

LAND MANAGEMENT IN THE WILD COAST: THE CASE OF
INDIGENOUS PEOPLE IN COFFEE BAY,
EASTERN CAPE, SOUTH AFRICA



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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
For the Masters of Science Degree in Geography, in the
Department of Geography and Environmental
Sciences at the University of Fort Hare

January 2008


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DECLARATION

I, Ahmed Mukalazi Kalumba, hereby declare that this dissertation entitled; "Land management in the Wild Coast: The case of Indigenous people in Coffee Bay, Eastern Cape, South Africa" is the result of my effort and investigation except where stated, and that it has not been submitted for a degree to any other university, other than University of Fort Hare.



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Place of Submission: Fort Hare University, Alice Main Campus

DEDICATION

I Ahmed Mukalazi Kalumba, place on record this dissertation to the memories of my late Grand parents (Falakani & Nambogwe, Meere & Nakibuka, & Mukuma), Aunt (Nabukenya), Uncle (Bukenya) and Brother (Kiggundu), who in their lives epitomized the spiritual and moral values, patience, tolerance and hard work that I have endeavored to live by, may their souls rest in peace.



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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

During the presentation of this dissertation, considerable assistance and encouragement were rendered by various people, communities, institutions and organizations. The University of Fort Hare and GMRDC provided research funds and bursary which enabled me to have ample time to conduct the research. Department of Geography and Environmental Science served as my home and work place in a tranquil environment, DEAT, DEAET, DOA, DWAF, Eastern Cape Parks Board and NGO's, and all people in Coffee Bay that willingly offered to participate in this research which enabled it to be a success. I also wish to register my sincere gratitude to my supervisor Mr. Mniki, who managed to secure funds for me to pursue masters, and the guidance and professionalism that he exercised during the course of my studies and conducting of research. Indeed, am indebted to him for his constructive criticisms and informed advice often delivered in a most pleasant manner. Also Professor Seethal as a parent and Mr. Magagula, as mentors provided immeasurable support and guidance, and all the staff in the department have been instrumental in shaping my research as well. Mrs Kalumba, was instrumental as the backbone and shock absorber of all the difficult times I went through. I am indeed grateful to her and to Ssekatawa for their love and encouragement and for giving me adequate time to prepare this dissertation. Finally, I take this golden opportunity to pay tribute to my colleagues in the department, mothers and family members for their registered cheerful thoughts and support that they shared with me for all this while. This is much appreciated, for God and my country.

ABSTRACT

An under-reported consequence of the democratic transition is the impact on land management (LM) within communal areas of South Africa (SA). Yet land is an essential natural resource, both for the survival and prosperity of humanity, and for the maintenance of all terrestrial ecosystems (FAO & UNEP, 1997). This study focuses on land management in the Wild Coast with special reference to indigenous people in Coffee Bay. Using the concept of the land management paradigm, the study adopts an intensive research design for the analysis and interpretation of data. The study aims to examine how land as a 'resource' is managed by the local indigenous people with specific reference to whether it is moving towards or away from sustainability. The study discusses LM in the rural built-up environment with emphasis on land based activities, land tenure, gender issues, indigenous knowledge systems, changes in land use and degradation. The study looks at the indigenous people's participation in the new LM policy formulation as predetermined by the grand scheme of democratization and decentralization. It highlights that indigenous knowledge systems are at the centre in rural sustainable LM, and equity in land issues forms another breakthrough for communal tenure system in the new SA. Indigenous people's views in policy formulation are not necessarily matched with national policy objectives due to poor public consultation. In general, the study provides an understanding of how indigenous people grapple with new policy changes in LM, to ensure sustainable land management in the rural South Africa.

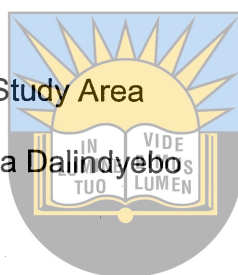
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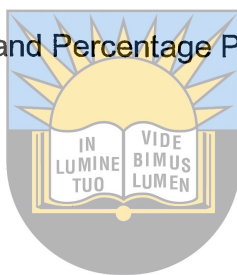
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South Africa

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ACRONYMS

ANC	African National Congress
AU	African Union
CBD	Convention on Biological Diversity
CBNRM	Community Based Natural Resource Management
CBO	Community Based Organisation
CLRA	Communal Land Rights Act
CLRB	Communal Land Rights Bill
DEAET	Department of Economic Affairs Environment and Tourism
DEAT	Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism
DFID	Department For International Development
DLA	Department of Land Affairs
DLG	Department of Local Government
DoA	Department of Agriculture
DWAF	Department of Water Affairs and Forestry
EC	Eastern Cape Province
ECGIS	Eastern Cape Geographical Information System
EMG	Environmental Monitoring Group
EU	European Union
FAO	Food Agricultural Organisation
FG	Focus Group



