance were largely neglected (Moyo, 2000). Magaramombe (2003) concurs that the FTLRP did not extend the programme beyond redistributing land, particularly for smallholder and resource-less farmers. The lack of fundamentals for a broad-based agrarian reform and development led to phenomenal declines in agricultural productivity and food shortages experienced in the broader economy.

Non-governmental organisations are important in land and agrarian reforms as articulated by Cousins (2007). These provide a range of services, such as training programmes to beneficiaries, market advice and other infrastructure necessary for the agricultural production. The radical populist land policies implemented in Zimbabwe can be criticised for the antagonistic relations between critical actors that were engendered. For instance; the civil society organisations and development finance institutions were not involved in the implementation of land reform programmes (Moyo, 2000). Therefore, the FTLRP did not create conditions for a broad based agrarian development programme.

Further to the above, the broader regressions in the economic policies underpinned by lack of coherent government policy, inflation, food shortages, unemployment, and

international isolation of Zimbabwe have generally been understood in the context of a radicalised land question (Moyo, 2005).

Therefore, this study argues that agrarian reform programme underpinned by a central role of the state and land expropriation cannot be a sustainable alternative in promoting equity in land distribution. Such programmes lack mechanisms to ensure that those with political power and influence do not benefit at the expense of the poor. The provision of technical services such as post settlement programmes, development finance and physical assets is central to creating conditions for successful land reform. The state with its centralised role and marginalization of critical role players lacks capacity to provide these services. These issues point to the inadequacy of radical populism as an ideology of agrarian sector development. Therefore this study argues that radical populism is not a viable as an alternative to neoliberalism in the search for agrarian sector equity.

2.9 Towards an alternative agrarian development framework

The argument presented above is that the neoliberal developmental paradigm based on market-driven processes cannot be a viable pathway in addressing agrarian sector inequalities and improving rural livelihoods. Radical land reform programmes centred on state driven land confiscations, present limited opportunities in promoting agrarian sector equity and sustainable livelihoods. Therefore, to promote equity and improve the welfare of the rural poor through land reform, agrarian transformation programmes need to be aligned to principles of sustainable livelihoods.

This implies that rural development policies need to focus on building the rural poor's asset base, systematically targeting the most vulnerable households. This is because a majority of households in rural areas are asset poor and they have low

stocks of resources to draw on in times of need (Haveman and Wolf, 2005). Asset poverty exposes them to vulnerabilities including unexpected economic events such as food shortages, income losses and unemployment.

Further alluding on the above, assets are a critical means of improving the general capacity of individuals to develop economically, socially, psychologically, physically and politically, and to achieve goals beyond the satisfaction of basic needs (Sen 1999). This approach is based on the view that individuals including those with low socio economic status have the capability to shape their destiny if they are endowed with assets, social and economic opportunities.

Therefore, land reform policies can reduce poverty and inequality if they are focused on building the assets of the poor and improving their capabilities. However, as demonstrated further below, the transfer of assets to the rural poor necessitates wide ranging institutional transformations focused on removing constraints that deter poor people from acquiring assets and generating income from them.

2.9.1 The sustainable livelihoods approach

The study adopted a political economy approach by using the sustainable livelihoods model focusing on the redistributive component of land reform. The theoretical framework of the study is grounded on the argument that sustainable livelihoods and equity-driven land reforms should seek to promote access to varied forms of assets and tenure security to generate sustainable economic opportunities. Construing from Chambers and Conway (1992), a livelihood comprises of capabilities, assets and activities required for a means of living. There are five types of assets necessary for livelihoods, namely; financial, social, human, natural and physical. Scoones (1998:6) further alludes as follows;

'A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, while not undermining the natural resource base'.

Therefore, poverty reduction, the ability of households to generate income from assets, improvements in food security, consumption levels, wellbeing and capabilities are central to the sustainable livelihoods approach. Sen (1987:135) describes capabilities as 'what people can do or be with their entitlements'. Additionally, reduction to vulnerability, increased incomes and people's ability to cope with stresses and shocks, sustainability of natural resource base are livelihood outcomes.

The sustainable livelihoods framework provides a system of exploring how policies shape livelihoods through influencing access to assets and defining livelihood strategies open to people as noted by Carney (1998). Furthermore, sustainable livelihoods framework provides a structure for evaluating projects and programmes which endeavour to alleviate poverty. According to DFID (2000), the value of using sustainable livelihoods lies in the fact that it enables policy makers to develop an all-inclusive systematic analysis of aspects underpinning poverty, for example; poorly implemented and hence inadequately performing policies and institutions, lack of assets and to examine the interlink between these factors.

Henceforth, sustainable livelihoods approach offers a framework of understanding poverty and identification of institutional, policy and structural areas that need attention in order to reduce poverty (Conway, 1985). Furthermore, the sustainable livelihoods approach draws attention to the multiplicity of assets that people make use of when constructing their livelihoods. In this way, sustainable livelihoods

framework enables a more comprehensive and holistic insights on resources or resource combinations that are imperative to the poor (Scoones, 1998).

In view of the foregoing strengths, this research adopted the sustainable livelihoods to assess the adequacy of CRDP as a land reform strategy in addressing equity the need to equity in land redistribution and in improving rural livelihoods. The approach enabled the researcher to explore, among other issues, whether access to land as a natural asset has improved beneficiaries' livelihoods, whether the implementation of the program takes into cognisance beneficiaries' training needs to enable them to use acquired land effectively, to explore the co-ordination between various stakeholders, agencies and institutions in relation to the projects and to investigate whether the organisation and implementation of these projects is in line with sustainable livelihoods principles; namely responsive and participatory, people-centred, multilevel and holistic, empowering and sustainable (Carney, 2002). The fundamental principles of the sustainable livelihoods theory can be descriptively summarized as follows;

2.9.1.1 People-centred

The sustainable livelihoods approach places people at the midpoint of development processes. According to DFID (2001), the sustainable livelihoods approach starts with analysing people's livelihoods and assessing how these have been changing over time. The approach also actively involves people and upholds their views through promoting public input and localizing policy making processes. At institutional and policy level, the sustainable livelihoods concept emphasises on the significance of policies and institutional measures that support the agenda of the poor (DFID, 2001). Scoones (1998), highlights that sustainable poverty alleviation is achievable if support from external agencies works with people in ways harmonic to

their existing livelihood strategies and social environments. The people-centred development paradigm is founded on principles of participatory development that: people and not resources they use or government institutions serving them, are the priority concern (DIFD, 2001).

2.9.1.2 Dynamic

The sustainable livelihoods approach 'promotes understanding and learning from change so that it can support positive patterns of change and help mitigate negative patterns' (DFID, 2001: 9).

2.9.1.3 Building on strengths

An equally fundamental principle of sustainable approach is the focus on strengths rather than needs (Chambers and Conway, 1992). The focus on strengths does not imply that the approach targets the well-resourced and better-endowed social groups. However, it is based on the notion that everyone has potential. The advocates of the sustainable livelihoods approach further argue that people's potential derives from multiple sources and these include strong social networks, access to physical resources and infrastructure, ability to influence core institutions and any other factors that have poverty reducing potential (DIFD, 2001)).

2.9.1.4 Macro-micro links

Scoones (1998) highlights that development is focused at either macro or micro level. The sustainable livelihoods approach aims to bridge the macro-micro level gap, emphasizing on the significance of micro level institutions and policies (DFID, 2001). This implies that higher level policy development has to be informed by insights obtained at the local level (Scoones, 1998). Chambers and Conway (1992) point out that the disjuncture between policy making processes and the people that

these policies seek to empower is one of the main limitations to poverty alleviation programmes. Bridging the dichotomy between macro and micro level institutions through promoting public input and participation in policy making enhances overall programme efficiency. The sustainable livelihoods concept promotes macro-micro links thereby improving policy efficiency.

2.9.1.5 Sustainability

Sustainability is central to the sustainable livelihoods approach. As already pointed out above, livelihoods are sustainable when they are resilient in the face of external shocks and stresses, not dependent upon external support, maintain the long-term productivity of natural resources and when they do not undermine the livelihoods of, or compromise the livelihood options open to others (DFID (2001)).

2.9.2 The livelihoods pentagon

The sustainable livelihoods approach deals with five kinds of capital or assets (Carney, 1998). These are; human, social, financial, natural and physical capital. Scoones (1998) articulates that the capability to pursue diverse means of livelihood is contingent on the various types of assets that people possess. These livelihood resources are termed as the 'capital base' from which the means of living are constructed. Assets are a critical means of improving the general capacity of individuals to develop and to achieve goals beyond the satisfaction of basic needs as already argued above. Land reform policies can sustainably reduce poverty and inequality if they are focused on building the assets of the poor and improving their capabilities. These are elaborated on further below.

2.9.2.1 Human capital

Human capital involves skills, ability to labour, knowledge and good health that enable people to engage in multiple livelihood strategies and in order to achieve livelihood objectives (Carney, 1998). Scoones (1998) highlights that human capital issues include; the sources, networks through which people obtain information that is valuable to achieve livelihood outcomes, who is excluded from accessing these sources, the awareness of people on their rights and policies, legislations and regulations that influence their livelihoods.

The deficiency of human capital manifested in low levels of education and lack of skills are persistent threats to development and self-reliant communities. The lack of human capital deters individuals from effectively managing their own livelihoods. Additionally, low levels of education hinder poor people from accessing information and drawing up business plans. In taking the argument further, Cousins (2007), articulates that skills development and capacity-building programmes are important in promoting self-reliant communities through rural development. Subsistence farmers require empowerment on a variety of areas to improve their livelihoods in a sustainable manner. In this context, this research explored whether the CRDP takes into cognisance the need to capacitate beneficiaries with skills and capabilities to engage in agricultural production for improved livelihoods.

2.9.2.2 Social Capital

Social capital refers to social resources upon which people draw in pursuit of their livelihood objectives (DFID, 2001). These are fostered through networks and connectedness between groups with common interests. It is argued that functional social structures enhance people's ability to work as co-operatives thereby improving access to broader institutions. These include civic bodies and community based

associations. Chambers and Conway (2000) further articulate that social networks enable innovation, knowledge development and sharing.

2.9.2.3 Natural capital

Scoones (1998) defines natural capital as the natural resource stocks from which resource flows and services useful for livelihoods are derived. Land and water are examples of natural asset. The poor's access to natural assets such as land and water is critical for equity and poverty reduction (Reid, 1995). The sustainable livelihoods approach takes a broader perspective of natural capital focusing on people and understanding the importance of processes and structures in which natural capital is used and the value that it creates (DFID, 2001).

Haveman and Wolf (2004) identify diverse benefits that accrue from owning and controlling natural assets such as land and water. These include; improved income base, food security, reduced vulnerability and increased sense of wellbeing. In this context appropriate issues to explore are; which groups have access to which types of natural resources, what is the nature of access rights and how secure are they?, can they be defended against encroachment? This research explored the benefits accruing from access to land from the beneficiaries' perspective

2.9.2.4 Physical capital

According to Carney (2002), physical capital refers to basic infrastructure needed to sustain livelihoods. These involve tools, equipment, value addition and processing facilities, farm implements and other types of inputs needed to support production. The availability of key resource areas, the proximity of markets, processing networks and basic infrastructure is critical to improvement of livelihoods through land reform. Therefore, this research explored whether beyond land transfer, the CRDP has

created conditions for sustainable livelihoods through provision of inputs, tools, equipment, draught power and market outlets, irrigation infrastructure, transport and communication, support services such as extension, training and market advice.

2.9.2.5 Financial capital

Financial capital refers to resources and facilities that people utilise in order to attain livelihood objectives (Chambers and Conway, 1992). Economic capital includes; credit sources, savings, cash and economic asset, production and infrastructural equipment important for constructing a livelihood (Scoones, 1998). Financial capital is the least available asset to the poor according to DFID (2001). This research explored the following areas; the availability of credit sources to subsistence farmers, the financial service organisations involved in funding land reform projects, the services they provide and whether these are sustainable.

The sustainable livelihood concept advances that assets can be combined in different ways in order to create positive livelihood outcomes (Carney, 1998). What is most important in order to assist communities to escape from poverty is to put together asset combinations (DFID, 2001).

2.9.3 The vulnerability context

These include; shocks, trends or seasonal issues that have a negative impact on the poor. Shocks include; illness, sudden shifts in prices, war and other violent disputes, crop and livestock diseases. Other factors are; increasing population pressure, declining commodity prices, the disappearance of markets or the rise of new ones, soil erosion, deforestation, increasing government accountability and more efficient production techniques (Carney, 1998:8).

2.9.4 Institutions and policies

Also illustrated in the framework are institutions and policies. Scoones (1998) articulates that policies and institutions have a major influence on access to assets. Institutions and policies create assets; for instance government policy to invest in basic infrastructure (physical capital), technology generation (yielding human capital) or local institutions that reinforce social capital' (DFID, 2001:31). Institutions and policies also determine ownership rights.

2.9.5 Structures and processes

Private and public sector agencies are examples of structures. Processes are concerned with 'how things are done' (Carney, 1998). Structures are fundamental in as far as they facilitate the functioning of processes. According to DFID (2001), the failure of poverty alleviation programmes in rural areas is partly caused by the failure of many crucial organisations, both private and public sector to reach these areas. The result is that services are not delivered to intended targets. This leads to the persistence of poverty and overall vulnerability of the poor.

Deducing from this, the study explored whether structures put in place for the implementation of the CRDP are reaching the marginalised and most vulnerable groups. Furthermore, land reform involves government and private sector agencies providing a range services that include; post-settlement support, agricultural training programmes to beneficiaries and securitizing land rights. This research therefore explored whether structures for reaching the marginalised, for instance communal property associations and community based organisations, exist. In addition, the inter-sectoral co-ordination with regards to the implementation of CRDP was a critical issue to explore.

2.9.6 Assets and livelihood outcomes

Studies on poverty illustrate that communities' ability to deal with challenges of poverty is mostly dependent upon their access to assets (Scoones, 1998). Different assets are required to achieve different livelihood outcomes. Livelihood outcomes include; improved incomes, improved food security and reduced vulnerability.

In summary, drawing from the sustainable livelihoods model, the above discussion has argued that multiple factors are needed to create land equity and improved rural livelihoods. These include; improving the asset base of the poor systematically targeting the most marginalised social groups, securitizing rights to land, strengthening institutional capacity for the provision of support services, inputs, training and capacity building needs. The paradigm shifts for a sustainable livelihoods drive programme of land and agrarian reform are discussed further below.

2.9.7 The paradigm shifts for a sustainable livelihoods driven programme of land reform

To promote equity and enhance rural livelihoods, agrarian development should not be restricted to wealthier beneficiaries with interest in export-oriented large-scale commercial agriculture but rather it must systematically target the poor and resource less individuals. This implies that the pace of land redistribution must be substantially increased to enable the poorest groups to gain access to arable agricultural land for production. Further to that, the value of land-based livelihoods for small scale income generation needs to be given recognition at policy making level. Integral to this approach would be the necessity to identify the varying needs within rural communities and to ensure that marginalized groups access the support that they need.

Furthermore, considerations should be made on how exactly beneficiaries are going to produce income from land use and how land based activities can be integrated with other livelihood activities and how these can be sustained over the long term (Andrew et al, 2003). These land redistribution efforts will have to plan and put in place systems that enable beneficiaries to engage in diverse livelihood options aimed at improving security and reducing vulnerability.

In addition to the foregoing, there is need for land redistribution programmes to be guided by livelihood needs of beneficiaries. Among other issues, the agricultural potential of lands considered for redistribution to the poor, availability of key resource areas, the proximity of markets, processing networks and basic infrastructure should inform the choice of land for distribution. In this context, a more interventionist and co-ordinated land acquisition approach is needed (Cousins, 2005).

An equally fundamental precondition towards equity and sustainable livelihoods, land reform has to be part of a broader agrarian transformation and rural development. This includes state-led investments in the development of institutional capacity to deliver inputs and support services required for rural households to enhance livelihoods beyond survivalist level but also to enhance production for the market. Alluding further, Hall and Ntsebeza (2005), articulate that along with land ownership, equally requisite are post-settlement measures, namely; access to inputs, tools, equipment, draught power and market outlets, irrigation infrastructure, transport and communication, support services such as extension, training and market advice. Cousins (2004), argues that the state does not have capacity to provide post settlement support services on its own. Therefore, partnerships with non-governmental organisations and private sector organisations are important in order to promote equity and sustainable livelihoods.

Apart from access to land, a sustainable livelihoods-driven land reform needs to also ensure the securitization of land rights for the rural poor particular women (Andrews et al, 2003). Poorly defined rights to land resources are one of the major constraints to sustainable land-based livelihoods. Therefore, there is need to secure poor people's rights to land in both law and practice to promote sustainable rural livelihoods.

Furthermore, the redistribution of political and economic power in favour of the poor is necessary in promoting sustainable rural livelihoods. This involves ensuring the poor and vulnerable communities' participation in agrarian processes intended to address their needs. Without restructuring power relations, there is a risk that the elites will benefit from land reform at the expense of the poor (Cousins, 2004).

Equally critical to the attainment of sustainable rural livelihoods through agrarian development is that the state must restructure the institutions that underpin poverty and inequality. This involves the government assuming a central role in processes of land reform and reviewing the market-based development ideology. In turn, this will promote sufficient resource devotion to land redistribution, small-farm development and rural enterprise promotion.

Reviewing stereotyped policy stances against the potential for small-holder production and the subsequent policy bias towards large-scale production is a critical paradigm shift towards promoting sustainable livelihoods through land reform. This must be followed by investments to promote small-scale agriculture to include the vulnerable and marginalised groups of the rural poor. Ultimately, these transformations must be aimed at creating petty commodity production opportunities for the rural poor.

Adam and Howell (2001) identify inadequate capacity for implementation of land reforms as one of the major constraints to land based sustainable livelihoods. Arguing against this backdrop, Cousins (2004), suggests a concerted effort towards strengthening the capacity of organisations and associations that advocate for the interests of the rural poor, for instance; communal property associations. Furthermore, capacity building initiatives involve ensuring that appropriate policies are in place, provision of adequate funds for the implementation of policies, equipping staff with appropriate skills and expertise via training programmes and institutional reforms to ensure efficiency and effectiveness in the implementation of agrarian reform programmes.

As a final point, land and agrarian reforms must restructure unequal gender-based land ownership patterns entrenched across society to promote sustainable livelihoods. This means that women's access to land must be substantially improved to bridge gender based dichotomies and poverty. This is because their labour and skills are important in the food production systems and rural livelihoods. Therefore, the failure of land reforms to address gender based inequalities perpetuates poverty in rural areas (Moyo, 2005).

2.9.8 Limitations of the sustainable livelihood approach

The sustainable livelihoods model has limitations (Carney, 1992). Fundamentally, it makes people appear invisible; and requires more recognition of socio-economic, historical and cultural factors. Furthermore it is not flexible and that the overall concept is ethnocentric and not easily transferable. In addition, the framework does not capture the internal dynamics of institutions and how they enable or impede planning for coordination of activities in policy implementation (DFID, 2001).

2.9.9 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the theoretical framework underpinning the study. The chapter has pursued the argument that the land question remains unresolved due to the adoption of neoliberal development paradigm. The chapter has shown that the radical populist ideology is not a solution to persistent landlessness due to the limitations of state led agrarian development framework. The chapter concludes with the argument that to address inequality and improve rural livelihoods, land and agrarian reforms need to be aligned to principles of sustainable livelihoods.

CHAPTER 3

The state of poverty and context of land reform in Mpumalanga province

3. Introduction

The previous chapter has discussed theoretical framework underpinning the study. This chapter endeavours to contextualise land reform and poverty alleviation. It begins with a brief overview of Mpumalanga Province and the extent of poverty and inequality in Bushbuckridge municipal area. Thereafter, the correlation between agrarian transformation and poverty reduction is explored. The discussion concludes with a review of South Africa's rural development policy trajectory and the impact on the land question in Bushbuckridge municipal area. The central argument presented in this chapter is that the overall benefits of land reform from an equity and poverty alleviation perspective remain elusive to the rural poor due to policy shift from meeting their fundamental needs such as food security, incomes and unemployment to emphasis on commercial agricultural production.

3.1 An overview of the case study profile

Mpumalanga Province is located in the eastern part of South Africa. It constitutes approximately 6.5 percent of South Africa's land area and it hosts 7 percent of the total population with about 733,131 households (Statistics South Africa, 2011:14). The province is divided into two, namely; the highveld in the western region and the lowveld in the eastern part of the province. The economic mainstays of the province are; agriculture, tourism and mining. Commercial agricultural production takes up around 68 percent of the land (Levin et al, 1997: 78). Mpumalanga Province has three district municipalities. These are; Ehlanzeni, Nkangala and Gert Sibande.

The table below summarises population trends per district municipality in terms of racial group. As indicated, 90 percent of the population in Mpumalanga Province are African, with Ehlanzeni District having the highest concentration in comparison to other districts (SSA, 2011:14). The White population is the second largest in the province with 7.5 percent followed by Coloureds and Indians with 0.9 percent and 0.7 percent respectively (SSA. 2011:14).

Table 1: Showing Population Share by District Municipality and Race Group

District Municipality	African	Coloureds	Asian	White
Gert Sibande	90.7%	1.0%	1.1%	9.1%
Nkangala	88.2%	1.1%	0.7%	9,9%
Ehlanzeni	94.2%	0.7%	0.4%	4.7%
Total	90.0%	0.9%	0.7%	7.5%

Source: Census Report Mpumalanga Province (2011)

However, the focus of the study was on Bushbuckridge municipal area which is part of Ehlanzeni District located in the lowveld region of Mpumalanga. In addition to Bushbuckridge, other local municipal areas in Ehlanzeni District Municipality are; Nkomazi, Mbombela, Umjindi, Thaba Cheweu. Bushbuckridge municipal area has a total population of 541 249 (SSA, 2011: 43).Africans have the highest population

with 538 790 followed by Whites with 1 053 people. The Coloured and Asian population groups have the lowest population in the local municipality with 561 and 544 people, respectively (SSA, 2011: 46-49). In total, Bushbuckridge hosts a population of approximately 34 percent of Ehlanzeni District population (SSA, 2011: 46). Females have a considerable majority in the area with 54 percent, a trend that reflects the impact of migrant labour (SSA, 2011: 43).

3.1.1 The political geography of forced removals, poverty and inequalities

Discourses on poverty propose a number of perspectives through which to understand poverty. There are two major traditions for understanding poverty; namely; absolute poverty and relative poverty. Absolute poverty is understood as a condition characterised by severe deprivation of basic human needs including food, safe drinking water, health, sanitation facilities, education and information.

Poverty can also be conceptualised in relative terms, in other words, as inadequate resources to maintain an acceptable way of life (Mc Kernan and Sherraden, 2008). Townsend (1979: 31) conceptualises poverty as follows;

'Individuals, families and groups in the population can be said to be in poverty when they lack the resources to obtain the type of diet, participate in the activities and have the living conditions and amenities which are customary, or at least widely encouraged, or approved, in the societies to which they belong'.

Absolute poverty denotes the failure to attain minimum capabilities (Sen, 1983). It is a multi-dimensional phenomenon with multiple manifestations that include; lack of income and productive resources sufficient to achieve sustainable livelihoods, hunger, malnutrition, ill-health, limited or lack of access to education and other basic services, increased mortality, social discrimination and exclusion characterised by

lack of participation in decision making and in civil, social and cultural rights (Chambers, 1988).

Poverty is a social phenomenon considered to be synonymous with rural life in South Africa. While various academic and political debates have identified several factors to which widespread poverty is attributable, there has been consensus that the history of deprivation based on resource dispossession fundamentally shaped contemporary poverty trends in South Africa (Seekings and Nattrass, 2005). Consequently, poverty and inequality are shaped along race and gender. The phenomenon is more intense in rural areas.

In Mpumalanga Province, a majority of households are disadvantaged with regards to their per capita incomes with the African households the worse off. Levin et al (1997) indicate that Mpumalanga is one of the provinces with extreme poverty and inequalities particularly in the agricultural sector. These inequalities are to a larger extent, race-based as articulated by Elsenberg (2005).

The White households are typically the landowners with average incomes of approximately R107.417 while African households supply farm labour with average incomes of R14.727 per annum (Elsenberg, 2005:10-14). Income inequalities in the agrarian sector are a result of uneven distribution of assets particularly land between large-scale commercial farmers and landless agricultural households that typically supply labour (Elsenberg, 2005).

Large-scale agricultural production is mostly dominant and uses up more than half of the land in the province (Levin et al, 1997). On the other hand, agricultural land for smallholder agricultural production is limited. Land related challenges experienced by a majority of households, in particular subsistence farmers include; insecure

tenure rights, limited financial resources and assets to engage in sustainable agri-business initiatives. Levin et al (1997) note that landlessness is a widespread problem in the former homelands such as KwaNdebele, Bushbuckridge and KaNgwane. More than half of the population in these areas completely has no access to agricultural land while less than 30 percent has at least 0.50 hectares (Levin et al, 1997: 56).

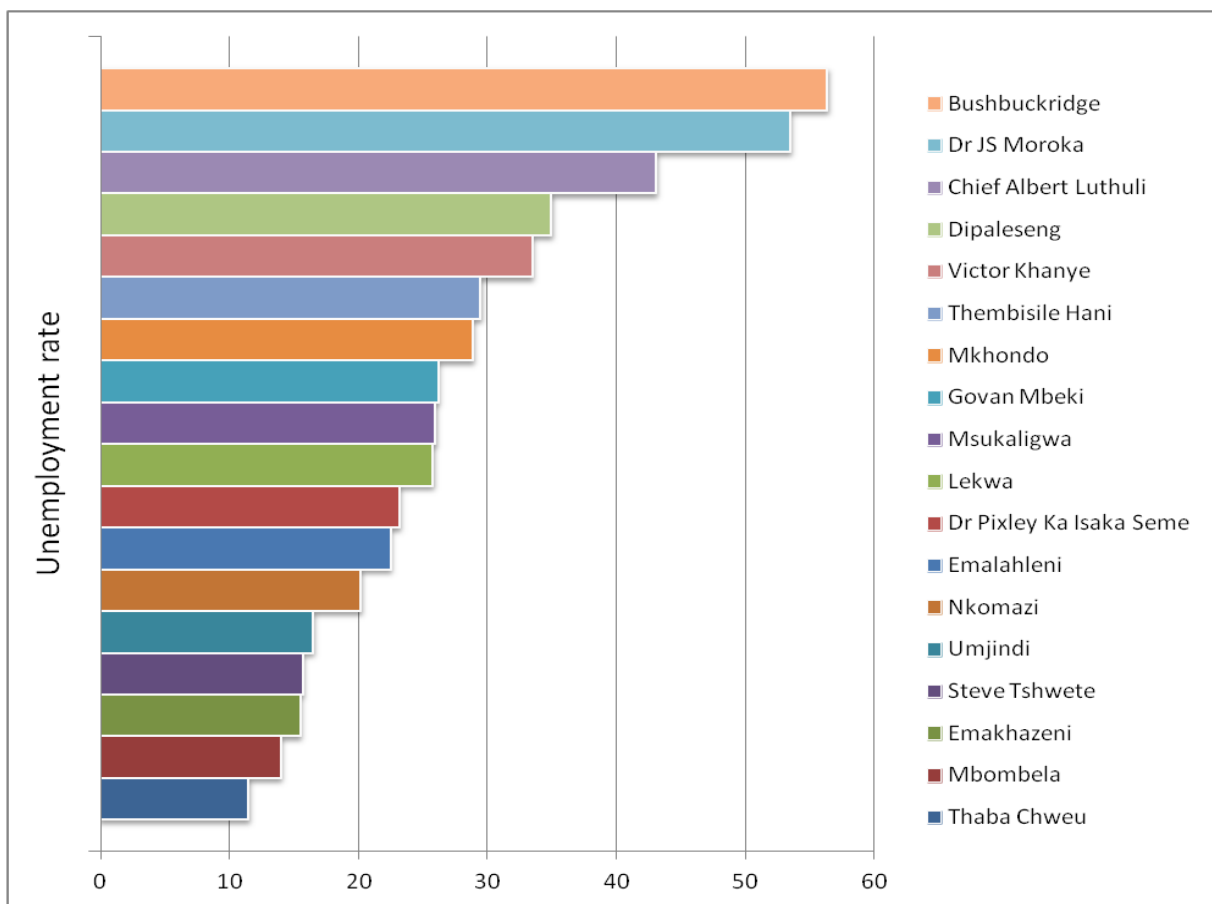
The consequence of skewed land distribution patterns is that income inequalities between different population groups are extreme. The outcome related to lack of assets, particularly land for a majority of households in the former homelands is that sources of livelihood are limited. This leads to high levels of dependency on social grants and migrant remittances as a means of livelihood (CRDP Report, 2009).

Levin et al (1997) further articulate that deprivation and livelihood challenges are extreme in areas such as KaNgwane and KwaNdebele because a majority of households are headed by economically and socially weakened women. Subsequently, food insecurity and hunger are persistent socio-economic problems affecting many people.

A feature also synonymous with former homelands in Mpumalanga Province is that expenditure on foodstuffs is burdensome given that most households use more than half of their annual income on the purchase of food (Levin et al, 1997). In addition, the youths are poorly educated and hence underemployed, the governance systems are ineffectual and employment is one of the dominant needs. In view of the socio-economic challenges, particularly shrinking formal sector employment opportunities, many communities are in need of agricultural land for subsistence production (CRDP Report, 2009).

However, socio-economic challenges specific to Bushbuckridge municipal area are; unemployment, food insecurity, low incomes and multi-faceted deprivation in various aspects including poor infrastructure (CRDP Report, 2009). Illustratively, less than 15 percent of the entire population in the area is employed. Furthermore, food insecurity and poor standards of consumption particularly amongst children, the aged and in households headed by women without wage incomes are widespread problems in the area (Levin et al (1997).

Figure 1: Unemployment rate per CRDP site

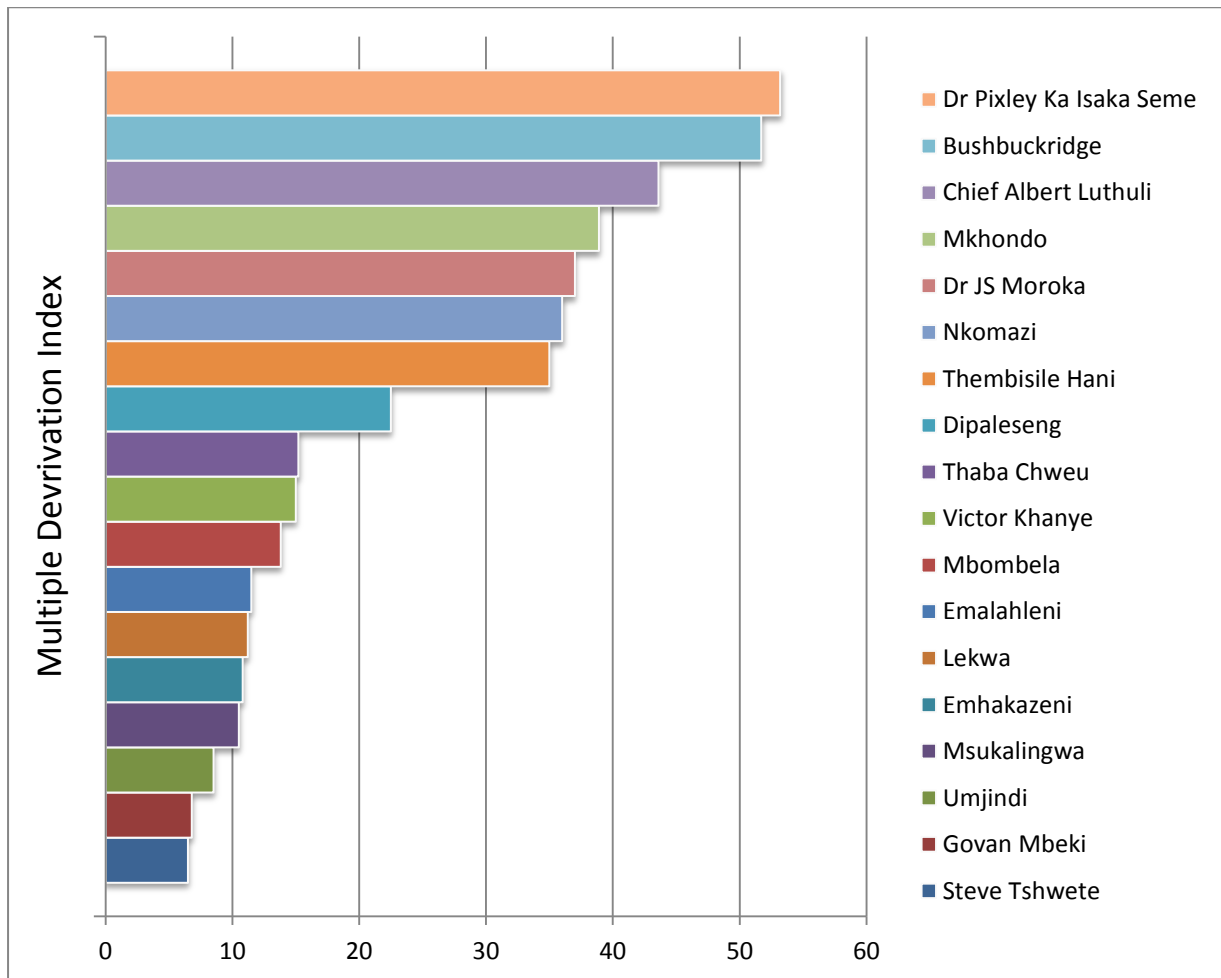


Source: CRDP Report (2012)

A majority of households in the local municipality are disadvantaged in terms of their per capita incomes (CRDP Report, 2012). The incomes for most households are below subsistence level with 84 percent of the population earning less than R1.300

per household per month. These aspects of poverty are related to the lack of adequate endowments or livelihood resources such as land and employment (Bushbuckridge Municipality, 2013).

Figure 2: Multiple Deprivation index per CRDP site



Source: CRDP Report (2012)

The table above summarises the state of poverty in CRDP sites including Bushbuckridge municipal area. Social sector challenges in Bushbuckridge area as highlighted in various municipality reports include; illiteracy, backlogs in service delivery, skills shortage, HIV and AIDS epidemic and lack of adequate access to basic services particularly health and education (Bushbuckridge Municipality, 2013).

In view of high levels of deprivation, Bushbuckridge became a poverty nodal point in 2001. Consequently, it is one of the priority areas for social and infrastructural investment and policy interventions in South Africa's rural areas.

The foregoing discussion illustrates that a majority of households in Bushbuckridge are poor in absolute terms. This is manifested in lack of assets, unemployment, and lack of skills, literacy, low incomes and food insecurity. However, the agricultural sector inequalities in Bushbuckridge area can be contextualised on the legacy of apartheid and establishment of commercial agriculture (Levin et al, 1997). The consolidation of commercial interests and large-scale land dispossession of local communities shaped the geographical landscape of the area.

As a result, skewed land distribution patterns in the area illustrate the history of forced removals from areas designated for white-owned enterprises (Levin et al, 1997). Forced removals in this region centred on the establishment of game reserves, creation of exotic forest plantations and mechanised commercial irrigated agriculture. This process largely confined many communities on marginal lands while at the same time, significant numbers of people either migrated to urban areas in search of employment opportunities or survived through labour tenancy in commercial farms. This led to the mutilation of subsistence agriculture along with the formation of race-based land inequalities (Levin et al, 1997).

In view of these historical developments, much of the area in Bushbuckridge region is occupied by plantations, large-scale forestry and commercial-irrigated agriculture particularly for tropical and sub-tropical fruit with tobacco, grain, ginger and vegetables (Levin et al, 1997). These commercial activities occupy about half to two-thirds of the land surface area (Levin et al, 1997: 78). On the other hand, small scale

subsistence agricultural sector in areas where the majority population lives, remains fragmented and poorly developed (Bushbuckridge Municipality, 2013). Levin et al (1997) argued that this is partly due to the low soil potential.

Therefore, critically reviewing these land distribution and use patterns, it is patent that agrarian sector dualism exists in Bushbuckridge area and throughout Mpumalanga Province, with a successful sector dominated by large-scale commercial farmers on the one side and a disadvantaged, poorly-financed subsistence sector on the other.

The table below summarises differentiated access to fertile land between large scale commercial farmers and subsistence farmers and also highlights constraints to land-based livelihoods in the region (Levin et al, 1997). The differentiated access to land between commercial and subsistence farmers is illustrated in the table below.

Table 2: Showing land distribution patterns in Bushbuckridge Municipal Area

<p>Group 1 (Land types Ab36, Ab37, Ab 43)</p>	<p>Predominantly deep well drained soils clay soils, high potential but with a major slop constraint for arable cultivation. Suitable for forestry and perennial (i.e. tree) crops.</p>
<p>Group 2 (Land types Ab 40, Ab 41, Ab 42)</p>	<p>Predominantly deep, well drained clay soils, high potential with only a minor slope constraint for arable cultivation.</p>
<p>Group 3 (Land type Ab 10)</p>	<p>Predominantly well drained clay soils but more than 60 percent is unploughable because too stony or shallow.</p>

<p>Group 4 (Land type Ae 132)</p>	<p>Deep well drained soils in lower rainfall areas with few slope or stoniness constraints to cultivation but with a major constraint in terms of low capacity for water and nutrient retention due to low clay (and high sand) content on 56 percent of the area)</p>
<p>Group 5 (Land type Fa 341, Fb 66, Fb 167)</p>	<p>Variable soil types, predominantly (more than 60 percent) unploughable because too stony or shallow.</p>

Extracted from Levin et al (1997)

Levin et al (1997) found that the higher potential land types (groups 1 and 2) are largely controlled by large-scale commercial farmers. The soils in these areas are fertile, well-drained and used for commercial agriculture. However, on the other hand, the majority of the population in this area are restricted to (group 4 and 5) land types. These soils are shallow, stony, sandy and therefore unsuitable for agricultural production. As a result of landlessness, subsistence-agricultural production as a livelihood option is largely constrained. Against this backdrop, spatial and social marginalisation patterns in Bushbuckridge area point to the legacy of a protracted history of forced removals in which the alienation of water and soil resources was the central feature.

In summary, the legacy of forced removals in Bushbuckridge area demonstrates capitalist power over labour and control over means of production. The resulting geographical landscape as summarised above, shows that the development of capitalist agriculture was underpinned by pursuit for arable soils and water resources and this involved a systematic process of political oppression, labour relocation and economic exploitation. This process dismantled subsistence-agricultural production

systems in the area and produced extensive proletarianisation processes. Therefore, land distribution patterns, poverty and inequality in Mpumalanga Province and specifically in Bushbuckridge region need to be examined against this historical background.

3.2 The context of land and agrarian reform

The discourse on land and agrarian reform in South Africa in the post-apartheid era has identified a number of objectives on which land reform should be contextualised. The overarching arguments suggest that the ideological thrust of land reform should be premised on the restoration of land to individuals and communities that were dispossessed, redressing extreme racial disparities in land ownership and alleviating poverty in rural areas (Lahiff, 2007). As shall be demonstrated below, various government programmes have since 1994 combined these objectives although it is notable that there has been a shift from addressing basic necessities of the poor to promoting commercial farming.

Construing from the materialist political economy, Bernstein (1996) developed an analytical framework within which to understand poverty in rural communities. The framework involves *the 'agrarian question of capital'* and the *'agrarian question of the dispossessed'*. Bernstein (1996) contends that the success of corporate-capitalist agriculture points to the resolution of the agrarian question of capital. On the contrary, poverty, unemployment, food insecurity, land hunger affecting the rural poor suggest that the struggle against exploitation and oppression is continuing.

Resolving the *'agrarian question of the dispossessed'* involves addressing the land needs of the rural poor, assessing their commitment to farming and utilising their expertise to mitigate problems of food insecurity, poor incomes, unemployment and

hunger. Arguing from this perspective, Levin et al (1997) characterise the agenda of an incomplete agrarian question as a contestation to the monopolistic privileges of cooperate-farming while creating conditions for diverse forms of commodity production for the rural poor.

The agrarian question has to be understood as part of a broader agenda whose task is to restructure the economy characterised by high levels of structural unemployment and poverty. Such a restructuring process should be focused on providing the rural poor with assets needed for livelihoods, capacitating small-scale subsistence farmers to compete with large-scale commercial farmers, developing a diversified agriculture while also creating conditions for accumulation from below. These arguments suggest that the improvement of food production systems and supply, food security and food entitlements should constitute the critical core of land reform efforts in rural communities such as Bushbuckridge region.

The extent of land demand for agricultural production in South African rural areas is higher than assumed (Andrews et al, 2003) .Land and natural resources are increasingly providing livelihood options for many people as opportunities of employment in the formal sector shrink as argued by Andrews et al (2003). Therefore, in view of widespread poverty and shrinking employment opportunities in the formal sector, land distribution has a fundamental role towards improving the livelihoods of the poor in Bushbuckridge area. There is evidence that people regard access to agricultural land as essential to domestic food security and as a fundamental base for a social reproduction strategy that has a range of income earning opportunities (Levin et al, 1997). In that context, developing subsistence agriculture can contribute towards improving food security, household income and employment.

Levin et al (1997) found that the vast majority of the population in Bushbuckridge derive their livelihoods from various on-farm and off-farm sources. Off-farm sources include; remittances, wages and incomes from informal economic activities and social security grants. On-farm sources include; income generated from crop production and sale, livestock and natural resources. This is an illustration that land-based livelihoods are very critical to the survival of most rural households, in particular the very poor in Bushbuckridge area. Apart from providing for the basic needs of rural households, land-based livelihoods are important in reducing their vulnerability to food insecurity, hunger and unemployment. Therefore, given high levels of poverty and land needs amongst the rural communities, rural development efforts must restructure land ownership patterns to ensure access to adequate land for food production, with priority given to the most impoverished and vulnerable households.

Attaining food security for all requires systematic and comprehensive interventions not only in restructuring land relations but also in capacitating beneficiaries to contribute effectively in food production systems. Sen (1981: 292) conceptualises food security as follows;

'The access by all people at all times to sufficient food for an active and healthy life. Food security is derived from human and physical capital, assets and stores, access to common property resources and a variety of social contracts at household, community and state levels. The fundamental elements are; the availability of food and ability to acquire it. Food insecurity on the contrary refers to the lack of access to enough food'.

However, food entitlements refer to communities' command over alternative bundles of commodities, of which food is crucial to survival and wellbeing (Beinstern, 1994).

Entitlements derive from endowments; for instance assets, labour power and the conditions for their exchange with food. Bernstein (1994) argues that food insecurity indicates people's low levels of entitlement and control over assets and hence their vulnerability. In this regard, in order to reduce the rural communities' vulnerability to food insecurity a comprehensive programme of land redistribution should be the fundamental objective of rural development efforts. Hence, deducing from Bernstein's argument, land reform interventions in Bushbuckridge area are expected to be part of a broader process towards the resolution of the 'agrarian question of the dispossessed'. The strengthening of food security systems through enhancing the asset base of the most vulnerable social groups should be the basic policy concern.

Furthermore, in the context of extreme inequalities, asset redistribution has featured prominently in policy discourse in the post-apartheid era with competing catchphrases of 'growth through redistribution' and 'redistribution through growth' (May, 2000). The redistribution of productive assets particularly land has been viewed as a necessary step in empowering the previously marginalised social segments. The arguments based on equity have tended to conceptualise land and agrarian reform as a fundamental social justice issue.

Therefore, the legacy of dispossession as highlighted in the discussion above has left a majority of the rural poor with high expectations for post-apartheid political administrations and that this will be a period of land rights restoration through far-reaching redistribution and restitution for equity. It is notable that various economic development strategies have made efforts to stimulate growth in the economy, improve service delivery and promote infrastructural development. However, the socio-economic challenges and inequality suggest that in spite of developments in the broader economy, structural poverty particularly in rural areas remains high

(Jacobs et al, 2003). In this context, land reform in the post-apartheid era is expected to form the core of rural development efforts particularly focusing on the marginalised groups.

In addition, land use patterns in Bushbuckridge area reflect agricultural sector dualism that exists in South Africa with a capital intensive-commercial farming engaged in large-scale production and an impoverished sector dominated by low-input, labour-intensive forms of subsistence production as a key livelihood strategy along with remittances and state grants. Lipton (1985) argues that this dualism is a feature of racial capitalism under apartheid, understood as the complicity of racism and capitalist interests. Arguing from this perspective, Cousins (2005) highlights that sustained intervention is needed to transfer resources and invest in the subsistence farming sector to bridge the gap that exists between these agricultural subdivisions. Against this backdrop, land reforms in Bushbuckridge area should be premised on bridging dichotomies of the agricultural sector through wide-ranging interventions in favour of the poor. This means that rural development programmes should endeavour to restructure land distribution inequalities shaped by apartheid.

Further alluding on the above, redistribution of land to communities should not be a standalone strategy in the pursuit of equity and sustainable livelihoods. Land and agrarian reforms should be part of a broader policy agenda that aims to empower rural communities to be self-reliant and raising incomes for all. In addition to intensified asset redistribution, investments in skills and infrastructural development are also critical imperatives towards reducing inequalities and alleviating poverty as identified by de Swart (2003), Makgetla and van Meelis (2003). Therefore, land reforms can help promote livelihoods and equity in Bushbuckridge area. However, for positive outcomes these need to focus also on the improvement of rural

infrastructure with the objective of enabling the rural and resource-poor farmers to access markets, transport, land and water. Land reform can play an imperative role in the attainment of income and asset equity and this is fundamental for economic growth. May (2000) and Deininger (2003) concur that egalitarian income and wealth distribution is a key prerequisite for economic growth.

In conclusion, the discussion above has illustrated that land reform has a significant portion to play towards a programme of rural restructuring, in transforming the economic and social relations and providing a structural basis for a broad-based pro-poor development. These functions are important in view of chronic rural poverty. Therefore, this study locates the need for intensified equity-driven land reform and investments in impoverished rural communities against the foregoing background.

3.3 Land and agrarian reform interventions since 1994

There is no doubt that massive efforts have been made during the post-apartheid era to address poverty, eradicate the syndrome of deprivation and promote equity in land distribution. Rural development strategies implemented since 1994 acknowledged the centrality of land reform in promoting equity and alleviating rural poverty. This section therefore explores rural development efforts that have sought to address land needs and poverty in Bushbuckridge area.

Policies aimed at restructuring the rural economy in post-apartheid South Africa and their variable impact on poverty and inequality can be understood through a critical analysis of three phases of rural development. These are; the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) period from 1994 to 2000, the Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Programme (ISRDP) from 2000 to 2009 and subsequently the Comprehensive Rural Development Programme (CRDP) since

2009. In between these rural development phases, significant forms of redistribution have taken place. These include noteworthy intensification of government expenditure on social and economic infrastructure, social and welfare services targeted towards the poorest segments of the population and a notable increase in the corporate domain of groups previously disadvantaged particularly through programmes such as the Black Economic Empowerment Programme (BEE), Agri-BEE and Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development Programme (LRAD) in the agricultural sector (Lahiff, 2007). Nevertheless, the transformative impact of these efforts particularly in poorer segments of the society has been largely limited. These policies have substantially deracialized upper and middle social strata, however with very little impact on the overall income inequality. The first phase of rural development in the post-apartheid period occurred within the framework of the RDP.

3.3.1 Reconstruction and Development Programme Period from 1994 to 2000

Initial interventions to restructure the spatial geography and inequalities created by segregationist policies under apartheid in Bushbuckridge area, were implemented under the Reconstruction and Development Programme (Levin et al, 1997). The RDP was a broad strategy of rural development that among other issues aimed to bridge inequalities through promoting a bimodal agricultural sector and supporting the development of subsistence-farming (Levin et al, 1997). Alleviation of poverty in the rural areas through promoting economic growth, investing in human-resource development, building social infrastructure, provision of social services and broad-based asset ownership were major areas that received rural development policy attention during the RDP period (Olivier et al, 2009). The land reform programme was seen as an essential force of rural development with aims to address land needs, injustices of forced removals, increasing rural incomes and generating

employment opportunities. Through its restitution programme, the RDP sought to enable communities who were dispossessed of their land to reclaim ownership (Department of Land Affairs, 1994).

Along with the foregoing, significant transformatory legislations were passed during this period to form a legal basis for comprehensive land and agrarian reform to reduce rural poverty and inequalities (Levin et al, 1997). These included; the Provision of Certain Land for Settlement Act in 1993, the Restitution of Land Rights Act of 1994, and the Upgrading of Tenure Rights Act of 1995. The Land Administration Act and the Development Facilitation Act 1995 were among the pioneering efforts to restructure apartheid-enforced institutions considered to underpin rural poverty, inequality and landlessness (Cousins and Classens, 2004).

Given the history of land expropriation and extreme poverty that plagued the majority, in particular rural population, the government undertook to implement specific measures to develop capacity to reduce spatial segregation bequeathed by the legacy of apartheid. The mainstream rural development policy objective during this phase was the development of small-scale subsistence agriculture (Anseuw and Alden, 2011). With this policy orientation, land reform was regarded as a central strategy towards the socio-economic development of rural areas. Through the development small scale subsistence farming, the government aimed to improve food security and promote equity (Anseuw and Alden, 2011).

In view of widespread land expropriations that affected many communities in Bushbuckridge Levin et al (1997), point out that land restitution as provided for in the Land Restitution Act of 1994 was a significant platform through which to address not only historical injustices but also extreme land inequalities. In the same vein,

intensified government-led land redistribution was anticipated to assist communities to access land. According to government policy as spelt out in the White Paper of 1997, those benefiting from land reforms were allocated subsidies to assist them to purchase land at market value (Anseuw and Alden, 2011).

3.3.2 The Settlement and Land Acquisition Grants (SLAGS)

Furthermore, during the RDP period (1994 to 2000), the Department of Land Affairs (DLA) provided Settlement and Land Acquisition Grant (SLAGS). This programme provided grants of up to R 15 000 (upgraded to R 16 000 in 1998) to enable poor people to acquire land through the market. De Koning (2010) notes that to acquire land at market prices, beneficiaries were encouraged to pool funds together and undertake projects as groups to use land for subsistence purposes.

A number of problems with regard to the implementation of SLAGs in Mpumalanga province are noted in various studies. Apart from diverse problems such as poor post-settlement support to beneficiaries, poor co-ordination between various departments, the dependency on market forces limited impact of the programme on restructuring unequal land ownership patterns (DLA, 2000). Additional problems experienced by SLAGs included long project-cycles, bureaucracy and lack of complementary support services. In addition, the SLAG grant programme was not tailored to suit the needs of resource poor groups, for instance subsistence farmers. On the contrary, the SLAGs aimed to promote black commercial farmers and this limited their outreach to poorer segments of society without means to engage in commercial farming (De Koning, 2010).

Levin et al (1997) note that land reforms in Bushbuckridge during the RDP did not have a significant impact on the livelihoods of the poor and on bridging the

dichotomy between large scale commercial and small scale subsistence agricultural sectors. In general, land and agrarian reform was neglected in the implementation of rural development programmes. The slow pace of land reforms in this region as well as the general neglect of the land question need to be understood in the context of broader macro-economic policy reorientation following the adoption of the Growth, Employment and Redistribution macro-economic policy (GEAR) which aimed at sustained economic growth through the application of fiscal austerity measures and export oriented growth (Anseuw and Alden, 2011). This policy shift marked a significant retrogression in efforts to alleviate rural poverty and promote equity. Anseuw and Alden (2011) articulate that agrarian transformation and investments on the marginalized sectors of the rural community were misaligned to the GEAR policy philosophy.

In summary, although the first phase of rural development from 1994 to 2000 made noteworthy poverty reduction investments in Bushbuckridge with improvements in service delivery and infrastructural development, the impact in the reconfiguration of apartheid political geography was largely limited. Land distribution programmes, particularly the SLAGs did not make significant inroads terms of creating a thriving subsistence farming sector. Notably, the establishment of the legislative framework within which land and agrarian reforms would be pursued was one of the fundamental achievements during this first phase of land reform; however the transformative impact of these efforts and capacity to address rural development challenges such as land hunger, unemployment and low incomes remained limited. This was a consequence of neoliberal forces operational in state institutions including the constitution as noted by Levin et al (1997). This imposed limitations on

the new state to promote small-scale farming through implementing a broad-based programme of land redistribution.

In the context of Bushbuckridge, Levin et al (1997) note that the adoption of 'willing buyer willing seller principle' and a constitution that protected private property rights, incapacitated both restitution and redistribution in as far as it allowed big commercial farmers to retain ownership of arable land. A majority of poor and resourceless households remained largely marginalized in land reform programmes. The subsequent result was limited success of the RDP period in restructuring land ownership patterns and improvements in the livelihoods of the poor through subsistence agriculture. As already noted above, other facets of rural development such as social and economic infrastructural development were regarded as priority areas and hence vast improvements in these sectors. The next phase of rural development took place from 2000 to 2009.

3.3.3 The Integrated Rural Development Programme from 2000 to 2009

The second phase of rural development between 2000 and 2009 took place in the context of consolidated free-market economy ideology shown by a fundamental shift from a pro-poor developmental course. The phase saw intensified efforts to align agrarian reform with the GEAR policy philosophy. As a result, subsistence-based agricultural development was restricted and focus changed towards the advancement of commercial farming sector as an overarching agrarian priority. This was shown by the fact that land reform was reoriented from promoting self-sufficiency through distributing land to black households to the formation of a structured commercial agriculture sector.

Some of the main programmes and policies that addressed rural development at national level during the period 2000 to April 2009 included; the Strategic Plan for South African Agriculture in 2001, the Integrated Food Security Strategy for South Africa (IFSS) in 2002 and the Drought Management Plan (DMP) in 2005. Moreover, sector specific rural development policies were implemented by provincial government departments (Olivier et al (2009)). Significant national, provincial and municipal strategies addressing rural development were proposed and these include; the National Spatial Development Perspective (NSDP) in 2006, the Accelerated Growth Initiative of South Africa (ASGISA) in 2007, the Municipal Integrated Development Plans and the Provincial Growth and Development Strategies.

However, rural development programmes during this period were implemented within the framework of the Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Strategy (ISRDS) whose implementation commenced in 2001. The programme acknowledged the multi-dimensional nature of rural development and emphasised on creating the environment that enables poor people to improve incomes while investing in themselves and their communities. Like in the preceding rural development policy framework, the RDP, land rights were regarded as a fundamental component for economic and agricultural development in the countryside (Anseuw and Alden, 2011). Furthermore, some of the ISRDS objectives were; to improve social and economic infrastructure, to provide affordable energy to rural households (Olivier et al, 2009).

3.3.4 The Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development Programme

The main policy instrument that provided a framework for land redistribution during ISRDS period (2000 to 2009) was the LRAD as noted by Anseuw and Alden (2011). The LRAD, did not substitute previous land reform programmes effected since 1994,

however, it succeeded SLAG grants which became limited to residential projects after 1999. As stated in its concept document, the LRAD programme sought to address land equity and alleviate poverty through enabling previously disadvantaged groups to acquire commercial farmland, reduce congestion and overcrowding in the former homelands, to overcome gender discrimination in the agrarian sector, deracializing commercial sector agriculture and to improve agricultural production in communal areas (DLA, 2000). It is notable that the development of subsistence agriculture was not catered for under this policy. Instead, the focus was primarily the redistribution of agricultural land to individuals intending to engage in commercial farming activities (DLA, 2000).

As noted in the previous chapter, beneficiary selection mechanisms under the LRAD reflect the influence of neo-liberalism in the agrarian policy discourse during this period. For instance, beneficiaries had to make own contributions in order to qualify for the project. Anseuw and Alden (2011) note that contributions of R5000 to R400 000 per person, entitled beneficiaries to LRAD subsidies, varying from between R20 000 to R100 000. Further to that, the approval of subsidies was based on the development of farm plans and project commercial viability. Based on this, it is discernible that the fundamental objective of the LRAD was to improve agricultural production for the market through creating a class of black commercial farmers and not specifically targeting the poor and marginalised sectors of society.

3.3.5 The Comprehensive Agricultural Support Programme

Another noteworthy programme that was implemented during the 2000-2009 phase of rural development was the Comprehensive Agricultural Support Programme (CASP). This was primarily implemented to complement the LRAD programme which remained the major framework of land reform. The major purpose of the CASP

was the improvement of post settlement support in agricultural projects. The central priority areas of the CASP programme were; the provision of advisory and technical services, financial support, capacity building and training services to land reform beneficiaries (De Koning, 2010). Further to that, the CASP programme provided grants to land reform beneficiaries; however eligibility for grants was based on the guidelines prescribed in the LRAD implementation guidelines. In short, the implementation of both LRAD and CASP signified government commitment to develop commercial agriculture and the concomitant neglect of subsistence agriculture.

As poverty nodal point since 2001 a range of interventions were implemented in Bushbuckridge area within the framework of rural development policies discussed above. Municipal publications highlight significant improvements between 2000 and 2009 in diverse clusters including employment creation, health, education, social cohesion, poverty and inequality. Although these reviews provide a numerical analysis in contrast to a qualitative overview, they do give important indications on the progress made towards rural development. What is discernible is that the provision of social grants and various job creation initiatives significantly reduced headcount poverty rate (Bushbuckridge Municipality, 2009).

In addition, through the Housing Subsidy Programme, several households had access to improved accommodation and electricity. The mid-term review in 2007 also highlighted water infrastructure development programmes and improved rural communities' access to water. In addition, from 2001 to 2007 malnutrition in children was reduced and immunisation coverage was increased. In short, although the ISRDS did not have a broad-based impact, the deprivation index in poverty nodes including Bushbuckridge markedly decreased.

The second phase of rural development as encapsulated in the ISRDS policy framework has been subject to a broad variety of scholarly reviews. The common narrative is that although the programme regarded land rights as a fundamental platform from which to promote rural development, it was largely limited in enabling the poor to access land. From the discussion above, it is notable that rural development efforts during the period 2000 to 2009 led to significant forms of redistribution and improvements in certain socio-economic aspects of rural life. However, there was poor political commitment throughout all spheres of government towards addressing the land question and improving smallholder agriculture (Lahiff and Cousins (2007).

In general, ISRDS and LRAD as well as the associated policies outlined above, downplayed land based livelihoods and particularly the necessity to develop small scale subsistence agricultural sector. The major land and agrarian reform framework, the LRAD only benefited a small elite, in particular those already with resources to invest in commercial agriculture due to the requirement for minimum cash contributions of R 5 000 (Hall, 2004). In Mpumalanga Province, the socio-economic profile of grant applicants and beneficiaries points to the fact that it was predominantly the well-resourced individuals that had capacity to participate in the programme by contributing substantial cash, assets and loan finance (Jacobs et. al, 2003). Another trend identifiable was that most beneficiaries were male and this highlights the failure of the programme to address gender inequalities in the agrarian sector (Hall, 2004).

More specifically, the ISRDS period did not make substantial changes on the land question throughout Mpumalanga province including Bushbuckridge area. Given its emphasis on commercial farming, the LRAD was a clear abandonment of the poor

because it created an environment in which the poor and the rich competed for limited resources (Hall, 2004). Subsequently, despite notable improvements in land delivery, the LRAD was not beneficial to small-scale subsistence farmers in Bushbuckridge. This sector remained largely marginalised in land reform policy. Additionally, problems such as poor coordination between different spheres of government, insufficient budget to land reform, poor intersectional engagement and beneficiary targeting equally contributed to the underperformance of rural development programmes in empowering the rural poor through large scale land redistribution. The fundamental limitation of the ISDRS and related policies is that they were not part of long-term redistributive government strategy (Olivier et. al, 2009).

Furthermore, there was limited land available for redistribution to the rural poor. To illustrate this point Anseuw and Alden (2011) argue that few hectares of land were acquired for both redistribution and restitution. In addition to that, post transfer programmes in terms of extension services, training, infrastructure development and access to credit and markets were both dysfunctional and restricted and this limited the transformative vision of land reform during the ISRDS phase of rural development. Consequently, even though programmes such as the LRAD made significant milestones in deracializing the agrarian sector, it was limited in transferring productive assets to the poor and addressing the dichotomy between commercial and subsistence agriculture (Alden and Anseuw, 2011).

Considering the above, discernible indications are that during the second phase of rural development from 2000 to 2009, land reforms significantly slowed and were re-oriented towards promoting a class of black commercial farmers. The small scale subsistence agricultural sector did not benefit from a range of land reform

interventions implemented in Mpumalanga province including Bushbuckridge municipal area. There are several explanations for this. Fundamentally, rural development policy initiatives implemented by various spheres of government demonstrate preference towards large scale commercial agriculture and promoting employment through this sector (Eisenberg, 2005). An analysis of agrarian reform, for instance LRAD and CASP, instructively indicates that rural poverty alleviation through land-based livelihoods did not play a part in the conceptualisation and implementation of these policies. These initiatives also did not explicitly link land reform to rural poverty; for instance food insecurity, unemployment and low incomes. Lodge (2002) identifies this to be a consequence of border macro-economic adjustments in line with the GEAR policy philosophy and the notion at policy-making level that formal job creation is imperative than land-based livelihoods.

As a result, land reform progressed very slowly and both land distribution and restitution programmes did not achieve their respective objectives. As noted by Anseuw and Alden (2011), the neglect of land reform and marginalisation of the poor through programmes such as LRAD and CASP was not limited to Mpumalanga province but it was a countrywide trend. Insufficient budgets allocated to land and agrarian reform during this period illustrates lack of government capacity and resolve to alleviate land inequalities and rural poverty. With these observations, it is clear that politically, land and reform was apportioned a low priority standing and this led to failure of various interventions in Mpumalanga Province including Bushbuckridge municipal area to promote sustainable land-based livelihoods and land equity.

In conclusion, the ISRDS period indeed improved certain socio-economic aspects of rural life, for instance; access to social grants, infrastructural development and health as noted in various municipal reports; however efforts to resolve the land question

remained limited. Although at policy making level there had been acknowledgement of land redistribution as a critical element of sustainable rural development, implementation largely marginalised the poor. As indicated in various publications, in Bushbuckridge area, the benefits of land reform for a majority of poor households remained elusive during the ISRDS phase. The period from 2009 to the present has been described as a renewed rural development vision underpinned by accelerated transfer of assets to the poor. The discussion below explores the departure points of the CRDP.

3.3.6 Changing Rural Development Policy: 2009 to the present

The foregoing overview of the progress made under consecutive rural development programmes is a persuasive pointer that the state of agrarian transformation remains poor. The endeavours of proposed interventions have not been addressed in a way that has promoted sustainable rural development and significant advances in the indicators of the quality of life. The state of poverty and land inequalities between a privileged class of large-scale commercial and small-scale subsistence farmers in Ehlanzeni district including Bushbuckridge area is an incisive indication on the failure of land and agrarian reform.

The Development Indicators published by the Presidency in 2009 acknowledged that despite improvements in some aspects of rural development, the fundamental issues underpinning rural underdevelopment necessitate sustained attention to stabilise rural communities and promote improvement in the quality of life and related development aspects (Government of South Africa, 2009). The evaluative overview on the state of rural development identified nine themes requiring sustained policy attention. These are employment, economic growth and transformation, health, education, employment, social cohesion, poverty and inequality, safety and security.

The framework within which poverty interventions were to be done for the period 2009 to 2014 is the Medium Term Strategic Framework (MTSF). This framework programme document identifies key objectives and programmes for South Africa. The key aims include; the reduction of unemployment and poverty by 2014, promoting equitable distribution of economic growth benefits and the reduction of inequality, improvement of health and skills base and access to basic services (Government of South Africa, 2009).

In order to achieve the foregoing objectives, the MTSF identifies the following; inclusive economic growth, social and economic infrastructure, land reform and food security, rural development, improved health care, cohesive and sustainable rural communities, sustainable resource use and management and a developmental state that promotes improved access to basic services (Government of South Africa, 2009). The third strategic priority of the MTSF deals with rural development and reference is made on the implementation of an integrated policy of rural development, the Comprehensive Rural Development Programme (CRDP). The programme acknowledges extreme poverty and underdevelopment in rural areas and that the fundamentals to address it are; accelerated agrarian transformation and food security. Against this basis, the mainstream objective of the CRDP is to establish a rural development strategy that addresses the contradictions between rural and urban sectors and improves the food security situation through a broader agricultural production base (CRDP, 2009).

The focal points of the CRDP include; implementing an accelerated programme of agrarian transformation, advancing agricultural production to enhance food security and developing the capacity of the rural poor to be self-reliant in food production terms and protecting the poor from increasing food prices, improvement of service

delivery, skills development, supporting non-farm activities, institutional capacity development and developing co-operatives in rural areas (CRDP, 2009). The CRDP is a three-pronged strategy that involves rural development, agrarian transformation and land reform. Strategic areas to receive attention include; employment creation and promoting sustainable livelihoods, rural development, land reform, food security, education and health.

In addition, according to the CRDP enhancing food security involves the following; the provision of agricultural loans and implements to small-scale subsistence farmers, provision of high-quality support and extension services. Regarding emerging farmers, the CRDP articulates government commitment in expanding training and skills enhancement services, transforming agricultural colleges and improving access to valuable agricultural land.

In view of extreme poverty manifesting in high levels of unemployment, food insecurity, low household incomes, dependency on social security grants and landlessness, Bushbuckridge area was one of the pilot sites for CRDP implementation in 2009. In view of its different approach to rural development and land reform, the CRDP is expected to deal better with fundamental challenges that have been both overlooked and insufficiently addressed by previous rural development strategies. A coordinated programme of rural development is expected to deal with poverty and land inequalities between large-scale commercial and small-scale subsistence agrarian sectors.

The discussion above highlights that the land question and the glaring inequalities in the agrarian sector have been significantly overlooked during the RDP and ISRDS

phases of rural development. This background constitutes the context against which the CRDP addresses land reform in order to promote equity and rural livelihoods.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter has given an overview of poverty and inequality in Bushbuckridge area in Mpumalanga Province. This chapter has argued that land reform needs to be pursued within the 'agrarian question of the dispossessed' framework. Based on this perspective, land reform should aim to resolve the agrarian question of the dispossessed while addressing agrarian sector inequalities. Furthermore, the chapter has shown that many rural development policies have been implemented since 1994. However, these were technicist strategies grounded on neoliberalism. While these policies have led to noteworthy forms of distribution, the necessities of the rural poor have been incorrectly conceptualised and thus neglected. Rural development policy makers manifestly assume that most rural households are functionally urbanised and are in need of electricity, water and other basic necessities more than land to farm. The Bushbuckridge case shows that rural development policies have led to significant improvements in these aspects of rural life, however they have not promoted the self-reliance of the poor. This constitutes the basis against which the CRDP approaches rural development.

CHAPTER 4

Research methodology and design

4. Introduction

The central argument presented in the foregoing chapter is that rural development policies implemented since transition to democracy have lacked capacity to promote equity and improve the livelihoods of the poor particularly in rural areas. Against this background, this study aims to assess whether the CRDP programme is adequate to address needs for land equity in redistribution and to improve rural livelihoods in Mpumalanga, with particular focus on Bushbuckridge Municipal area in Ehlanzeni District. This chapter therefore describes the research methodology adopted to accomplish the objectives of this research. The methodology is divided into; research approach, research design, data collection methods, population, sampling strategy and data analysis. The subsequent section of the chapter discusses ethical considerations and delimitations of the study.

4.1 Selecting a geographical research unit

Land dispossessions have shaped contemporary land inequalities in Bushbuckridge municipal area. This has resulted into poverty which is manifesting in food insecurity, unemployment and low incomes and is correlated with limited access to natural resources particularly land. Therefore, Bushbuckridge municipal area was selected as a geographical research unit for this study because it can offer insights into the advances and challenges in the restructuring of land ownership patterns to improve the livelihoods of the rural poor. This research endeavours to examine land reform interventions in this community in order to draw conclusions on the adequacy of CRDP programme to address the needs for land equity in redistribution and to

improve rural livelihoods. The limitations of case studies will be articulated further below.

4.2 Research approach

There are diverse research approaches in social sciences. These are; the quantitative, qualitative and structured historical approach. A qualitative research methodology was adopted because it resonates with the objectives of this research as articulated in Chapter One. Fundamentally, agrarian transformation in post-apartheid South Africa and capacity to promote equity in land redistribution and improve rural livelihoods can be understood through a qualitative inquiry. However, before exploring the qualitative methodology and its suitability for this research, an overview of quantitative and historical research approaches will be given.

The quantitative research approach has a logical structure in which theories determine the problems to which researchers address themselves in the form of hypotheses derived from general theories (Bryman, 1988). Hypotheses are commonly informed by expectations about probable causal connections between concepts that constitute the hypotheses. Considering that concepts in social science are commonly regarded as abstract; a quantitative research approach constructs an operational framework within which their degree of variation or non-variation can be measured. Singleton and Straits (2005) identify social surveys, structured observations, experiments and use of variables and controls as data collection methods grounded on the quantitative research approach. Bryman (1988: 130) discusses as follows:

'Subsequent to an experiment or survey, results are analysed so that their causal relationship specified in the hypothesis can either be verified or

rejected. The resulting findings are then fed back into, and are observed by the theory that set the whole process going in the first place'.

With the discussion above, fundamental elements of positivism are clearly manifest and these are; the emphasis on rendering theoretical terms observable and the presence of both induction and deduction. Giedymin (1975) refers to this as the principle of methodological naturalism. A quantitative research is underpinned by natural science models implying that the procedures of natural sciences are taken to provide an epistemological yardstick against which empirical research must be appraised before it can be treated as valid knowledge. This implies that science is deductive in that it endeavours to extract particular propositions from general accounts of reality. Bryan (1988: 123) further articulates as follows:

'The logic involved might entail seeking to construct a scientific theory to explain the laws pertaining to a particular field, a hypothesis is derived in order to enable the scientist to test the theory, if the hypothesis is rejected when submitted to a rigorous empirical examination, then it must be revised'.

Furthermore, quantitative research methods are based on the assumption that the social world exists eternally to the researcher and that its properties can be measured directly through observation. According to this principle, reality is actually what is available to our senses and therefore scientific observation should be the main methodology of conducting an inquiry as opposed to philosophical speculation. This entails a belief that only those phenomena that are observable to the senses can be regarded as authentic knowledge. The implication of this proposition is that, phenomena that cannot be observed either directly through our experience and observation or indirectly with the aid of instruments cannot be regarded as valid knowledge. This out-rules possibilities of incorporating metaphysical notions of

feelings or subjective experience into the realms of social scientific knowledge unless it can be rendered observable (Singleton and Straits, 2005).

The positivist research approach and emphasis on quantification has been criticised on many fronts. The main criticism against positivism relates to its failure to give sufficient recognition to the role of hypothetical entities which may not be directly observable (Harre, 1972). The assumption that social science research can be regarded as valid if it is based on operational definitions of variables, experimental data, official statistics or the random sampling of populations is flawed since it can conceal some fundamental social processes (Schwartz and Jacobs, 1979). Also, scientific observation considered by positivists as the most ideal methodology of conducting an inquiry is faulty because observation is imperfect and measurement has errors. These processes are conducted by fallible human beings who have their own biases.

As discernible in the discussion above, the quantitative research approach is positivistic and therefore inappropriate for the study of people and society. The positivist assumptions on which it is premised, make the quantitative methodology an inadequate way of going about the study of social reality (Singleton and Straits, 2005). Therefore, a quantitative inquiry is inappropriate for accomplishing the objectives of this research which necessitate an exploratory enquiry as opposed to, for example, surveys and experimental observation.

A historical research approach is another methodology used in social sciences. The historical research approach is a 'systematic location, evaluation and synthesis of evidence in order to establish facts and draw conclusions about past events' as noted by Shafer (1974:144). This includes a critical examination of a previous age

with the objective of restructuring an accurate depiction of the past. MacMillan (1984) points out that in undertaking a historical research, documents and other sources containing information about a research theme are used towards achieving a better understanding of contemporary policies, institutions, problems and practices.

Studies grounded on this method investigate historical trends and establish facts so as to make conclusions regarding past events or make a prognosis about future events. Shafer (1974) highlights that common methodological features of historical research are; the identification of a research subject that addresses past events, reviewing primary and secondary information, collection and evaluation of information related to past occurrences, synthesising and explaining findings to test hypotheses regarding causes, effects and trends of these events that may help to explain present developments. With this orientation, a historical approach is not appropriate for the research question and objectives of this study as outlined in the foregoing chapters.

This study focuses on land and agrarian reforms implemented under the CRDP framework and the impact on equity in land redistribution and rural livelihoods. This necessitates a qualitative methodology to examine the extent to which the CRDP has met the objective of equitable land redistribution, to explore whether necessary conditions to promote small scale agricultural sector have been created; for instance, investments in agricultural infrastructure, support services such as credit measures, inputs and capacity building needs for small scale farmers.

The qualitative methodology is most feasible in the study of socio-economic development programmes in order to achieve valid results as noted by Singleton and Straits (2005). This is because a qualitative research approach can use naturally

occurring data to find the sequence (*how*) in which participants' meanings (*what*) are deployed. Having established the character of some phenomenon, it can then proceed to answer the '*why*' questions by exploring the broader settings in which the phenomenon arises (Silverman, 2011). As a result, qualitative research approaches are more rigorous and yield to in-depth understanding of a phenomenon.

In addition to the above, a qualitative research approach is more geared to provide wide-ranging information in relation to the subject of inquiry (Silverman, 2011). Through a qualitative study, the following issues can be explored; the programme impact, the operation of processes, the capacity of institutions to perform their functions and constraints that deter programmes from attaining planned goals. In this way, the qualitative research methodology is valuable for policy and program evaluation in research since it can answer certain imperative questions more efficiently than quantitative approaches. This is imperative towards understanding 'how' and 'why' certain outcomes were achieved not just 'what' was achieved.

Singleton and Straits (2005) further point out that the efficacy of a qualitative inquiry is in its flexibility, holistic nature and that it is more geared to generate a deeper understanding of the phenomena. Given the flexibility of qualitative research methods, the respondents are able to raise topics which the researcher may have excluded in a structured research design (Babbie, 2001). This adds both depth and quality to the data collected.

However, there are fundamental weaknesses with the qualitative methodology. The main one relates to the researcher's presence on study subjects. Silverman (2011) highlights that the probable consequence is that the relationship between the researcher and respondents may distort findings.

In light of the discussion above, this study adopted a qualitative research methodology. This is due to its applicability in analysing data collected through semi-structured interviews. This methodology enabled the researcher to conduct an in-depth assessment regarding the implementation of land reform programmes under the CRDP framework and outcomes on equity and rural livelihoods.

4.3 Research design

De Vos et al (2005:132) describe a research design as a framework articulating how the researcher plans to carry out the study. A research design provides a means on how to examine a research question in the most efficient way. This research adopted a case study approach. Thomas (2011:128) defines a case study approach as an in-depth, up-close and comprehensive investigation of a study subject and its related contextual conditions. Thomas (2011: 128) further highlights as follows;

'A case study approach involves examining institutions, policies, objects, events, decisions and systems that are studied holistically. The case that is the subject of inquiry will be an instance of a class of phenomena that provides an analytical frame; the object - within which the study is conducted and which the case illuminates or explicates'

A case study approach involves an exploratory analysis of a bounded system over a sustained period of time (Creswell, 1998). In the context of this study, a bounded system involved an in-depth analysis of agrarian transformation processes and implications on land equity and rural livelihoods. This exploration occurred through comprehensive methods of data collection and these were; semi structured interviews, focus group discussions and document study. These methods enabled an exhaustive assessment of land reforms and implications of equity and rural livelihoods.

The case study approach involves investigating a phenomenon within its real life context (Creswell, 1998). Such an investigation relies on multiple sources of evidence and benefits from prior development of theoretical propositions. The researcher therefore, reviewed literature relevant for the study prior to conducting the study.

Creswell (1998) articulates that the strength of a case study approach in research is its depth. Conversely, the limitations of a case study approach lie in its deficiency in breadth as argued by Zucker (2009). Furthermore, dynamics of one social unit may lack representativeness and have little relationship with the dynamics of others (Thomas, 2011). Therefore, in conducting this investigation the researcher was conscious of the need to select a representative case study that will produce relevant and valid findings.

4.4 Population and sampling

Polit and Hungler (1999:37) refer to population 'as an aggregate or totality of all the objects, subjects or members that conform to a set of specifications'. A population is made up of individuals with characteristics that a study aims to investigate. After describing the target population, the researcher has to carefully draw a sample defined by Gomm (2008), as atypical sub-population consisting of cases derived from a larger social group.

Sampling is important for a number of reasons in conducting a research (Singleton and Straits, 2005). Constraints in terms of time, resources, cost and accessibility imply that a specific social group cannot be studied in its entirety. In addition, observing all cases may describe a population less accurately than a carefully selected sample. This suggests that a cautiously chosen sampling strategy is the

most proficient technique of producing precise information as pointed out by Singleton and Straits (2005). Furthermore, sampling enables the researcher to examine a phenomenon through a sub-population in a way that produces findings generalizable and applicable to the entire population.

There are imperative considerations to make when choosing a sample that will produce valid findings. Singleton and Straits (2005) postulate that in choosing cases to be included in the study, it is important to mitigate investigator biases. Apart from that, the researcher has to ensure that a chosen sample is appropriate in size and does not deviate from the population it seeks to represent. These imperatives were taken into consideration by the researcher to ensure that the study generates valid findings.

Therefore, for this research the population comprised of government agencies, community-based organisations and community members involved in land reform programmes implemented since 2009 under the CRDP in Bushbuckridge area. To achieve the study objectives spelt out in the previous chapters, Bushbuckridge municipal area, identified as a poverty nodal point and one of the CRDP pilot sites, was utilised as the geographical research unit. The municipality has a total of eight land reform projects implemented under the CRDP. However the study was undertaken on two projects, namely; Hoxane Farmers' Project and New Forest Irrigation Scheme. Therefore, Bushbuckridge area as a CRDP pilot site offered in-depth insights on the impact of the programme on equity and rural livelihoods.

Singleton and Straits (2005) classify sampling designs into two groupings. These are; probability and non-probability sampling design. This research utilised the non-probability sampling method. The sampling method was adopted because it is cost

effective and a quick way to gather information. De Vos et al (2005) point out that this sampling design is grounded on the judgment of the researcher and is made up of elements that typify the population. In the context of this study, the researcher purposively sampled respondents involved in land and agrarian transformation projects.

This research was conducted on two levels, namely; the project management level and the beneficiary level. At project management level, interviews were conducted with a sample of six government officials drawn from different sections of the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform (DRDLR). These sections were; the Rural Enterprise Infrastructure Development (REID), the Land Redistribution, Development and Recapitalisation Programme (RADP), Rural Infrastructure and Development (RID). These are the institutions presently coordinating land acquisition and development projects under the CRDP in Ehlanzeni District.

In collaboration with the DRDLR, the Department of Agriculture, Rural Development, Land and Environmental Affairs (DARDLEA), is largely responsible for the provision of development and training services to land reform beneficiaries. In this context, further interviews were undertaken with two extension service officers from DARDLEA based in Bushbuckridge area. These are responsible for the provision of extension and advisory services in both projects, Hoxane Farmers' Project and New Forest Irrigation Scheme.

The land reform project management level as represented by institutions outlined above, was an appropriate entity to investigate and derive knowledge on land reform projects' production patterns, the state of the projects, methods of land acquisition, challenges and problems within the projects, institutional relationships within the

projects, patterns of land use, the state of livelihoods, progress and constraints towards equity as specified in the CRDP policy.

In addition, two interviews were conducted with directors of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) based in Ehlanzeni District. These were; LIMA Rural Development Foundation and Mpumalanga Agri-Skills Development and Training. Both organisations are involved in agriculture-based enterprise development initiatives. The common objective of these organisations is to mentor small scale subsistence farmers, to establish appropriate support institutions to promote local economic development and training to empower the rural poor. Examining the implementation of CRDP at this level enabled the researcher to gain insights on the collaboration between government departments and private-sector agencies in land reform and agriculture-based poverty alleviation projects. The sample of respondents at project management level is depicted in the summary below.

Table 3: The number of respondents at project management level

Department	Number of participants	Male	Female
REID	01	01	
RADP	01	01	
RID	02	01	01
DARDLEA	02	01	01
NGOs	02	02	

Source: Interviews with respondents

Subsequently, at beneficiary level, the sample consisted of respondents currently participating in the two land reform projects; Hoxane Farmers' Project and New

Forest Irrigation Scheme in Bushbuckridge area. The four focus groups conducted totalled 38 beneficiaries from these projects. Examining the adequacy of the CRDP in promoting equity and improving livelihoods at beneficiary level was critical in order to have an understanding of the positioning of each beneficiary in the projects and explore their individual benefits in the projects, the extent to which land use and ownership impact on livelihoods, challenges and opportunities at beneficiary level and how beneficiaries' livelihoods have improved since they acquired the land.

4.4.1 Demographic information of respondents at beneficiary level

At beneficiary level the total number of respondents was 38 as discussed above. The respondents' ages ranged from 18 to 80 years. The age range 35 to 50 was the most represented in the study with 53%. The age range 50 and above constituted 26%. The youth was the least represented age group with 21%. In terms of gender, most respondents were male with 65%. Conversely, female respondents made up 35%. The table below shows the demographic information of respondents at beneficiary level.

Table 4: Demographic information of respondents at beneficiary level

Age Range	Male	Female
18-30	06	02
35-50	15	05
50 and above	06	04

Source: Interviews with respondents

Ultimately, the total number of respondents interviewed at both levels was 46. At beneficiary level, the sample consisted of respondents from government and private sector institutions. At beneficial level, respondents were drawn from small-scale

farmers presently involved in the two land reform projects, namely; Hoxane Farmers Project and New Forest Irrigation Scheme.

4.4.2 Household size and land ownership trends in terms of gender

As already shown above, the number of households represented in the study was 38. On average, the households for a majority of participants consisted of five individuals. Approximately 65% of the respondents who participated in the study, largely males, indicated that they were household heads. In terms of land ownership patterns, some households indicated that they are leasing the land. The farmers leasing the land comprised 13% of respondents in the study. A further trend which emerged from the study was that most females did not have independent rights to the land they were cultivating. Out of a total of 11 female respondents, seven (64%) indicated that their husbands actually owned the land. The table below summarises the gender representation of land ownership patterns amongst the respondents of the study.

Table 5: Land ownership patterns amongst respondents in terms of gender

Ownership Patterns	Males	Females
Land owners	22	04
Lessees	04	01
Spouse owns land	0	07

Source: interviews with respondents

4.4.3 Sampling strategy

The process of selecting participants was grounded on fundamentals of qualitative data collection as identified in Babbie and Mouton (2004). These are; adequate time,

current involvement and enculturation. Enculturation refers to the process through which individuals acquire knowledge, values and culture in a given social setting (Babbie and Mouton, 2004). The three components were imperative for the research study in the sense that it required participants who had been involved in the land reform projects from the beginning and who had adequate knowledge regarding its history and present production activities.

Operationalizing the target population involved constructing a sampling frame as suggested in Singleton and Straits (2005). This process outlines a collection of all cases from which the actual sample is drawn. In the context of this study, the sampling frame indicated eight land reform projects implemented under the CRDP in Bushbuckridge area and beneficiaries currently participating in them. As already shown above, two projects were selected for the study, namely Hoxane Farmers' Project and New Forest Irrigation Scheme. The selection of the two projects was based on their proximity, time and resources available to conduct the study. The two projects were adequate to provide insights on the implementation of CRDP and implications on equity and livelihoods. Project managers from government institutions that monitor the projects provided information that was used for selection processes. This process helped ensure that an archetypal sample of the target population was derived as argued in Singleton and Straits (2005).

Participants at both project management and beneficiary levels were purposively sampled. Singleton et al (1988:153) define purposive sampling 'as a sampling strategy comprising of elements that contain the most characteristic, representative or typical of attributes of the population'. Purposive sampling is a non-probability strategy that involves an intentional selection of certain people by the investigator into a study based on defined characteristics, which may be exposure to a particular

phenomenon. In the context of this research, the participants were recruited because they are directly participating in CRDP projects both as programme implementers and beneficiaries. Therefore, purposive sampling was used at both management and beneficiary level.

4.5 Data collection

There are several factors that influence the investigator's choice of a methodological approach. Among these, is the nature of the stated research problem, the research objectives, resources, personal and disciplinary preferences as articulated by Silverman (2011). The research problem and subsequent objectives of this study necessitate an exploratory approach. In the words of Crotty (1998), the exploratory approach probes and investigates events through focus groups, literature review and interviewing experts in the field. This research adopted semi-structured interviews with government officials and community-based organisations. As shall be explained further below, interviews were suitable for the study given their investigative nature. This allowed the researcher to explore issues comprehensively. Among other issues, interviews enabled the study to gather information on the state of land reform projects, challenges experienced and sustainability of projects.

In addition, the study utilised focus group interviews at beneficiary level. The focus groups comprised of community members currently participating in Hoxane Farmers' Project and New Forest Irrigation Scheme implemented under the CRDP. Focus group interviews enabled the study to examine issues such as the positioning of each beneficiary in the projects and to assess their individual benefits in the projects.

Furthermore, the research used document analysis as a means of data collection. The researcher utilised official project progress reports, business plans, financial

records, meeting minutes and annual reports from DRDLR and DARDLEA to substantiate findings. Furthermore, Integrated Development Plan (IDPs) publications of Bushbuckridge Local Municipality were a critical source of information. The pertinence of data collection instruments used for this study are further discussed below.

4.5.1 Semi-Structured Interviews

Field interviewing in research serves multiple purposes. Singleton and Straits (2005) postulate that field interviewing is an efficient way of obtaining in-depth information in as far as it enables the investigator to probe deeply into social and personal experiences and matters. In this way, interviews are an effective way of obtaining depth in data as substantiated by De Vos et al (1998). Subsequently, they enable the researcher to get a detailed picture of the respondents' beliefs about, or perceptions and accounts of a particular topic. Furthermore, interviews allow flexibility. The investigator is thus able to follow up on particular interesting avenues that emerge in the interview and the participants are able to give a fuller picture (De Vos et al, 1998).

This research utilised semi structured interviews at project management level to obtain an extensive picture on land reforms implemented under the CRDP and implications on agrarian sector equity and rural livelihoods. As already indicated above, the total number of respondents at project management level was eight. The use of semi structured interviews in collecting data allowed flexibility during the research in the sense that it made it possible to comprehensively probe issues. In addition, field interviews were a valuable instrument in substantiating observations made during site visits.

In conducting interviews, the researcher used predetermined questions detailed in a thematically arranged interview guide. The guides were prepared beforehand and circulated to all respondents in advance to inform them of the contents and issues that the study sought to investigate. These questions were generated from the topic of investigation and ideas emerging from site visits. This approach allowed respondents to share input within the semi-structured interview framework while introducing issues that the investigator had not included.

4.5.2 Focus Group Interviews

As already discussed in the foregoing, this research used focus group interviews at beneficiary level. Liamputtong (2011) defines a focus group method as a planned process that brings a group of individuals together in order to discuss a focused issue of concern. In total, four focus group interviews were conducted in both projects; Hoxane Farmers' Project located in Bushbuckridge South and New Forest Irrigation Scheme in Bushbuckridge North.

The focus groups comprised of small-scale farmers who have benefitted from agrarian reforms implemented under the CRDP. At Hoxane Farmers' Project in Mkhuhlu, the first focus group comprised of 15 members. The second focus group was made up of a six member management committee of the project. The second project examined was the New Forest Irrigation Scheme situated in Thulamahashe. The 17 farmers available for the study were subdivided into two groups. The initial focus group involved 10 members and the subsequent group interview had seven participants. Subsequently, the number of participants in focus group interviews totalled thirty 38 members as already illustrated in the table above.

The focus group interview method was adopted at beneficiary level because of the interactionism that it stimulates between group participants as stated by Duggleby (2005). Taking the argument further, Morgan (1997: 2), articulates that ‘the hallmark of focus group interviews is the explicit utilisation of group interaction to produce data and insights that would be less possible without the interaction found in the group’. This interaction promoted a ‘synergetic effect’ during the interviews in as far as it enabled respondents to counter and build on the reactions of other group members. Through this process, group interaction revealed points of agreement, uncertainty and conflict. Kitzinger (1994:109) points out as follows:

‘with this kind of interaction, focus groups enter the terrains which other research methods such as in-depth interviewing method or questionnaire cannot do; that is unpacking aspects of understanding which often remain untapped by conventional methods’.

The patterns of interaction identified during the interviews can be classified into two. These are; complimentary (as respondents shared concerns and experiences) and argumentative patterns of interaction (as participants questioned, challenged and disagreed with each other). This process enabled the researcher to systematically explore differences in perspectives and factors that underpin these differences. Smithson (2000) highlights that focusing on both the complementary and argumentative points during focus group sessions, provides a valuable starting point for analysing and interpreting derived data.

In conclusion, focus group interviews were well-suited for the objectives of this research in the sense that they enabled the researcher to gather the perceptions of small scale farmers on land reforms and implications on equity and rural livelihoods. The interactive process through focus groups provided valuable insights into the implementation of CRDP, land use patterns, food security and livelihoods situation

and challenges at beneficiary level. As already noted above, focus groups enabled the investigator to examine varied insights on the topic of the study. Furthermore, focus groups proved to be a friendly methodology and mitigated issues of illiteracy while enabling a comprehensive investigation of issues of interest to the study.

The researcher took precautions to create comfort and enable group members to talk and share their views openly. Morgan (1997) points out that focus group participants should have something in common so that maximum interaction within the group can be attained and uneven participation amongst the respondents can be avoided. Another significant area that the researcher considered was the size of each group session. Group size is central to the success of a focus group method (Peek and Fothergill, 2009). Liamputtong (2011) argues that a single focus group interview should consist of six to ten members, although some sessions may have up to 15 people. Focus group sessions with fewer than six respondents lead to low engagement, less active discussions and consequently fewer people tend to dominate (Liamputtong, 2011).

Inversely, group sessions with more than 15 individuals tend to be difficult to manage for a variety of reasons. In an environment where everyone else is trying to talk, some participants tend to be withdrawn. Ultimately, they may speak very little or altogether remain silent as argued by Smithson (2000). In light of the above arguments, the researcher ensured that group size does not exceed 15 members. The sizes of the groups were suited for the needs of this research and enabled the investigator to limit the conversation within the framework of the research topic while enabling all respondents to give input. Therefore, the four sessions conducted in

both projects were manageable in size and allowed all respondents to explore issues in greater detail. This generated comprehensive information.

However, there are fundamental methodological limitations in using focus groups as a means of collecting data. Weyers (2001) points out that during a focus group interview some respondents may provide the investigator with the official account, which may not be valid. A further drawback of the focus group method is that some respondents may be withdrawn while others dominate the discussions. In conducting the study, the researcher monitored these group dynamics and ensured that all group members had an equal opportunity to express their experiences about land access and impact on their livelihoods.

4.5.3 Document Study

Document study was used as a means of data collection at both land reform project management and beneficiary levels. This method of data collection is in line with the theoretical focus of this research. At project management level, the researcher examined both private and public records published by the DRDLR. These included business plans, periodicals, financial reports, annual and progress reports. These provided key information such as land acquisition and redistribution targets at district and municipal level, budgets for land acquisition and recapitalisation, the state of land reform projects, the patterns of land distribution in the area and constraints to equity in land distribution.

At beneficiary level, the researcher examined the business plans of the two projects, the sales records and meeting minutes. These private documents were a valuable instrument in understanding beneficiary activities in the two projects. Furthermore, significant information was drawn from policy documents such the RDP, ISRDP,

GEAR, LRAD, CASP and CRDP, publications pertinent to the study like newspapers, journals and books (both published and unpublished) that address agrarian transformation issues. The study also utilised documents and scholarly researches on Bushbuckridge area.

Document study offers several advantages in research. Singleton and Straits (2005) note that one of the major challenges in social science research is reactive measurement, that is, changes in patterns of behaviour once the subjects are aware that they are being studied. However, with document study sources are non-reactive. For instance, there is no connection between the researcher's use of the material and the producer's knowledge of such use. In this way, analysing available data through document study helps authenticate findings as noted by De Vos et al (2005).

In addition to the foregoing, document study particularly at project management level enabled the researcher to explore the phenomenon in a broader context. The various documents published by government agencies as noted above, provided broad ranging information on the adequacy of CRDP in dealing with inequalities in land distribution. This added depth and authenticity to the data obtained.

However, there are fundamental methodological considerations to be made when using document study as a means of collecting data. The consistency of these documents with the research purpose and authenticity are the major issues that the researcher took into cognisance. Singleton and Straits (2005) articulate that in using documents as a source of information, the researcher has to reconstruct the process by which it was originally assembled. Rilley (1963) pointed out that in conducting a document study, the researcher has to determine as far as possible the purpose and process by which data was collected. Therefore, in utilising the various documents

as outlined above, the researcher cross-checked their accuracy for the purpose of this study.

4.6 Analysis of data

Analysis of data includes identifying themes and patterns, making sense of what is reported and establishing a framework for presenting the meaning of data collected (Creswell, 1998). In this study, analysis of data has involved classifying collected information into themes and sub-themes which have provided a framework for presenting the findings. Henning (2004) and Flick (2006) describe the process of grouping and labelling data as coding.

Of the several approaches to the analysis of data, this study used thematic content analysis method. This method involves identifying themes that emerge in the whole or sub-set of interviews in order to create a framework for making contrasts and comparisons between the different participants (Gomm, 2008). For this research, themes were inspired by the sustainable livelihoods framework. Subsequently, the findings were used to answer the main research question; how adequate is the CRDP programme to address the needs for land equity in redistribution and to improve rural livelihoods in Mpumalanga Province?

4.7 Ethical considerations

The basic requirements for any research study are to be observed are the following; avoiding harm to participants, confidentiality, voluntary participation and informed consent. This study conformed to the research ethics policy of the University of Fort Hare

Bless and Higson–Smith (1995) underscored the respondents' autonomy to decide whether to or not to partake in a research. In taking the argument further, De Vos et

al (2005), argues that it is the investigators' ethical obligation to take into cognisance participants' rights and desires. In view of these requirements, the purpose of the study was explained to all the respondents and they were given an opportunity to go through informed consent forms to ascertain their willingness to partake in the study. Among other issues, informed consent forms explained that the interviews will be audio-taped. Further to that, respondents were informed of their rights to voluntarily consent or decline to partake in the research without penalty. Subsequently, respondents were requested to sign informed consent forms as an indication of their willingness to participate in the research.

Prior to contact with the study participants consent was secured from government officials responsible for land reform programmes in Bushbuckridge area. The researcher explained the purpose of the study to the participants. Furthermore, as already articulated above, this study used documentary analysis as means of collecting data. These included official government publications, policy documents, scholarly journals and official statistics. Most of these are public documents for which no consent is needed for their use. The study also gathered significant information through private documents. These included meeting minutes, financial reports and business plans of the two projects studied. These documents were requested from the project managers in the (DRDLR) and the reasons for their request were outlined. This enabled appropriate authorities to make informed decisions whether to issue the records or not.

Equally important, this study conformed to the research ethics policy of the University of Fort Hare. The issues articulated in the policy include refraining from all forms of dishonesty such as falsification of data, fabrication, plagiarism, misuse of

research funds, and all forms of misconduct that undermine the integrity of research and which may bring the University of Fort Hare into disrepute.

Silverman (2011) articulates that respecting the confidentiality of respondents is an essential ethical issue in research. One technique of protecting respondents' confidentiality as noted by Singleton and Straits (2005), is identifying them through letters and numbers instead of their actual names. In order to respect confidentiality, names of research participants were not indicated in the interview schedules. Also, information obtained from interviews with the participants has been used solely for academic purposes. The audio taped information derived from interviews will be deleted once the research is complete as contained in the informed consent forms signed by respondents.

4.8 Delimitations

Simon (2011) describes delimitations of a study as the dynamics limiting the scope and defining boundaries of the investigation as determined by the purposeful excluding and including of some issues or individuals that is usually made throughout the development of the study.

The study focused on Bushbuckridge area in Ehlanzeni District in Mpumalanga Province as a geographical research unit. As a case study, the research conducted in Bushbuckridge area is not an exhaustive assessment into the CRDP. A generalized assessment of the CRDP is not the objective of this research. Rather, a comprehensive examination of the CRDP and the views in terms of its adequacy to promote equity and improve rural livelihoods is the aim. Therefore, this study restricts its articulation of research findings within the Bushbuckridge context while

concomitantly serving as an empirical sample on the state of land reform, equity and rural livelihoods in post-apartheid South Africa.

The study adopted a qualitative research methodology. Subsequently, this has confined findings generated compared to when both qualitative and quantitative methods are utilised. However, limitations in terms of time and resources available made qualitative research a feasible approach towards accomplishing the research objectives as already articulated above.

Furthermore, it was notable that respondents especially at land reform project management level were reluctant to provide information assuming that the research may have political implications. This was overcome through communicating to the participants the actual aim of the study and assuring them of their confidentiality rights as an ethical research issue. This helped establish trust and the information needed for achieving the objectives of this research was successfully derived.

4.9 Conclusion

This chapter has described the methodology adopted in conducting the study. Of the three mainstream approaches available in social science research, a qualitative research approach was adopted because of its feasibility in accomplishing the objectives of this research. It has been argued in this chapter that because of its flexibility, the qualitative research methodology enabled the researcher to restructure data collection processes, to probe new themes that arose during the study.

The target population and the sampling techniques have been defined. The three data collection instruments used in conducting this research have been outlined and these include; semi-structured interviews, focus groups and document study. The

limitations of these methods and how they were mitigated during the study have been discussed.

This chapter has also articulated ethical issues observed during the study. These are; informed consent and how it was obtained, confidentiality and privacy. The subsequent section of the chapter explored challenges encountered in undertaking the study and how the researcher dealt with them.

CHAPTER FIVE

Data presentation and analysis

5. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to present and analyse research findings in line with the objectives of the study. The fundamental argument of this research is that land and agrarian reforms need to be grounded on principles of sustainable livelihoods to promote equity and improve the livelihoods of the rural poor. The critical core of this approach is the transfer of assets to resource-less groups, providing systematic and comprehensive assistance to beneficiaries through capacity building and post land transfer support programmes, land rights securitization, multi-sectoral cooperation and participation of the poor in policy-making. In pursuit of these arguments, the findings are presented and analysed using the sustainable livelihoods conceptual framework. This informed the study on the adequacy of the CRDP in promoting equity in land distribution and improving livelihoods.

5.1 Description of land reform projects

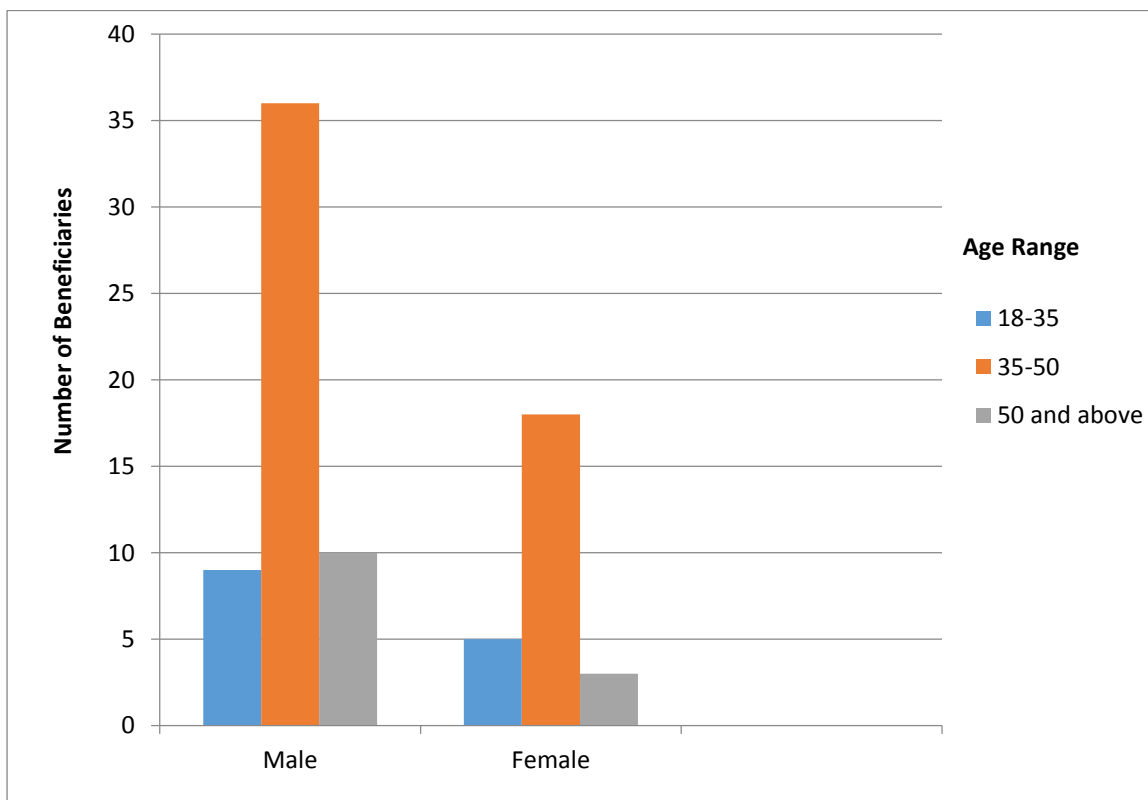
This research focused on two land reform projects implemented under the CRDP in Bushbuckridge area, namely; the Hoxane Farmers' Project and New Forest Irrigation Scheme. The section below describes the projects in terms of objectives specified in the business plans, landholding patterns, management structures and institutional arrangements, gender distribution of beneficiaries and livelihood activities.

5.1.1 Hoxane Farmers' Project

Hoxane Famers' Project is a subsistence farming project covering approximately 750 hectares of land situated in Mkhuhlu area in Bushbuckridge. The project started in 2010 under the CRDP. According to the 2012 business plan, the project benefits 80 households from diverse communities in the southern part of Bushbuckridge area.

Communities participating in the project include; Mkhuhlu, Saringwa, Belfast and Hoxane. The 2012 business plan indicates that there are 80 subsistence farmers in the project. On average, a household cultivates around 2.4 hectares of land within the project. The graph below demonstrates gender distribution patterns of the project beneficiaries.

Figure 3: Showing gender distribution of the project beneficiaries



Source: Hoxane Farmers' Project Business Plan 2012

As already illustrated above, Hoxane Farmers' Project has 80 subsistence farmers. The demographic distribution patterns as given in the table above show low women and youth participation in the project. There are 14 subsistence farmers aged between 18 and 35 years. Female beneficiaries constitute about 36% and males have a larger proportion of participants with 64% in this age range. In addition, of the overall number of beneficiaries in the project, the majority are aged between 35 and

50 years. The total percentage of beneficiaries between the ages 35 and 50 is 64%. In this category, female beneficiaries account for 33% with males constituting 67%. Furthermore, the project has 12 beneficiaries within age range 50 and above with nine males and three females. Again, gender distribution is distinctly uneven with males having a dominant percentage of 75% and females accounting for only 25%. The descriptive figures presented above show that most beneficiaries in the project are male with a total percentage of 68% and female beneficiaries with a portion of 32%.

Government officials interviewed during fieldwork indicated that the land claim was settled in 2010 by the restitution office and the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform (DRDLR) based in Ehlanzeni District. The communities presently registered as Injaka Communal Property Association had lodged a claim on the land in 2007. Furthermore, government officials stated that when beneficiaries acquired the land, farm equipment like irrigation infrastructure and dams were dysfunctional. Through the land acquisition and recapitalisation programme, the DRDLR has provided assistance within the framework of the CRDP to rebuild project equipment.

5.1.2 Management structures

The project is structured through Injaka Communal Property Association managed by a committee elected by beneficiaries. The major responsibility of the committee is to manage operational issues of the project including negotiating marketing contracts on behalf of beneficiaries. There are two government departments with oversight on the project, namely; DRDLR and DARDLEA. Along with the restitution office, the DRDLR was largely responsible for acquiring the land, implementing the project and providing recapitalisation, post-settlement and support services within the CRDP. The DARDLEA provides training and extension services to beneficiaries. Notably,

LIMA Foundation is the only private sector organisation involved in the provision of training and capacity building programmes to beneficiaries.

5.1.3 Livelihood activities

The study noted differences in livelihood activities pursued by beneficiaries in the project. According to the business plan jointly drafted by the DRDLR, DARDLEA and beneficiaries' committee, the project aims to enhance food production and improve rural incomes through intensifying agriculture (Business Plan, 2012). The business plan further specifies that the project is meant to be run as an agri-business to promote commercialisation. The main crops cultivated by the farmers are; cabbage, spinach, sweet potatoes and green maize.

The farmers indicated that they grow maize from July to November, tomatoes and cabbages from December to March and winter crops such spinach from April to July. The respondents further stated that they use hand tools for basic agricultural activities like watering, planting and weeding. The DARDLEA provides tractors to beneficiaries for agricultural production activities like ploughing. However, as shall be illustrated further below, beneficiaries reported that in some cases, they are compelled to hire private tractors at their own cost due to high demand of these assets. Most respondents indicated that their labour is mainly supplemented by labourers hired locally as well as family members.

A majority of beneficiaries (85%) are engaged in informal marketing. These irrigators reported that they derive a majority of their income through agricultural production and they are not engaged in supplementary livelihood activities outside farming. The farmers mostly sell their produce in Bushbuckridge and adjacent towns such as Hazyview, Nelspruit and White River. The farmers mostly depend on public transport

networks (taxis) and privately hired vehicles to move crops from the plots to the market.

However, some farmers derive income through leasing out the land. Government officials interviewed during fieldwork noted a number of factors behind leasing out the land. There are instances where beneficiaries lease out because of incapacity to cultivate the land. Some beneficiaries lease out their land because they are engaged in formal employment and other forms of entrepreneurship outside farming. As shall be elaborated further, the category of irrigators involved in market-based production indicated improved incomes.

Figure 4: Hoxane Farmers' Project



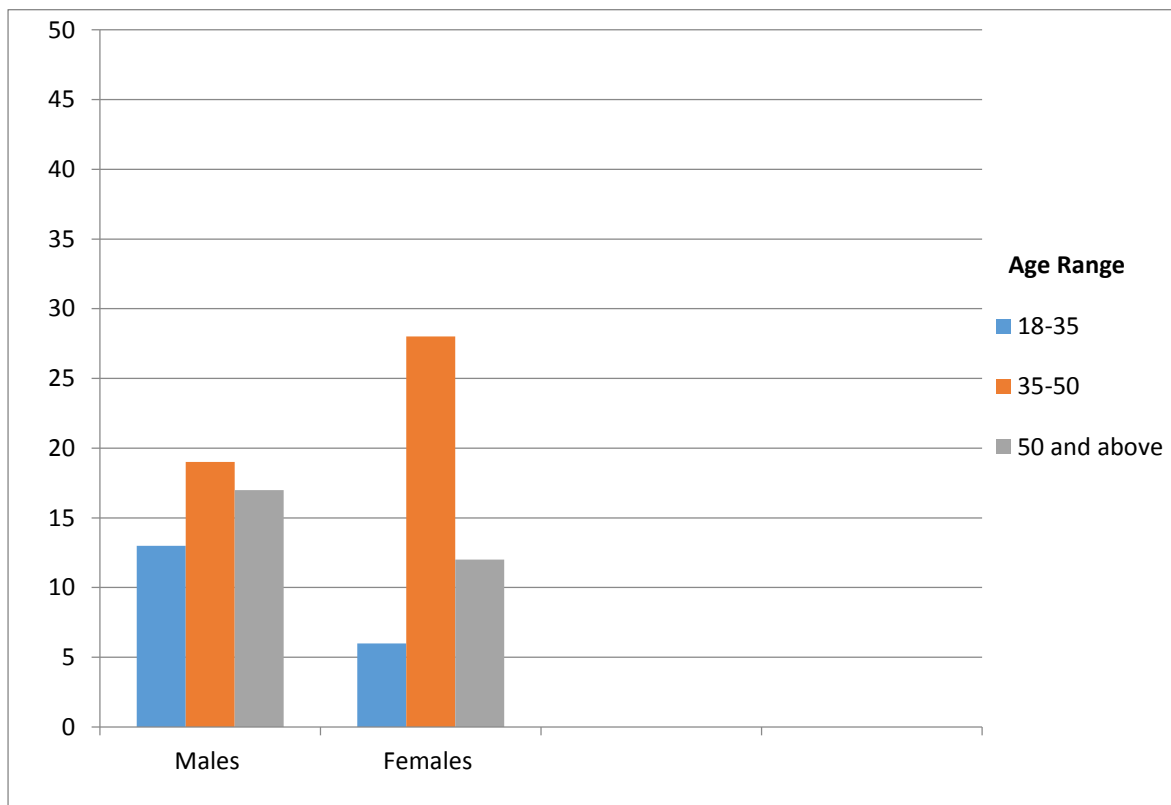
Picture taken by the author in March 2015

5.2 New Forest Irrigation Scheme

New Forest irrigation scheme is a subsistence farming project that was implemented in Thulamahashe area in Bushbuckridge. The DRDLR initiated the project within the framework of the CRDP in 2011. The irrigation scheme was one of the various small holder farming projects implemented in Bushbuckridge area to improve food security

and rural incomes in terms of the objectives articulated in the CRDP. The project takes up 780 hectares of land and benefits 95 small scale farmers. Landholdings in the irrigation scheme range from 1.3 to 7.9 hectares per household. The graph below illustrates the gender distribution patterns of participants in the land reform project.

Figure 5: Showing gender distribution of beneficiaries: New Forest Irrigation Scheme



Source: Interview with government officials on 29 March 2015

Government officials indicated that there are 95 subsistence farmers at New Forest Irrigation Scheme. The demographic patterns in the table above illustrate that half of the beneficiaries in the project are between 35 and 50 years of age with just over 49%. In total, 47 project participants fall within this age group with 19 males (40%) and 28 females (60%). The youths (18-35 years) have the lowest overall proportion of participants with 19 beneficiaries (20%). Within the age range, 13 are males (68%) and nine are female (48%). Finally, 29 beneficiaries fall within age group 50 and

above with 17 males and 12 females. The overall percentage of project beneficiaries falling in this age group is 31%.

5.2.1 Management structures

The New Forest Irrigation scheme was implemented under framework of the CRDP. The government officials indicated that the irrigation scheme is managed in a decentralised manner meaning the beneficiaries themselves are the decision makers particularly at individual farm level. However, a ten member management committee is elected by beneficiaries on an annual basis to administer the day to day issues of the project. The DRDLR and DARDLEA are responsible for the provision of capacity building, training and support services to beneficiaries.

5.2.2 Livelihood activities

The study noted that some beneficiaries are more commercially oriented and control larger pieces of land in comparison to others. Smaller landholders largely produce for subsistence purposes while larger producers cultivate vegetable crops for market consumption. An official from DARDLEA pointed out that project beneficiaries can be stratified into food farmers, employers and profit makers. Food farmers are low income individuals and households which cultivate low cost food, particularly maize for consumption. This category depends on own sources of finance, for instance; social grants to acquire farming inputs and they use own labour for production activities. This group constitutes the majority of beneficiaries in the project. The category of employers hire labour for specific activities like cropping and these are typically engaged in formal sector employment hence better incomes. The profit makers produce for market consumption. This group earns more income from farming.

Figure 6: New Forest Irrigation Scheme



Picture taken by the author in March 2015

The discussion below presents research findings as guided by the objectives of the study and theoretical framework articulated in the foregoing chapters.

5.3 Agrarian transformation and equity in land distribution

In the context of income inequalities and poverty facing the majority of households in rural areas, redistribution of assets particularly land has been the primary agenda of the CRDP. Land reform interventions since 2009 are premised on the need for rapid land and agrarian reform as a means of promoting equity in the agricultural sector.

The CRDP articulates as follows:

'The CRDP is aimed at being an effective response against poverty and food insecurity by maximizing use and management of natural resources to create vibrant, equitable and sustainable rural communities. A CRDP must improve the standards of living and welfare but also rectify past injustices through rights-based interventions and address skewed patterns of distribution and ownership of wealth and assets.' (CRDP, 2009: 3).

In line with objectives spelt out in the CRDP, Ehlanzeni District has set specific targets for land acquisition for redistribution to the poor in order to bridge the dichotomy that exists between large-scale corporate and small scale subsistence agriculture. The study found that impressive efforts have been made along with structural changes to align state departments with the vision for accelerated land transfer. Some respondents at beneficiary level were of the view that since the implementation of the CRDP in 2009, there have been notable efforts in intensifying subsistence agriculture through food gardens, irrigation schemes and small scale farmer groups. However, government officials indicated that the progress towards achieving equity in land distribution remains slow despite improvements in the development of subsistence agriculture in the area.

At least 80% of respondents at both project management and beneficiary level reported that land inequalities in the agrarian sector largely remain despite the implementation of the CRDP. A majority of respondents at beneficiary level were of the view that they remain underprivileged in comparison to commercial farmers not only in terms of landholding patterns and soil productivity but also in terms of access to assets necessary for sustainable livelihoods, for example; access to credit and farming equipment. Furthermore, respondents at project management level reported limited land in the possession of state departments for redistribution to resource-less communities. As a result, landlessness remains high for a majority of communities in Bushbuckridge area. In addition, land inequalities can also be understood in terms of gender as shown by low women participation in land reform projects and their lack of independent land rights in comparison to males. However, notwithstanding their gender dimensions, the study noted that race is the major lens through which persisting agrarian inequalities are understood.

The government officials interviewed during the study attributed the slow progress in restructuring land ownership patterns to the lack of capacity of government institutions to meet targets in land acquisition and redistribution. It was noted during fieldwork that the framework within which land reform is implemented remains untransformed. As elaborated further below, the study noted lack of transformation in critical areas such as; the methods of acquiring land and funding of small scale farmers. The government officials indicated that voluntary land sales remain the mainstream method of acquiring land for redistribution. Inexorably, voluntary land sales moderated by the 'willing transactor principle' have retained inequitable land ownership patterns with big commercial farmers still controlling much of the land. Consequently, the majority of poor rural households are still without land and have not benefitted from current land reforms. A government official from the DRDLR raised concerns on the challenges experienced by the department in acquiring land for redistribution to the poor as follows;

'In deracializing the agricultural sector and promoting equity in this district, the department has an annual target of 12, 000 hectares to acquire for redistribution. Unfortunately, the pace of land acquisition has not improved. The department has consistently failed to attain targets. At district level, the department has on average attained below 30 percent of the annual target in land redistribution'.

The study identified a number of factors to which the slow pace of land reform is attributable. As shown above, a majority of respondents at project management level pointed to the government's continuing deference to the market as a means of land acquisition, the resultant limited land for redistribution in the possession of the state and inadequate resource allocations to departments responsible for land acquisition

as underpinning factors to the modest progress made towards achieving agrarian sector equity. These factors are explored further below.

5.3.1 Unreformed land acquisition methods

Cousins (2008) argues that a break from the market-based agrarian transformation is a necessary paradigm shift towards promoting equity in land distribution. The CRDP acknowledges that reviewing land acquisition models in particular the willing buyer willing seller approach, is fundamental in the direction of building equitable and sustainable communities. It was noted during fieldwork that the 'willing buyer willing seller principle' has hindered the vision of accelerated land redistribution espoused in the CRDP. A respondent from the DRDLR pointed out problems arising from continued use of the willing buyer willing seller system;

'The open market system has not been reviewed in line with the new policy (CRDP).....the willing buyer willing seller is still in place. As a result, the department has failed to acquire valuable land because it is either expensive or not available in the market'.

It is discernible from the foregoing that the lack of progress in the revision of the 'willing buyer willing seller method' in favour of the 'just and equitable' approach espoused in the CRDP, continues to weaken the capacity of state departments responsible for land reform to acquire land for equitable distribution. Subsequently, there has been limited land for redistribution available in the market because large-scale commercial farmers are reluctant to sell.

5.3.2 Inadequate budgets for land acquisition

Adams and Howell (2001) point out that adequate capacity for implementation particularly on the part of government departments responsible for land reform is a critical element towards promoting rural livelihoods through agriculture. One of the

essential dimensions of capacity building is ensuring that sufficient funds are available to undertake wide-ranging land and agrarian reform programmes, including land acquisition. However, respondents raised concerns that budgets for state institutions responsible for land reform are not adequate for broad-based programme of land acquisition and redistribution as envisioned in the CRDP, particularly in view of generally high land prices in Ehlanzeni District. Therefore, inadequate resourcing in state departments responsible for land redistribution is one of the factors that hinder equity in land redistribution. During one of the interviews, an official from the DRDLR elaborated as follows:

'Rural development programmes including land reform have moved at a slow pace. Limited hectares have been acquired due to limited budgets allocated from the Treasury. Farm prices in the district are high, as such the department cannot acquire much land with available budgets. There is need for improved financing of state institutions responsible for land reform.'

5.4.1 Land access and expansion of income base

The study found that the CRDP has made significant strides in alleviating poverty through improving poor households' access to land. It was notable during fieldwork that people participating in land reform projects are poor households with limited assets and income. Therefore, access to land has capacitated them to earn income through agricultural production and informal marketing. Mc Kernam and Sherraden (2008) articulate that assets, particularly land, facilitate socio-economic development because they are a means through which to enhance the capacity of individuals to improve economically, psychologically, socially and to attain goals beyond meeting consumption needs. This is based on the notion that human beings including those

entrapped in poverty, have capacity to shape their own destiny more efficiently when they have sufficient socio-economic opportunities.

At least 85% of respondents indicated that they market their produce in informal markets. However, some respondents raised concerns that the lack of markets has deterred the projects from running as agri-businesses as per objectives articulated in the CRDP. This study found that agrarian reforms implemented under the CRDP have enabled poor households to access land. This has empowered beneficiaries to engage in agricultural production not only to meet their household food necessities but also to generate income through informal marketing. As shall be discussed further, income earning opportunities are limited for a majority of beneficiaries for diverse reasons that include; lack of market infrastructure, poor transport networks, austere safety and marketing standards from agri-commodity regulatory bodies such as GLOBALGAP. Agri-commodity regulatory bodies are responsible for monitoring agri-food safety standards and issuing certification to facilitate market access.

The stern requirements from agri-food regulatory authorities have deterred farmers from obtaining certification required to venture into formal markets. Among several preconditions, the minimum requirements for obtaining certification include; the records of seed and crop quality, records of disease and pest control systems, records of trainings and farm worker welfare. A majority of beneficiaries indicated that they do not meet these requirements and this has narrowed the latitude for market-oriented agricultural production. A respondent from New Forest Irrigation Scheme pointed out constraints to income generation through agriculture;

'The lack of markets for farmers in this area is a serious problem that needs urgent government attention. Due to lack of markets we are forced

to sell our products on the streets at low prices. The income we get does not equal the labour we use.'

Government departments responsible for land reform projects have been involved in the facilitation of formal marketing contracts to enable beneficiaries to commercialize and increase income. The respondents indicated that from June 2013 to November 2013, they had a contract facilitated by the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform and the Department of Education. Through the Schools Nutrition Programme (SNP), farmers from both projects were able to supply vegetables to schools around Bushbuckridge area. Although such intermittent formal marketing arrangements have enabled farmers to earn income, channels for formal markets are limited. A government official based in Ehlanzeni District illustrated the need for enhanced marketing opportunities to enable land reform projects to operate as agri-businesses for improved incomes;

'Access to the market is important in improving incomes of the poor. To date, formal marketing opportunities have been limited for farmers. This is a multi-dimensional problem that includes the farmers' lack of capacity to work the land, lack of resources and infrastructure.'

While beneficiaries appreciated that the land reform interventions implemented under the CRDP have enabled access to land, it was notable that conditions to allow generation of income in a sustainable manner are lacking.

5.4.2 Empowerment of households in terms of food security

As argued in the foregoing chapters, land reform interventions in post-apartheid South Africa need to be focused on the reduction of asset poverty amongst the rural poor and utilising their expertise to mitigate food insecurity, poor incomes, and unemployment through creating conditions for diverse forms of commodity production. Such a restructuring process should be focused on providing the rural

poor with assets needed for livelihoods and developing diversified agriculture while creating conditions for accumulation from below. The CRDP (2009: 20) endeavours to improve the food security situation of poverty stricken rural communities through land reform.

Food security is conceptualised by Lang and Heasman (2004: 92), as the situation at which all people have access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to satisfy their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life. Therefore, food security involves the ability to be self-sufficient in food access through own food production and accessibility to markets and ability to purchase food items. Subsequently, measuring food security involves exploring the food sufficiency of individuals and households, that is, their ability to access enough food for a healthy life, their access to entitlements to produce food, the balance between vulnerability and insurance.

It was noted during fieldwork that the beneficiaries' food security situation has significantly improved since gaining ownership to the land. Respondents were asked to compare their household food security situation before and after gaining access to land and whether their capacity to meet household food needs had been enhanced. A significant number of respondents, 87%, indicated that land ownership has empowered them in the sense that they are able to meet their food needs through agricultural production. Furthermore, most respondents interviewed are low income individuals without supplementary livelihood activities outside farming. As indicated above, most beneficiaries are in the category of food farmers largely producing for consumption. Therefore, access to land has capacitated them to provide basic food

necessities for their families. A beneficiary from Hoxane Farmers' Project alluded to land access and improved well-being;

'Growing food here means I no longer have to buy foodstuffs that I can produce myself. I feel empowered for I can feed my family while selling extra produce to the market. The quality of life has changed for me and this is important since formal employment opportunities are limited.'

The study explored CRDP agrarian reform programmes and food security situation in Bushbuckridge municipal area in a broader sense. The views of government officials indicate that food insecurity has not decreased for many poorer households in the community who remain excluded in land reforms. A government official from DARDLEA in Bushbuckridge commented on the food security situation as follows:

'Most poor households remain in the same situation as before. Dependency on grants and migrant remittances is still high. Food insecurity, hunger and expenditure on food stuffs remain a challenge because most poor people remain landless.'

The CRDP has improved the food security situation of beneficiaries currently partaking in land reform projects. Through enabling and securitizing ownership to natural assets, the CRDP has empowered some poor households to undertake agricultural production to meet their food requirements. In this way, land reform projects have contributed significantly in improving their capacity to be self-sufficient in the production of own food. The study noted that food security has improved for food farmers who do not have supplementary incomes outside farming as is the case with farmers who lease out their land.

However, some respondents were of the view that most households in the community remain marginalized in land reform projects. Respondents at project management level identified a number of factors underpinning the marginalisation of

poor households. These include; lack of information and lack of interest in land based livelihoods. A respondent from a local NGO further alluded that some people are interested in formal wage employment than engaging in agriculture. An additional concern was that some communities are remote and poorly organised. In these communities, communal property associations are either lacking or dysfunctional. As a result, food insecurity for most of these households remains because their levels of entitlement and control over assets have not improved.

5.4.3 Beneficiaries' access to physical assets

Access to land is not sufficient to promote sustainable livelihoods (Cousins, 2008). Capacitating poor people with physical assets such as farm equipment, tools, irrigation and market infrastructure, transport, processing facilities, farm implements and other types of inputs needed to support production are critical for sustainable empowerment as argued in Carney (2002). According to the CRDP implementation framework, these are to be provided by state departments; namely DRDLR, the DARDLEA and non-governmental organisations.

Most respondents indicated that since the land reform projects started, government departments, particularly the DARDLEA have capacitated them with farm equipment. Hoxane Farmers' Project and New Forest Irrigation Scheme have 37 and 25 tractors allocated for the of benefit 95 and 80 subsistence farmers, respectively. These were provided by DARDLEA. However, there were wide ranging concerns expressed at both project management and beneficiary levels with regards to the use, demand and maintenance of farm equipment. At beneficiary level, respondents complained that it is a challenge to secure tractors because of high demand. In addition, respondents revealed concerns that tractors are grounded most of the time due to lack of maintenance. As a result, there are instances in which they have to use their

own incomes to hire private-owned tractors. The farmers complained that this constrains their operations while draining their limited cash resources. A farmer from New Forest Irrigation Scheme revealed challenges related to access to farm equipment;

'Tractors are not always available. The arrangements are such that I cannot have a tractor as and when I need it. Tractors that have been allocated by the government to assist us have not worked for us. We end up hiring private companies for tractors and this is more expensive. There is need for more tractors'

Furthermore, the study found that small scale subsistence farmers in both land reform projects have been provided with critical forms of farm inputs like irrigation infrastructure, fertilisers, seeds, agro-chemicals and pesticides on a regular basis. Most respondents pointed to the efficiency of the DARDLEA and non-governmental organisations such as LIMA Foundation in capacitating small scale farmers with physical assets and inputs to make a living out of agricultural production. A respondent from a local NGO opined that the involvement of private sector organisations in agrarian reform projects particularly post-land transfer support needs to be substantially increased to make a meaningful impact on the livelihoods of the poor. Although the CRDP makes provision for the involvement of all stakeholders through the Council of Stakeholders, it was discernible that the private sector has not been significantly involved in agrarian reforms.

5.4.4 Produce markets and opportunities for enhanced incomes

Rural incomes cannot be enhanced through rural development programmes centred on subsistence crop farming. In this view, the markets to support agricultural production and enabling the poor to increase incomes are critical physical assets in the sustainable livelihoods framework (DFID, 2001). A market-oriented agricultural

production system has two elements that are fundamental in promoting sustainable livelihoods and these are; enabling the poor to intensify production of high-value crops and commercialization. In this context, storage facilities, access to market information, transport facilities and good road networks to allow rural communities to participate in market-oriented production are important (De Janvry, 2008).

In line with the foregoing arguments, it is notable that the policy thrust of the CRDP is to support the emergence of economically productive and sustainable rural economies and spaces through promoting agrarian entrepreneurship. Fundamental to this endeavour is the establishment of rural business initiatives, agro-industries, co-operatives and vibrant local markets in rural settings (CRDP, 2009: 4). This policy objective is centred on ensuring that beneficiaries can shift from peasant farming for subsistence needs to becoming commercially aware producers geared for market demands.

However during fieldwork respondents revealed diverse concerns about limited marketing opportunities. Most beneficiaries reported that formal markets are not available to enable them to market their produce and increase incomes. In such circumstances, they only market their produce informally at low prices. This implies that the small-scale subsistence farmers are participating in markets on terms that are inequitable and often obliged to sell low with restricted alternatives regarding locations for transactions due to absent markets.

Furthermore, some farmers identified long distances from their farms to town, the poor road networks and lack of transport as factors that limit market-oriented production. Most notably, poor transport combined with lack of storage facilities are

central problems for small scale farmers who specialise in the production of vegetables and other perishables. One participant articulated as follows;

'We do not have transport to move our goods from farms to town. Also, the long distance from here to town increases risk for losses'

As already discussed above, a further concern raised during fieldwork was that a majority of small scale farmers do not meet quality and safety standards needed to access formal marketing channels. This has narrowed opportunities for commercialization and capacity to improve incomes through market oriented production. The study noted that the creation of markets and agri-hubs are still in planning phase and have not been implemented yet in line with the CRDP. Consultations for the establishment of these facilities have been completed. A director of the DRDLR indicated that agri-hubs will be implemented within a time frame of two years.

'The idea of agri-hubs will soon be implemented. Necessary consultations have been done. Agri-hubs are expected to feature mostly in the 2015-16 financial year'

In summary, the lack of markets have made it difficult for small scale farmers to participate in the monetized economy while resulting in subsistence rather than market oriented production systems.

5.4.5 Agro-processing and value addition facilities

Value addition involves transforming a product from its original state to a more valuable state (IFAD, 2006). Agro-processing and value addition technologies are physical assets in terms of the sustainable livelihoods framework. Investing in low-cost agro-processing and value addition technology is a necessary component in promoting market-oriented production. Robertson and Lupien (2008) articulate that by creating employment in rural areas, agro-processing and small scale food

industries have potential to reduce rural-urban migration while improving the incomes of small scale producers through enhancing their participation in market based production.

In this context, integrating small scale agrarian entrepreneurs into value chains is crucial to improving incomes while reducing inequalities in the agricultural sector (IFAD, 2006). This necessitates investments towards the establishment of agro-processing industries in the countryside, improvement of capacity for food processing, value addition and transforming small-scale farming sector from production for subsistence purposes into commercialisation.

The establishment of agro-processing industries in rural areas constitutes the critical core of the agrarian transformation vision pronounced in the CRDP. The programme articulates that the agrarian transformation objective shall be anchored by initiatives to establish business initiatives, rural and agro-industries, co-operatives and vibrant local markets (CRDP, 2009: 13).

However, an interview with government officials from the DRDLR revealed that agro-processing and value addition facilities have not yet been established. A two year implementation time span has been set. There were a number of problems pointed out for the slow implementation. These include; insufficient budgets and limited capacity on the part of government departments to implement agro-industries.

The subsequent effect related to the lack of agro-processing and value addition facilities is that farmers are producing and trading unprocessed products. Most respondents in both Hoxane Farmers' Project and New Forest Irrigation Scheme pointed out that they sell their products in unprocessed state mostly in informal markets. This deters them from commercialising and therefore further limits income

earning opportunities. A government official discussed implications related to lack of agro-processing facilities as follows;

'The feeling for most small scale farmers in this area is that of frustration. They do not get much from farming. Most of them are selling unpackaged raw products at cheap prices. As such they have a reason to feel cheated. The idea of agro-industries, promoting processing and packaging will assist the farmers to sell complete products. These facilities are not in place yet'

5.4.6 Financing mechanisms from state and non state institutions

Financial capital refers to resources and facilities that people utilize in order to attain livelihood objectives as noted by Chambers and Conway (1992). Financial capital is the least available asset to the poor (DFID, 2001). Therefore, access of the poor to both formal and informal financial institutions, the availability of financial services under favourable interest rates and collateral arrangements are important assets to achieving sustainable livelihood objectives.

This foregoing implies that land reform requires more than government sponsored land transfer. Adequate budgeting and funding of land reform projects are some of the strategic necessities towards a successful agrarian transformation. Agricultural finance assistance plays a developmental and socio-economic role (Qwabe, 2014). In this regard, the study examined whether beneficiaries receive adequate funding from relevant state and non-state organisations for agricultural production.

It was noted during fieldwork that financial support is a constraint to entrepreneurship for a majority of subsistence farmers. The institutions providing agricultural finance assistance to beneficiaries include; the DRDLR, DADLEA and the National Youth Development Agency (NYDA). Most respondents indicated that funding from formal finance organisations is largely limited. This is because the requirements for lending

are strict. An official from the Rural Enterprise Infrastructure Development (REID) pointed out that formal finance institutions including the Land Bank require proof of project viability, production capacity, income and financial security, credit scores, financial statements and collateral security. Furthermore, it was noted that for small scale farmers to receive loans from formal finance institutions, there must be assurance that the expected output and cash inflows will be obtained for loan repayment.

Given the lack of sustainable sources of funding, respondents expressed concerns that their capacity to make productive use of the land remains weak. Some farmers complained that finance institutions like the Land Bank remain unreformed to assist the resource-less. The difficulties in securing loans from institutions meant to provide financial assistance to farmers, acquisition of farm inputs is a challenge for most subsistence irrigators. This has invariably incapacitated them from using land for agri-business purposes as per objectives articulated in the CRDP policy. A beneficiary from New Forest Irrigation Scheme articulated challenges related to funding;

'Farming is a business. Some of us have to hire labourers and tractors in order to cultivate large pieces of land .mostly from our pockets. Unfortunately, accessing credit is a challenge for most of us. We have repeatedly made loan applications to the Land Bank without success. The conditions are strict and beyond our reach. We don't even make enough profits to service loans even if we got them'.

The above illustrates that that mechanisms for funding subsistence agriculture have not been transformed. The formal finance agencies still use conventional loan granting methodologies with emphasis on collateral security, business history, capital outlay and capacity for repayment. The discussions above have already shown that

the challenges experienced by beneficiaries include; low capacity for production, low profit margins and lack of skills. This implies that a majority of beneficiaries cannot meet the terms and requirements demanded by finance institutions.

In the circumstances above, notable beneficiaries of terms and conditions attached to agricultural financing are emerging commercial farmers already with resources. These circumstances point to the continuing marginalisation of the subsistence agricultural sector and the perpetuation of inequalities between commercial and small scale farmers.

Access to land can contribute significantly to sustainable rural livelihoods. However, this has to be supported by a broad-ranging programme of agrarian transformation which includes an effective post settlement support and funding framework from relevant state and non-state departments. As indicated in the foregoing, land reform projects are underfunded and finance capital remains a constraint to a significant number of beneficiaries. This is a threat to the attainment of sustainable livelihoods.

5.4.7 Capacity building and training programmes for beneficiaries

A combination of knowledge, skill, hard work and enthusiasm are critical components for successful entrepreneurship as noted by Weber (1958). The shortage of human capital reflected by limited formal education and skills deficiency are obstinate challenges in rural communities. Illiterate people struggle to manage enterprises independently and cannot keep track of income flows. Furthermore, low levels of education hinder poor people from accessing information, drawing up business plans and cannot engage with state and private sector institutions who commonly work through written documents.

Therefore, capacity building, particularly training of beneficiaries, constitutes the core of post settlement support programmes. Subsistence farmers require empowerment on diverse areas to improve their livelihoods in a sustainable manner. The study found that land reform beneficiaries receive regular training from state departments in collaboration with non-governmental organisations. The respondents indicated that they have received training on issues such as; drawing business plans, use of agro-chemicals, crop husbandry practices, finance management and running agro-business projects.

A government official indicated that even though subsistence farmers have been empowered with basic skills related to land use, intensive information sharing still needs to be done to capacitate beneficiaries with technical skills needed to run agri-businesses.

Respondents from non-governmental organisations were of the view that the private sector has played a minimal role in the implementation of CRDP particularly in areas of research, needs identification and provision of capacity building programmes to beneficiaries and other forms of direct support.

5.4.8 Multi-sectoral engagement in land and agrarian reform programmes

Land and agrarian reforms have a potential to improve rural livelihoods if premised on a broader vision of agrarian reform led by the state in collaboration with other role players including non-state agencies. The partnership of public and private agencies, namely the NGOs, finance assistance agencies, farmer and commodity associations and private banks is important in the successful implementation of land redistribution programmes. Moreover, there must be clearly spelt out responsibilities for all role players to ensure the cooperation of different sectors.

The logic for collaborative partnerships in development programmes is premised on the synergy brought about by different actors in state institutions and civil society. Multi-sectoral engagement has diverse benefits for policy making and development in that it optimises the strengths of each sector while mitigating weaknesses. In addition, multi-sectoral engagement enhances the probability of success because a broader base of support and resources are mobilised (Kalegaonkor and Brown, 2000).

In view of the foregoing imperatives, land reform programmes must be implemented through a framework that facilitates multi-sectoral cooperation. Cousins (2008) underscores the importance of involving private sector agencies particularly non-governmental organisations in land reforms. The role of NGOs in poverty alleviation is critical given their proximity to the poor. NGOs are both service providers and advocates for the poor. As service providers, the NGOs provide a broad spectrum of services including livelihood interventions, democracy building, environmental management, finance, policy analysis, capacity building and training services, post transfer support including marketing of produce (Banks and Hulme, 2012).

With regards to interdepartmental co-ordination, the CRDP established the Council of Stakeholders which consists of private sector organisations, commodity groups beneficiary communities, local municipalities, community development workers, agricultural finance institutions notably the Land Bank, traditional leaders and state departments responsible for land reform (CRDP, 2009). Government officials interviewed indicated that stakeholder committees have improved interrelations between government departments responsible for the implementation of land reform projects. To illustrate this, respondents indicated that since the implementation of the CRDP and subsequent interdepartmental coordinative structures, both redistribution

and restitution are jointly involved in processes of land identification, profiling, land acquisition and project funding.

Although there are notable improvements regarding interdepartmental collaboration, some respondents complained that the engagement of NGOs in land reform projects remains inadequate. A respondent from a local community based organisation said the following;

'The partnership between government departments and private sector agencies remains limited. There is a clear fragmentation. We have not been involved in land reform projects yet we are the only organisation providing training services to small scale farmers in this area'

The study noted that there is only one NGO involved in the two land reform projects, namely; LIMA Foundation. As illustrated above, NGOs can provide a range of services to beneficiaries including providing training and capacity building programmes. The challenges experienced by the poor, for instance food insecurity and landlessness are complex issues that necessitate varied policy strategies and solutions. It is not likely that state departments can independently and adequately respond to these complex demands (Cousins, 2008).

5.4.9 Dysfunctional communal property associations and public participation

Apart from involving NGOs in the agrarian reform agenda, communal property associations and rural movements are important mechanisms of promoting the participation and input of the poor in policy making. Communal property associations and progressive rural movements can be an avenue for bridging macro-micro links and achieving sustainable development as noted by Levin (2000). This imperative suggests that achieving project sustainability necessitates the active involvement of marginalised and vulnerable groups in policy design and implementation. As shown

in the discussion above, this process must involve stakeholders representing various sectors of society and project beneficiaries to promote integrated decision making. These arguments emphasize that institutional development at local community level is critical in that it promotes active participation of rural people in the agrarian development agenda.

It was notable during fieldwork that mechanisms to ensure the input of vulnerable groups are inadequate. Approximately, 80% of the respondents at land reform project management level indicated that the lack of institutions, dysfunctional property associations and the absence of community based organisations to advocate for the interests of the rural poor are hindering participation and the pace of land redistribution. The study found that a minority of people are able to participate in communal property associations meaning that most households are marginalized in land reform programs. A government official indicated that these problems are a result of inadequate support and oversight to institutions meant to advocate for the interests of the poor.

Regarding participation in policy making and implementation, some respondents at beneficiary level raised concerns that land reform interventions are prescriptive with limited opportunities for recipient communities to give input. There were complaints that in many instances, development practitioners do not involve them in planning programs. This finding is a manifestation that mechanisms for public participation and localisation of policy making for sustainability are not adequate and this challenges the sense of project ownership while compromising sustainability. As noted in interviews with government officials, the major challenge is the capacity of state departments to reach the broader community and to ensure that intended beneficiaries are not marginalised from decisions that are meant to transform their

livelihoods. These challenges impair efforts to link policy formulations with the actual needs of intended beneficiaries.

As a summary, the active participation of intended beneficiaries in policy making is a necessary condition to sustainability. As seen in the discussion above, the structures to facilitate this are not adequate.

5.5 The administration of state land and agrarian reform

The measures to ensure effective management and use of communal land are crucial in promoting democracy and reducing inequalities in rural areas. Most respondents at project management level were of the view that the government has not put in place adequate policy measures to resolve complexities related to the administration of state land. In some parts of Bushbuckridge area tribal authorities are in control of state land. Government officials raised concerns that the management and control of land by tribal authorities continues to hamper development and institutionalisation of democracy while creating conflicts in some parts of the area. The continued influence of traditional authority hampers agrarian reform in the sense that it is often difficult to secure land to implement agricultural development projects in line with the objectives of the CRDP.

The foregoing substantiates the arguments made by Pottie (2004) that democratic governance in rural areas faces challenges in that traditional authority significantly influences the livelihoods of many rural people. The respondents articulated that for rural development programmes to make significant headway in achieving equity and improving livelihoods through small holder farming projects, the ambiguities and challenges related to the administration of state land need to be resolved in policy and legislative terms.

5.5.1 Agrarian reform and gender equity imperatives

Addressing gender inequality in land reform is about the empowerment of women through distributing and securitizing their rights in land. Molyneux (1998) points out that gender concerns in agrarian change involve addressing strategic and welfare needs of women through expediting their upliftment in ways that facilitate social transformation necessary for the attainment of gender equity. In such a context, the role of land and agrarian reform programmes is empowering women in their position relative to men in a way that benefits and transforms society. This involves the removal of diverse factors that prevent women from accessing and owning land as a reproductive asset.

Despite the commitments made in a variety of 'first tier' policy documents including the CRDP, the study found that a majority of land reform beneficiaries are male, pointing to low women participation in these projects. This illustrates that the targets and commitments to gender equity have not been operationalised, hence the perpetuation of gender based inequalities in the agrarian sector.

Government officials pointed to institutional and operational challenges regarding the implementation of gender policies. These include the lack of clear mechanisms on how to explicitly target women as a specific beneficiary group in land reform. Furthermore, there were concerns that policies on gender equity function at a theoretical level with no specific plans of action to pursue at local level. A deputy director at DRDLR revealed institutional and operational concerns regarding the manner in which gender equity has been handled in agrarian reform;

'There are no clear mechanisms on how to specifically target women in the implementation of land reform programmes. My concern is that the issues

of gender equity operate at the level of theory and it appears that there no efforts have been made to implement this practically'.

Agrarian sector equity and sustainable communities cannot be attained for as long as women are marginalized in land reform programmes (Moyo, 2006). In this context, most government officials interviewed expressed the need for improved measures to target women as a specific beneficiary group in land and agrarian reform.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter has presented and analysed findings within the sustainable livelihoods framework. Agrarian sector inequalities largely remain in the agrarian sector notwithstanding the implementation of the CRDP because of continued reliance on the voluntary land sales as a means of acquiring land. The discussion in this chapter demonstrates that the farmers in the two projects have received varied agricultural support programmes; however, they do not appear to be adequate to respond to underlying issues such as the need for new capabilities and skills.

The chapter has illustrated that in addition to the provision of various forms of assets, rural movements, multi-sectoral cooperation and public participation in policy making are essential imperatives that and can assist the pursuit for equitable and empowered rural communities. The next chapter summaries the study and discusses alternative pathways needed in various aspects of agrarian reform to promote equity and improve rural livelihoods.

CHAPTER 6

Summary and conclusion

6. Introduction

This chapter gives a summary of the study and conclusions generated from findings. Using the sustainable livelihoods approach, the objectives of the study as outlined in the first chapter have been answered. The core issues concerning the implementation of the CRDP and impact on livelihoods and agrarian sector equity in Bushbuckridge have been thematically explored. The main theme emerging is that agrarian sector equity has not been achieved notwithstanding agricultural intensification through smallholder farming projects. In the main, this is due to ideological and institutional constraints overlapping from previous phases of rural development. The patent constraints to agrarian sector equity in Bushbuckridge area are; continued reliance on voluntary land sales as a method of land acquisition, limited availability of land, limited budgets and low participation of women in agrarian reforms. Against these limitations, this chapter explores alternative pathways towards agrarian sector equity and sustainable rural livelihoods. The discussion sums up with recommendations for further studies.

6.1 The study summary and main findings

Land reform in post-apartheid South Africa constitutes the core of transformation policies aimed at restructuring the agricultural sector by redistributing land to Africans to redress injustices of colonial and apartheid dispossessions (Hall, 2004). The importance of land reform in transforming socio-economic relations prompted post-apartheid administrations to commit to investing in subsistence farming to reduce poverty and promote equity. In the context of this backdrop, the study argued that land and agrarian reforms in post-apartheid South Africa should be aimed at

addressing the agrarian question of the dispossessed as argued by Bernstein (2004). The central issue that should guide agrarian transformation is rural poverty reduction particularly focusing on food insecurity, low incomes and unemployment through transferring assets to the poor. The equity imperatives of agrarian transformation must be aimed at contesting the monopolistic privileges of cooperative agriculture and creating conditions for varied forms of petty commodity production and accumulation from below.

However, despite the pro-poor provisions eloquently expressed in successive land reform strategies, the study argues that the structural basis of inequality have not been addressed because of neoliberal policies that are not harmonious with the commitments to the marginalised sectors of the rural community. A disjuncture exists between radical policy stances committing to swift transfer of assets to the poor and the neoliberal policy regime adopted since transition to democracy. The adoption of the neoliberal policy regime is an indication of shifting class alliances on the part of post-apartheid governments away from the propertyless to the entrepreneurial black emerging farmers. Shifts in policy making are reflected in the fact that there has been little political will to transfer land to poor households to promote self-sufficiency. Subsequently, land reform has not only been modest but discourse has shifted from developing subsistence farming and into promoting new entrants into commercial agriculture. This has led to the failure of land reform to re-organize the agrarian class structure and address broader developmental needs in rural areas to improve livelihoods.

In the third chapter the study periodised land reforms implemented in Bushbuckridge since transition to democracy with the aim of addressing equity, food security and unemployment. The overriding argument raised is that these strategies have not

managed to restructure the political geography of forced removals and dispossessions. A number of reasons are debated; however, the central one is that rural development programmes have been grounded on neoliberal forces operating in the broader economy.

The study notes that the adoption of the CRDP in 2009 presents renewed optimism for agrarian transformation because of its different approach in comparison to preceding rural development epochs. This is manifested in its acknowledgement of voluntary land sales as a major limitation to land acquisition and hence the need to revise this method as a basis for an accelerated programme of land reform. Additional commitments include; the necessity to systematically target vulnerable social segments in land reform, the promise to establish agro-industries and rural schools for skills transfer and the need to depart from interventionist towards participation-driven approaches in rural development initiatives. These commitments are premised on the broader objective of creating vibrant, equitable, sustainable communities and food security for all. The study proceeded from the understanding that because of its different approach, the CRDP is expected to deal better with issues that have limited previous interventions from addressing the equity question.

From the backdrop above, the objectives of the study were formulated. The main aim was to assess the adequacy of CRDP in addressing the needs for land equity in redistribution and improving rural livelihoods in Mpumalanga, with particular focus on Bushbuckridge Municipal area. The complimentary objectives were; to examine the extent to which the implementation of CRDP has met the objective of equitable land redistribution as specified in the policy and to explore the outcomes of implementation whether necessary conditions to promote the small scale agricultural

sector have been created. A qualitative exploratory inquiry within the sustainable livelihoods conceptual framework was undertaken to accomplish these objectives.

The study adopted a political economy approach by using the sustainable livelihoods model. The sustainable livelihoods approach enabled the study to comprehensively analyse land reform issues focusing on the redistributive component for equity in the agrarian sector. There are several components necessary for the attainment of sustainable rural livelihoods. These include; a secure place to live, secure tenure rights and access to productive and natural resources. The theoretical framework of the study is grounded on the argument that sustainable livelihoods and equity-driven land reforms should seek to deliver these necessities. Therefore, imperative issues to investigate were; beneficiaries' access to varied types of assets necessary for their livelihoods; namely, capital assets including finance, natural resources, physical and human capital, tenure security and the capacity of beneficiaries to generate sustainable economic opportunities through land access and agricultural production.

As already argued above, several imperatives are important in the implementation of land and agrarian reforms for equity. The study argues that in attaining equity and sustainable livelihoods, the provision of various forms of capital must focus on the most vulnerable sectors of society. This requirement engenders authorities to take measures aimed at the removal of constraints that deter the poor from accessing different types of assets. Additional imperatives include; bridging the macro-micro links through promoting multi-sectoral co-operation and strengthening mechanisms to engage the poor in policy making. These mechanisms include; communal property associations, women movements, cooperatives and other typologies of rural organisations representing the interests of the poor. Based on this conceptual framework, the major findings of the study are descriptively summarised below.

There are noteworthy achievements that have been accomplished in the agrarian sector within the CRDP to empower the resource-less with various forms of capital. The study noted that a majority of participants in the two projects studied are low income individuals without supplementary sources of income outside agriculture. This implies that the programme has been able to target the resource-less, enabling them to derive income through farming. A majority of participants indicated that apart from improving their capacity to meet household food needs, land access has improved income base through production for adjacent informal markets.

Notwithstanding the achievements noted above, the study found that the pace of land acquisition for equity has not significantly improved despite the implementation of the CRDP. The underpinning causes of this are; limited budgets allocated to land reform departments and the continued use of the willing buyer willing seller model as a means of acquiring land. The study shows that these hindrances have deterred government institutions responsible for agrarian reform from achieving the set land redistribution targets.

Furthermore, the study found that various requisites and types of assets are lacking for land reform beneficiaries. These include; the absence of marketing channels, poor transport networks to markets, low farmers' capacity to work the land, lack of sustainable credit sources, limited agribusiness skills and lack of agro-processing facilities. In addition, it has been argued that the involvement of private sector agencies in agrarian transformation is critical. Such organisations are middlemen and resource organizers and can provide a range of services such as provision of training and capacity building needs to beneficiaries. However, as shown in the previous chapter, multi-sectoral cooperation in agrarian reform is low. The study also shows low women participation in agrarian reform projects and the lack of specific

mechanisms to operationalize gender equity commitments expressed in various policy documents including the CRDP. The lack of these elements and assets implies significant threats to the attainment of agrarian sector equity and sustainable rural livelihoods. The following section further discusses points raised above and explores alternative pathways towards agrarian sector equity and sustainable rural livelihoods.

6.2 Alternative pathways for equity and sustainable livelihoods

Against the foregoing background, it is patently manifest that rural development and land reform are riddled with diverse challenges. These have a potential to limit the policy in its quest to promote equity in land redistribution. Therefore, wide ranging reforms are required towards creating conditions for equitable distribution of assets through rural development programmes. The study contends that reformulating the agrarian question in South Africa's post-apartheid epoch must be done against the backdrop of contemporary realities of structural poverty. The vulnerability of the majority of the poor is interlinked with lack of assets, in particular land.

Land reform and agriculture clearly have a central role to play towards promoting equity and rural livelihoods; however, it cannot be a standalone panacea in achieving these imperatives. Different forms of assets are necessary to sustainably improve the welfare of the rural poor. The following section discusses transformations and pathways that can be considered towards a rural development policy that centralises the redistribution of productive land and other fundamentals to promote equitable and sustainable rural communities.

6.2.1 Reviewing the role of government institutions in land and agrarian reform

The study found that the willing buyer willing seller method remains the major method through which the government intends to address agrarian sector disparities. As presented in the previous chapter, the continued reliance on voluntary land sales has limited the pace and impact of land redistribution programmes in Bushbuckridge area. The case of Bushbuckridge area shows that the CRDP is unlikely to achieve equity in land distribution without fundamental changes in the methods of acquiring land. The market-driven model of agrarian development based on voluntary land sales is an unrealistic model through which to transform land relations because it reproduces uneven land relations between big commercial farmers and the rural poor as shown in the previous chapter.

From discernible realities above, this study pursues the argument that equity and sustainable rural livelihoods can be realised through a redistributive land programme in which the state plays a leading part in apportioning assets to the poor. The state must not be restricted to developing legislative frameworks to regulate the market nor can it remain a discreet actor, rather its functions have to transcend beyond facilitation and mediation. This implies that in promoting agrarian sector equity, the willing buyer willing seller method must not be the only method of redistributing assets to the poor. Alternative land acquisition models will need to be explored to promote equity in asset distribution and improved livelihoods.

The study notes that land acquisition constitutes only a share of responsibilities that the state must undertake to address challenges of transformation in the agrarian sector. There are broad-ranging responsibilities that the state must actively assume to address challenges of transformation in the agrarian sector (Jacobs et al, 2003). Addressing agricultural sector disparities requires a plan that is well-supported in

technical, human and capital terms. This must be driven by a policy perspective that recognizes swift land redistribution as a catalytic force in reorganizing the rural economy. Such a plan must ensure access to land by all those who need it as an indispensable precondition for achieving equity and alleviating poverty in rural areas.

For land reforms to work in favour of the poor in Bushbuckridge area sufficient devotion of resources in all categories of land reform; redistribution, tenure reform, restitution, rural enterprise development are necessary. Furthermore, it is necessary that government institutions responsible for land and agrarian reform systematically target diverse recipients, for instance; small producer groups, family units, individual producers and co-operatives. In the implementation of this vision, state institutions do not have to be bound by the market driven model in agrarian development. This will be a significant step in ensuring the active participation of the poor in the economy while promoting land-based livelihoods as a sustainable option for the rural poor.

Beyond the foregoing imperatives, state institutions should ensure adequate levels of support and services to land reform beneficiaries. This involves ensuring greater levels of coordination and integration between state institutions responsible for providing support services to beneficiaries. These requirements are explored further below.

6.2.2 Agro-processing and value addition assets for improved incomes

Agro-processing and value addition are fundamental requirements for enabling small scale agrarian entrepreneurs to expand their income base (Aworh, 2008). In view of this, the study considers the integration of small scale farmers into value chains and agro-processing as a necessary requirement in improving the incomes of the poor

while addressing agrarian sector disparities. As already shown in the foregoing chapters, the lack of value addition and agro-processing assets narrows the latitude for transformation in the agricultural sector because it constricts subsistence farmers to primary production and informal marketing channels.

Rottger (2003) articulates that in improving livelihoods through agriculture, land and agrarian programmes must empower small scale agrarian entrepreneurs with assets to move beyond cultivating food stuffs into producing processed products ready for market consumption. Hence, agro-processing facilities are critical assets that can improve the poor people's incomes through expanding marketing opportunities at local, national and regional levels.

The foregoing implies that the establishment of agro-processing and value addition assets is one important trajectory in promoting agrarian sector equity and must be at the centre of rural development policy making. In this view, it is imperative that state institutions responsible for land and agrarian reform at national, provincial and local levels commit sufficient resources to support value addition activities, particularly processing of primary agricultural products and create market avenues for subsistence farmers' food commodities. Based on the above, this study proposes the following points for consideration in rural development policy making towards agrarian sector equity and sustainable livelihoods in Bushbuckridge area;

- Agrarian reform programmes should capacitate beneficiaries to comply with market standards of quality and safety and to efficiently package their agricultural produce. In supporting this vision, policy instruments will have to be implemented at national levels of government to both support and strengthen the position of locally-produced agricultural foodstuffs in national markets, particularly urban markets.

- Secondly, private sector investment in agro-processing and value addition is critical in transforming the agricultural sector. This means that the government should promote a conducive environment for private sector investment in agro-processing.
- Thirdly, it is imperative to consider establishing rural-based small and medium enterprises (SMEs) to process and add value to the subsistence farmers' agricultural products. Such enterprises will need a barrier-free environment to trade value added products.

Achieving the foregoing imperatives is contingent on the allocation of sufficient budgets and capacity in state institutions responsible for implementing land reform programmes.

6.2.3 Farmers' markets for commercialisation and enhanced incomes

Furthermore, this study has pursued the argument that sustainable rural livelihoods and equity cannot be achieved through agrarian policies only aimed at promoting subsistence production. Opportunities for market oriented production need to be substantially enhanced through establishing market infrastructure, effective transport networks to enable small scale agrarian entrepreneurs to move produce from farms and removing constraints to marketing. Pretty (2002) articulates that the benefits of market opportunities include; the improvement of local food, the increase in returns for farmers and contribution to community life and local cultures by bringing people together on a regular basis.

It has been noted in various studies that land reform programmes in post-apartheid South Africa will neither alleviate rural poverty nor achieve equity for as long as the exclusive aim is to promote food production for consumption and not market oriented

production (Cousins, 2007; Pretty, 2002). This study adopts the proposition that rural poverty manifesting in food insecurity must not be conceptualised as an availability problem. Rather, rural poverty must be understood as a manifestation of the poor's lack of assets and entitlements for intensified production. Subsequently, rural development programmes must be premised on the appreciation that addressing food security alone is not sufficient to end rural poverty.

Although establishing markets to promote rural entrepreneurship is central to the CRDP's poverty alleviation aims, this research has illustrated that formal marketing opportunities are limited for a majority of beneficiaries because of absent market infrastructure, lack of effective transport networks and the beneficiaries' lack of capacity to cultivate high value crops.

Therefore, for land and agrarian reform policies to achieve equity, investment is needed to enable subsistence farmers not only to engage in agricultural production for basic food necessities but also to attain economic wellbeing. Land transfer alone must not be seen as an enduring solution to rural poverty. In addition to the propositions outlined above, land and agrarian reform interventions in Bushbuckridge area must expand formal marketing opportunities, provide effective means of transport, communication and market advice to small scale agrarian entrepreneurs. These imperatives require sufficient resourcing from the treasury. It is necessary to involve non-governmental organisations and private sector organisations to provide some of these services. The state has to play a leading role.

6.2.4 Multi-stakeholder partnerships in agrarian development programmes

Kalegaonkar and Brown (2000) describe intersectoral partnership as a process that brings together state institutions, the market and civil society institutions to promote

reciprocal understanding on an issue and deliberate communally agreeable procedures addressing the issue once it is identified. The various arguments presented in this research show that poverty and inequality are complex multi-dimensional issues that cannot be addressed by state departments alone. This implies that promoting inter-stakeholder partnerships with various societal sectors must be central in state programmes aimed at reducing inequalities and poverty.

The concept of participation and stakeholder cooperation is articulated in various state documents including the constitution. Section (152) (e) of the South African Constitution engenders local governance structures to encourage the involvement of communities and organisations in matters of development. In terms of the CRDP, the Council of Stakeholders is the main mechanism designed to promote multi-stakeholder cooperation in programmes of agrarian development. Although some respondents reported improved coordination between state departments, the study found that various key players are marginalised in land reform programmes, particularly private sector organisations. This is because measures to promote multi-sectoral cooperation are inadequate.

Overall, the lack of institutions, dysfunctional communal property associations, the marginalisation of civil society organisations in agrarian development and limited community-based organisations to advocate for the interests of the rural poor, hinder participation and the pace of land redistribution. This illustrates the need for state institutions to establish reciprocal relationships and interactions with a myriad of development players outside the public sector, particularly the non-governmental sector.

In general, NGOs perform critical intermediary and bridging functions crucial for sustainable development. UNDP (2006) emphasizes that NGOs are well-resourced for linking communities with development policies because of their middle class entities and are flexible to organise resources necessary to improve the livelihoods of the poor.

While the role of state institutions is to establish regulatory frameworks and to provide basic services such as physical and social infrastructure, civil society organisations provide the foundations of liberty and self-expression through promoting social cohesion and advocating for democratic participation (Garrett and Natalicchio, 2011). In addition, civil society organisations, NGOs in particular, can provide a range of services in the agrarian sector. These include; identifying beneficiaries, providing credit and training services. These roles are complimentary and equally important in processes of development.

The discussions above summarise the importance of engaging various sectors of society, particularly constituencies representing the poor in policy making to promote sustainable livelihoods. In this context, building the capacity of rural movements and legitimising their role in agrarian development will help build and strengthen an organised voice for the poor.

The accomplishments of the Tripartite Partnership in Agrarian Reform and Rural Development (TRIPARRD) in Philippines in 1989 illustrated the strength of multi-sectoral cooperation and participation in policy making and implementation (Olano, 1993). The TRIPARRD involved more than 60 NGOs and farmer organisations and was able to promote rapid changes in landholding patterns through rapid land acquisition and distribution to the poor (Olano, 1993). The Philippines case study

showed that NGOs are important in advocating for the interests of resource-less farmers, providing capacity building programmes and credit assistance along with state institutions, acting as middlemen through mobilising resources.

Therefore, bridging macro-micro links through building the voice of the poor and legitimising their role in development is a crucial requisite for sustainable livelihoods. The study proposes the following considerations in promoting multi-stakeholder co-operation for sustainable rural livelihoods;

- The development of a broad ranging public participation programme in which the NGOs, communal property associations, women movements, savings clubs, farmer groups and beneficiary communities are actively involved in critical policy making processes; needs identification, programme planning, implementation and evaluation.
- The development and application of effective communication systems that will inform all role players in land and agrarian development programmes including beneficiary communities and government institutions on a regular basis.

6.2.5 Agrarian transformation, gender land rights and equity

Promoting gender equity in agrarian transformation has persistently featured in South Africa's land policy since transition to democracy. The underpinning of this originates from the affirmation on non-sexism and non-racism as the core principles of democracy and equity clause as a constitutional obligation. The commitment to gender equity in the agrarian sector succinctly features in the third and current phase of rural development. The CRDP emphasises the need to target women in land reforms to promote equity. Along with the CRDP, a variety of 'first tier' documents have been drafted at higher levels of policy making to support gender equity in land

reform. These include; the Green Paper on Land Reform of 2011 and the Strategic Plan 2011-2014.

The commitments on gender equity have not been implemented given low women participation in land reform projects as shown in this research. The socio-economic costs associated with failure to recognise the role of women are diverse (Moyo, 1995; Razavi, 2003). Expanding the role of women in agrarian transformation supports both the equity and efficiency rationales of land reform. These include enhancement of agricultural production efficiency because women use resources more capably than men in given contexts. A study by Udry et al (1995), in Burkina Faso found that women produced higher levels than men because of their choices in cropping patterns. Furthermore, possessing land empowers women to demand their dues in government programmes (Razavi, 2003). Additional benefits associated with broadened space for women participation in agrarian reform programmes is increased production through improving access to credit and their cash flows for reinvestment.

As shown in the previous chapter, government officials noted that the lack of clear mechanisms to target women as a beneficiary group limits transformation. Also, it was noted that the racial aspects of inequality supersede the gender dimensions. This study contends that viewing race as a singular vector of inequality constricts the latitude for agrarian transformation. The gender dimensions of inequality in the agrarian sector have to be recognized in theory and in practice.

The undertakings to promote gender equity as expressed in the CRDP must be a compass traversing the operational choices that shape agrarian reform programmes. However, discerning from concerns expressed by respondents, the most crucial

imperative towards equity is the development of a clear gender policy in all spheres of governance. More specifically, the following areas can be prioritised by institutions responsible for land reform towards removing gender disparities in the distribution of land;

- A gender sensitive programme of agrarian reform in Bushbuckridge area should purposely target and benefit women as a specific target group. Addressing the gender question within general conceptualisations such as 'community', 'unemployed people' 'landless people' potentially submerges policy commitments to target women in land reforms.
- Agrarian reforms must consider promoting women's independent land rights. Independent rights will promote flexibility, improve agricultural production and well-being.
- Thirdly, gender equity must be a central element in the provision of training programmes to government officials responsible for implementing of land and agrarian reform projects.
- Finally, there is need for improved accountability by land reform departments on the gender equity commitments expressed in various policies. .

In summary, the transfer of assets to women and their active participation in the agrarian transformation agenda can make a difference in diverse ways including improving their bargaining power in households, community and in communal decision making bodies (Razavi, 2003). Agrarian sector gender equity is another area where there is need for gender progressive movements and space for their active participation in policy making.

6.2.6 Reforming agricultural finance systems for subsistence farmers

This study has argued that financial assets are the least available to the rural poor. In this context, the transfer of financial assets through sustainable credit sources is crucial in promoting sustainable livelihoods through agriculture. Institutions such as the NYDA, DARDLEA, DRDLR and Land Bank are notable stakeholders in providing agricultural finance assistance to subsistence farmers in the two projects studied.

The study found that the requirements for securing financing are not appropriate for the conditions and challenges of subsistence farming. Illustratively, the emphasis on project sustainability and collateral requirements are major necessities in the credit provision system for small scale farmers. This suggests that the framework within which agricultural finance assistance is provided does not meet the needs of subsistence farmers. Finance institutions including the public entities like the Land Bank have not been reformed into a resource at the disposal of resource-less farmers. The inevitable impact resulting from financial constraints experienced by subsistence farmers is the failure to operationalize agri-businesses as articulated in the CRDP.

Inferring from the sustainable livelihoods model, this study views the provision of agricultural finance to subsistence farmers as a principal motor force in alleviating rural poverty through agrarian development. Qwabe (2014) concurs that developing the substance agricultural sector can generate significant benefits to the economy through promoting equity and improving the socio-economic well-being of individuals, households and communities. Critical to this vision is a paradigm shift in agricultural finance assistance models towards an approach that explicitly connects the resource-less poor with financial assets to engage in agricultural production. The unique challenges experienced by small scale farmers need improved and better

aligned services from finance institutions. The study proposes three paradigm shifts for attention by government institutions responsible for land reform and finance institutions providing agrarian sector finance assistance;

- The development of subsistence sector agricultural financing approaches that are specifically aimed at assisting the subsistence agricultural sector. In pursuing this model, groups of subsistence farmers can be integrated into strategic partnerships with public entities and these can be guarantors in financing subsistence farmers.
- The subsistence farmers can work in groups and co-operatives rather than individual irrigators as shown in this study. Agricultural finance assistance can be provided within the framework of these cooperatives. This approach can generate several benefits including enabling farmers to pool their resources together to meet collateral demands from finance institutions.
- Substitute approaches to the collateral requirement should be explored. There are good illustrations of this approach used by the Land Bank where loans used for the acquisition of inputs and farm equipment are regarded as the property of the bank until full repayment of the loan.

The foregoing transformation strategies will help connect small scale farmers with resources necessary to engage in agricultural production for improved livelihoods. Land and agrarian reforms should regard sustainable credit sources for small scale farmers as critical financial assets, conduits for poverty alleviation and attainment of equity in the agrarian sector. The continuous marginalisation of subsistence farmers in agricultural finance stifles the development of equitable and sustainable communities envisioned in the CRDP.

6.2.7 The need for intensive capacity building programmes

Although participants at beneficiary level indicated that they have received wide ranging trainings that include; agri-business management, cropping and finance management, government officials noted that intensive information sharing still needs to be done to enhance the efficiency of subsistence farmers.

It is notable that capacitating subsistence farmers with assets, extension services and support programmes, inputs such as agro-chemicals, seeds and fertilisers and increasing market opportunities and credit sources are important elements. However, these forms of support cannot independently fight rural poverty. De Janvry and Sadoulet (2008) highlight that the fundamental challenge facing subsistence farmers are limitations in abilities and information to engage in market-oriented agricultural production.

The foregoing implies that small scale agrarian entrepreneurs need empowerment on skills and abilities on how to respond and deal with advances of the agrarian sector. De Janvry and Sadoulet (2008) further show that food production at global level is increasingly structured into knowledge-based chains which prioritise food quality and safety, food pricing and meeting consumer demands. Therefore, in promoting agrarian sector equity, land reform programmes should capacitate subsistence farmers to both respond and deal with the demands related to market oriented production.

Land reform programmes in Bushbuckridge area should be implemented from the premise that market oriented production necessitates capabilities and skills. In this view the study proposes that the establishment of farmers' schools and institutions is expedited to facilitate skills transfer to small scale agrarian entrepreneurs. This will

enable them to participate more effectively in agrarian transformation and to improve their capacity to make informed entrepreneurial decisions for sustainable livelihoods. This vision necessitates political will and sufficient fiscal support from the treasury and other state institutions responsible for land reform. Promoting the participation of NGOs and other private sector institutions in skills development programmes is equally imperative.

6.3 Conclusion

This chapter has summarised major conclusive points of the study. The chapter has shown that agrarian sector equity will remain elusive in post-apartheid South Africa for as long as vulnerable groups do not access assets needed for livelihoods. Beyond the transfer of land, agrarian reform programmes must provide effective post settlement support, capacity building programmes and link the poor with sustainable sources of incomes. Policy making must be aimed at the removal of constraints that deter the poor from accessing these assets. The gender dimensions of agrarian sector inequalities need to be acknowledged in theory and practice.

Building the voice of the poor through promoting the participation of rural movements and organisations is equally critical. If land and agrarian reform is to achieve its broader aims encapsulated in the CRDP, the pace of land acquisition and redistribution needs to improve substantially and small scale farmers must be viewed as agrarian entrepreneurs rather than individuals intending to meet basic needs of food security. These imperatives point to the need to revise neoliberal land acquisition methods, developing barrier-free financing models for small scale agriculturalists and expediting the establishment of rural schools, agro-processing facilities, markets and agri-hubs as envisioned in the CRDP.

The study recommends that further research be conducted in other CRDP sites across the country to assess land reform programmes and implications on equity and rural livelihoods.

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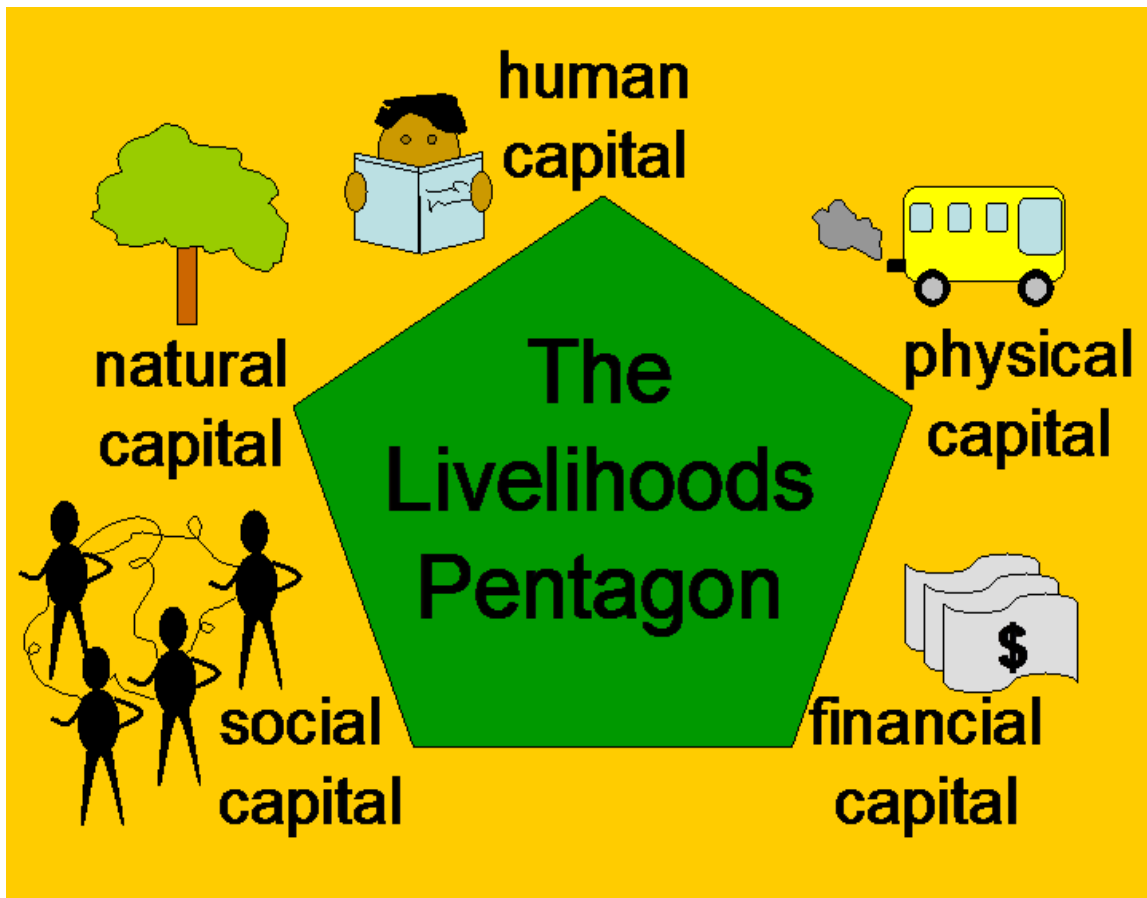
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Project Documents

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2. Famers' meeting minutes (New Forest Irrigation Scheme)

Appendix 1

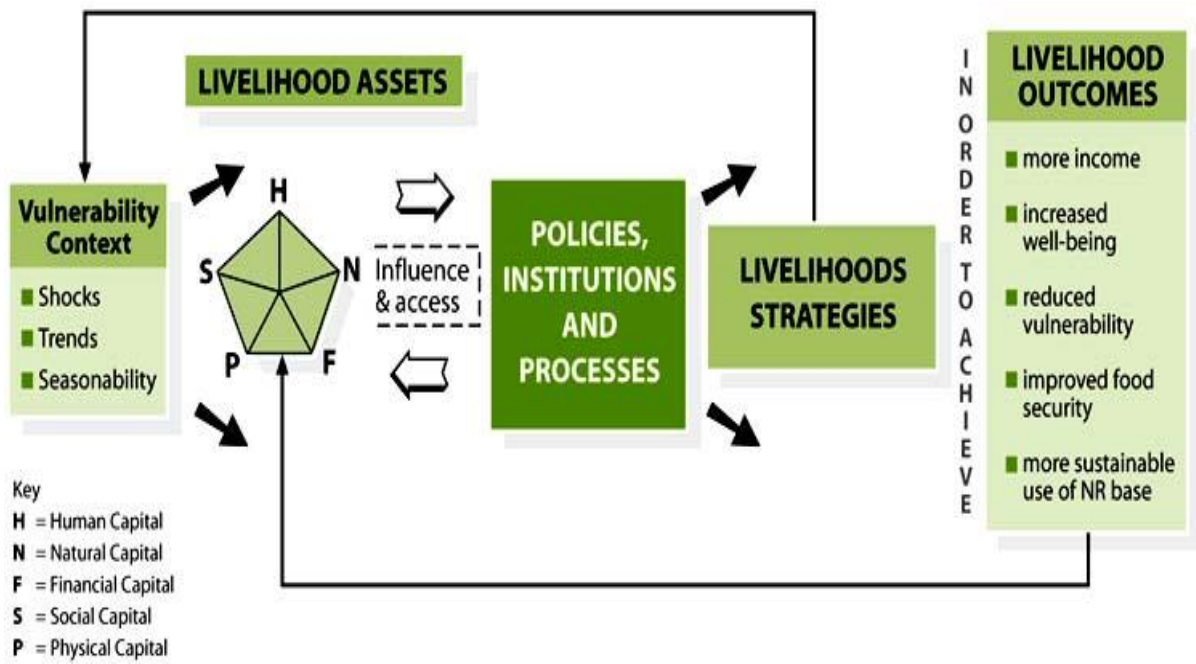
Showing the Five Asset Building Block



Source: DFID, 2001

Appendix 2

Showing the Sustainable Livelihoods Analytical Framework



Source: DFID, 2001

Appendix 3

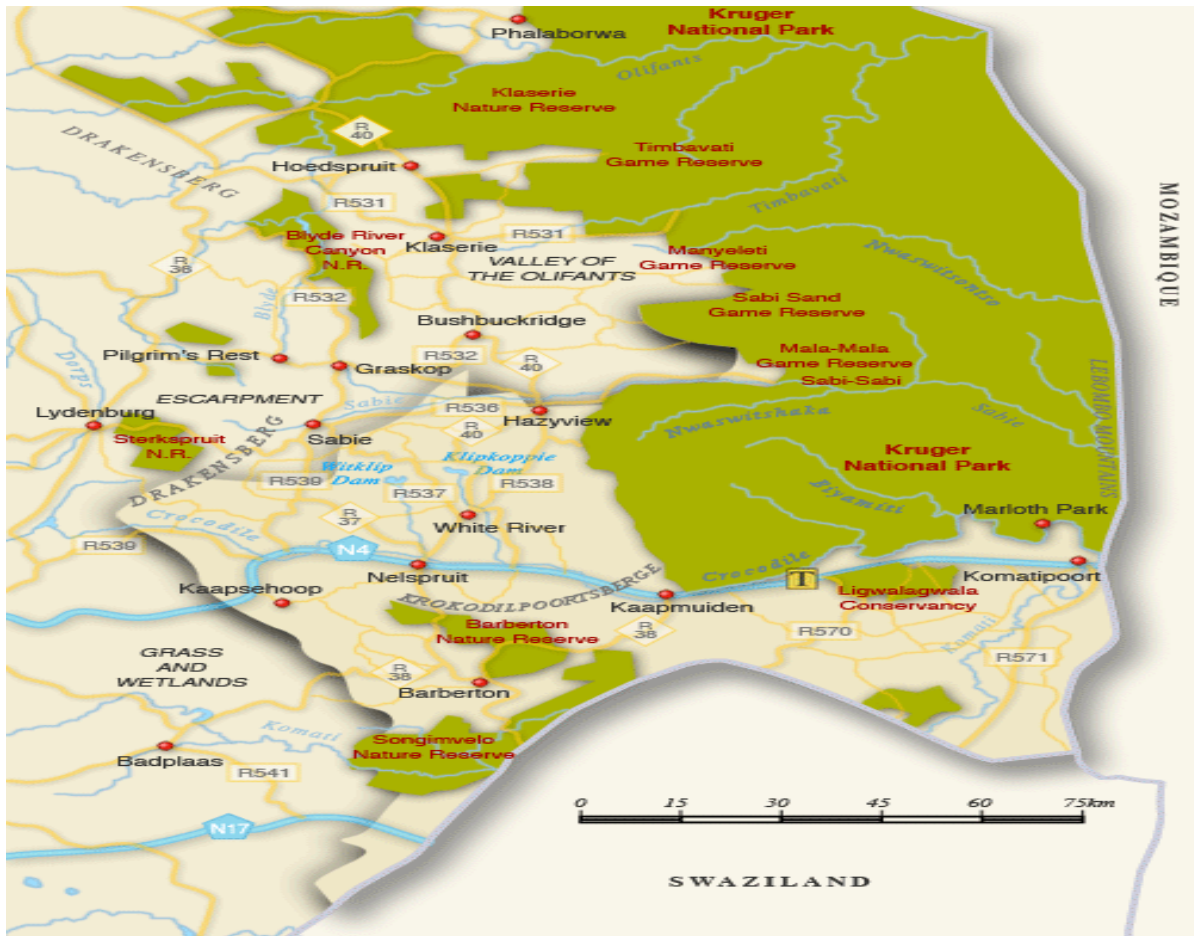
Showing District Municipalities in Mpumalanga Province



Source: www.demarcationboard.co.za

Appendix 4

The Map of Mpumalanga Lowveld region.



Source: www.googlemaps.co.za

Appendix 5

Semi-structured interview guide for government officials

Date:.....

Greetings, my name is Nqobani Maduna-Mafu. I am a Development Studies Masters student at the University of Fort Hare. I am conducting a study focusing on agrarian reforms and rural livelihoods in post-apartheid South Africa. The main objective of the study is to assess the adequacy of CRDP programme to address the needs for land equity in redistribution and to improve rural livelihoods in Mpumalanga, with particular focus on Bushbuckridge Municipal area. The findings generated from this study are expected to benefit rural development policy makers and institutions that are presently co-ordinating land reform projects implemented under the CRDP as well as small scale farmers as supposed beneficiaries of ongoing land reform efforts. The information that you provide is confidential and is meant for academic purposes only. I would like to ask you some questions pertaining to land and agrarian reforms implemented under the CRDP since 2009.

Section A: Personal information

Gender	: -----	Marital Status	: -----
Age Group	: -----	Nationality	: -----
Position	: -----	Population Group:	-----

Section B: Land redistribution and equity

- 1) What have been the major changes in land redistribution since the implementation of CRDP in 2009?

- 2) What land acquisition alternatives have been used in land reform apart from the 'willing buyer willing seller' model?
- 3) What efforts have been made to promote small-scale farming? How much of a priority is small-scale farming in comparison to commercial agriculture?
- 4) With reference to targets, how many hectares of land does the government need to acquire in order to promote equity in land redistribution in your area?
- 5) How many hectares of land have been acquired under the CRDP for equitable distribution?

Section C: Beneficiary targeting and gender issues

- 1) Do you have beneficiary selection strategy/guidelines?
- 2) If so, who are considered to primary targets of land reform programmes implemented under the CRDP?
- 3) Do you see the youths, women and other vulnerable groups in rural areas coming on board in current land reform efforts?
- 4) What efforts have been made under CRDP to address gender inequalities in the agrarian sector?
- 5) Were there mechanisms used to ensure public input and participation in the design and implementation of land reform projects?

Section D: Land access and livelihoods

- 1) What is your understanding of poverty and empowerment?
- 2) How important is land reform in the context of poverty affecting rural communities?

- 3) In what specific ways are land reforms contributing to poverty alleviation in your area?
- 4) In your experiences, what are the attitudes of rural communities towards agriculture-based livelihoods?

Section E: Markets and marketing

- 1) Are there opportunities for the beneficiaries to market their agricultural produce?
- 2) What are value addition activities performed by beneficiaries in order to increase their incomes?
- 3) Are agro-processing and marketing facilities available for beneficiaries as stated in the CRDP?

Section F: Finance and capacity building

- 1) What is the situation in terms of project commitment and the budget to fund these projects?
- 2) Is there a specific post-transfer support program in place; for instance training services and capacity building programmes for small scale farmers?
- 3) Which organisations are involved in rendering support and extension services to small scale-farmers who acquired land under the CRDP?

Section G: Land rights

- 1) What measures have been implemented to strengthen beneficiaries' tenure rights?

- 2) Can beneficiaries access credit and make long-term investments on land under existing tenure arrangements?

Section H: Inter-sectoral co-ordination

- 1) How would you comment on the co-ordination between different spheres of government responsible for land reform projects under the CRDP?
- 2) How would you say your relationship with NGOs and private sector has changed since the implementation of CRDP in 2009?

Section I: Challenges and recommendations

- 1) In your opinion what challenges compromise the sustainability of land and agrarian reform projects implemented under the CRDP since 2009?
- 2) What are the major constraints to equity-based land reform in your area?
- 3) In your opinion, what changes do you think are necessary to enhance the poverty alleviation impact of land reform and promote land equity?

Appendix 6

Focus group interview schedule for beneficiaries

Date:.....

Greetings, my name is Nqobani Maduna-Mafu. I am a Development Studies Masters student at the University of Fort Hare. I am conducting a study focusing on agrarian reforms and rural livelihoods in post-apartheid South Africa. The main objective of the study is to assess the adequacy of CRDP programme to address the needs for land equity in redistribution and to improve rural livelihoods in Mpumalanga, with particular focus on Bushbuckridge Municipal area. The findings generated from this study are expected to benefit rural development policy makers and institutions that are presently co-ordinating land reform projects implemented under the CRDP as well as small scale farmers as supposed beneficiaries of ongoing land reform efforts. The information that you provide is confidential and is meant for academic purposes only. I would like to ask you some questions pertaining to land and agrarian reforms implemented under the CRDP since 2009.

Section A: Biographical information

Gender:

Male	
Female	

Age:

23-35	
35-45	
45 and above	

Race:

Coloured	
Black	
White	

Educational Level:

Never attended school	
Grade R – Grade 6	
Grade 7 – Grade 12	
College	
University	
Other(specify)	
Drop out	

Employment history/status:

Formal employment	
Casual employment	
Self Employed	
Unemployed	

Marital status:

Single	
Married	
Never married	
Divorced	
Widowed	
Other, Specify	

Section B: Community participation

- 1) In your knowledge, when did the project start and were you involved from the beginning?
- 2) Who participates in the project?
- 3) How is the broader community involved in the implementation of the projects? If so at what level were/are they involved?

Section C: Land access and livelihoods

- 1) What is your understanding to poverty and empowerment?
- 2) In short, can you describe your socio-economic situation before gaining access to land? In what ways has this changed?
- 3) In what specific ways have you been empowered?
- 4) In your experiences, how important is small-scale agriculture in the context of unemployment, food insecurity and low incomes?

Section D: Finance and capacity building

- 1) Do you receive any funding from the relevant government departments?
- 2) In your knowledge, does the project receive any funding from other stakeholders?
- 3) Since the project started have you received any training on agriculture and land use?
- 5) How easy has it been for you to access farm implements, training services and credit?
- 6) How frequent do extension officers visit you?
- 7) Are they always available when you need them?

Section E: Markets and marketing

- 1) Do you market your produce?
- 2) Prior to selling your produce, what value adding activities do you perform, in order to increase your incomes?
- 3) Are the necessary processing and marketing facilities in place as aimed in the rural development policy?
- 4) In your experiences, what are the major constraints to marketing?

Section F: Land equity

- 1) In your opinion, has the government done enough to acquire land for equitable distribution?

Section G: Land rights

- 2) What measures have been taken by the government to secure your rights to the land allocated to you under the current land reforms?
- 3) Do you feel secure to make long-term investments on land allocated to you? How protected are the beneficiaries from arbitrary land loss?

Section H: Challenges and recommendations

- 1) In your experiences, what are the risks that can compromise the sustainability of land reform projects?
 - 2) In your opinion, what measures can be done to promote land equity, improve small-scale agricultural production and quality of life in rural communities?
-
-

Appendix 7

Semi-structured interview schedule for community organisations/NGO directors

Date:.....

Greetings, my name is Nqobani Maduna-Mafu. I am a Development Studies Masters student at the University of Fort Hare. I am conducting a study focusing on agrarian reforms and rural livelihoods in post-apartheid South Africa. The main objective of the study is to assess the adequacy of CRDP programme to address the needs for land equity in redistribution and to improve rural livelihoods in Mpumalanga, with particular focus on Bushbuckridge Municipal area. The findings generated from this study are expected to benefit rural development policy makers and institutions that are presently co-ordinating land reform projects implemented under the CRDP as well as small scale farmers as supposed beneficiaries of ongoing land reform efforts. The information that you provide is confidential and is meant for academic purposes only. I would like to ask you some questions pertaining to land and agrarian reforms implemented under the CRDP since 2009.

Section A: Personal information

Gender	: -----	Marital Status	: -----
Age Group	: -----	Nationality	: -----
Position	: -----	Population Group:	-----

Section B: Private sector involvement

- 1) Do you interact with government organizations responsible for land reform in your area?

- 2) What are your perceptions on the prospects of improving rural livelihoods through land reform?
- 3) In what ways is your organisation involved in the implementation of land reforms?
- 4) How would you describe your relationship with government to enhance land reform
- 5) In your view, what have been the major changes in the land redistribution since the introduction of CRDP in 2009?

Section C: Suggestions and recommendations

- 6) What can be done to improve private sector and government interactions to enhance the impact of land reform programmes?
- 7) What suggestions can be made to improve land reform and rural development?

Appendix 8



University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

ETHICAL CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

Certificate Reference Number: MON0141SMAF01

Project title: **Land and Agrarian Reform and Rural livelihoods in Post-apartheid South Africa: A study on the Ehlanzeni District in Mpumalanga Province**

Nature of Project: Masters

Principal Researcher: Nqobani Maduna-Mafu

Supervisor: Dr PB Monyai

Co-supervisor:

On behalf of the University of Fort Hare's Research Ethics Committee (UREC) I hereby give ethical approval in respect of the undertakings contained in the above-mentioned project and research instrument(s). Should any other instruments be used, these require separate authorization. The Researcher may therefore commence with the research as from the date of this certificate, using the reference number indicated above.

Please note that the UREC must be informed immediately of

- Any material change in the conditions or undertakings mentioned in the document
- Any material breaches of ethical undertakings or events that impact upon the ethical conduct of the research

The Principal Researcher must report to the UREC in the prescribed format, where applicable, annually, and at the end of the project, in respect of ethical compliance.

Special conditions: Research that includes children as per the official regulations of the act must take the following into account:

Note: The UREC is aware of the provisions of s71 of the National Health Act 61 of 2003 and that matters pertaining to obtaining the Minister's consent are under discussion and remain unresolved. Nonetheless, as was decided at a meeting between the National Health Research Ethics Committee and stakeholders on 6 June 2013, university ethics committees may continue to grant ethical clearance for research involving children without the Minister's consent, provided that the prescripts of the previous rules have been met. This certificate is granted in terms of this agreement.

The UREC retains the right to

- Withdraw or amend this Ethical Clearance Certificate if
 - Any unethical principal or practices are revealed or suspected
 - Relevant information has been withheld or misrepresented
 - Regulatory changes of whatsoever nature so require
 - The conditions contained in the Certificate have not been adhered to
- Request access to any information or data at any time during the course or after completion of the project.
- In addition to the need to comply with the highest level of ethical conduct principle investigators must report back annually as an evaluation and monitoring mechanism on the progress being made by the research. Such a report must be sent to the Dean of Research's office

The Ethics Committee wished you well in your research.

Yours sincerely


Professor Gideon de Wet
Dean of Research

02 March 2015