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GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution
IDPS	Integrated Development Plan System
KSD	King Sabatha Dalindyebo
LCP	Land Care Programme
LD	Land Development
LM	Land Management
LMP	Land Management Paradigm
LUM	Land Use Management
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
NDA	Ntinga Development Agency
NEMA	National Environmental Management Act
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
NRM	Natural Resource Management
ODM	OR Tambo District Municipality
PTO	Permission To Occupy
RDP	Reconstruction Development Programme
RSA	Republic of South Africa
SA	South Africa
SDI	Spatial Development Initiative
SLM	Sustainable Land Management
SLUM	Sustainable Land Use Management
SP	Spatial Planning
TRALSO	Transkei Land Service Organisation



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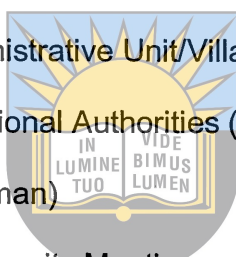
UNDPA	United Nations Department of Political Affairs
UNDP-GEF	United Nations Development Programme Global Environment Facility
UNEP	United Nations Economic Programme
UN	United Nations
WSSD	World Summit on Sustainable development



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ISIXHOSA WORDS AND OPERATIONAL MEANING IN THE STUDY

Abathali	Local People
Abelungu	Whites
Amasiko	Folklore
Mkomboti	Local Beer
Ikanyamba	Name of a Snake
Ilali	Administrative Unit/Village
Inkosi/Nkosi	Traditional Authorities (Chief, Headman, Sub-headman)
Imbizo	Community Meetings



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CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

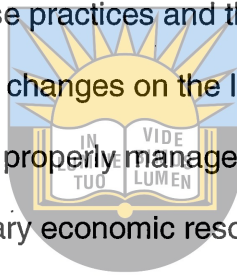
Introduction

Land is an essential natural resource, both for the survival and prosperity of humanity, and for the maintenance of all terrestrial ecosystems (Food Agricultural Organization and United Nations Economic Programme – FAO and UNEP, 1997). Shanthikumer (2002) attests that land is the most vital resource on the earth from which humankind derives almost all its basic needs for survival. He further argues that any development and natural resource management strategy must focus its efforts on the rural areas where most of the world's poor live so that poverty alleviation and sustainable resource management and utilization can be achieved.

Land plays a central role in community development, and has been a key issue of development for several years (Department For International Development - DFID, 2002). Chiddick and Millington (1984) point out that, in the medieval times, the church mainly depended on revenues from land for running its programmes. Merricks (2002) defines land to include geological land forms and soil features, and vegetation for human use. In the view of many local people, land refers to soil or space that they occupy on the earth's surface. This implies that the term land means different things

to different people and management of this resource must recognize this important phenomenon.

This study focuses on indigenous people's land management in pursuit of attaining sustainable development in Coffee Bay. Human settlements which constitute the rural built environment form the central focus of this study. Quite clearly, human settlement determines land use practices and the changes on the landscape thereafter. Consequently, the changes on the landscape through farming, grazing, and house construction, if not properly managed may result into land as a resource¹ to degrade². Yet, land is a primary economic resource, especially for the development of the rural communities and the entire human race.



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Since the dawn of civilization, land and water have been the basic elements of life support on our planet. Great civilizations flourished when these resources were still plentiful and they have declined or perished with their depletion (Kanda, 2006). This is because over the years people have become progressively more aggressive in exploiting natural resources, in particular land to satisfy their own needs. Yet, the

¹ The definition for the term resource is varied across different groups. Julian and Dunster (1996) define a resource as anything that is useful for something, and includes tangible commodities or abstract concepts, such as aesthetics. In the eyes of the indigenous people in Coffee Bay, land is a resource. Here scientific explanations are not considered, but rather local realities on land are considered paramount.

² Land degradation can refer to the denudation of the productive potential of the land its value as an economic resource (Stocking, 1995). These processes include water erosion, wind erosion and sedimentation by those agents, long-term reduction in the amount or diversity of natural vegetation, where relevant, and salinization and sodication" (UNEP, 1992). This phenomenon carries different meanings to different people, and it is a serious and escalating problem. Therefore, in this study land degradation is considered synonymous with environmental degradation.

limits on land are finite while human demands and desires on it are limitless. This has been worsened by the world's supertonic population growth. Cohen (1995) cited in Land Use Policy (2004) shows that human world population within hundred years from 1850 to 1950 has doubled from 1.2 billion to 2.4 billion to about 6 billion in only fifty years since 1950. Sanderson *et al.*, (2002), in their study concluded that 83% of the terrestrial surface is under direct human influence.



In recent years, environmental and resource conservation and management issues in general, have shifted from being local to international. This was witnessed by the convergence of the global stakeholders at the United Nations' (UN) Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm (1972), where the concept of sustainable development was conceived. Since then, the UN and other international organizations, and national governments have spent billions of dollars on environmental conservation and land management. Though, the dream of sustainable land management still remains a big challenge to humanity. This is because land degradation has historically been compounded by poor management strategies, due to failure of identifying stakeholders and weak institutional structures among others (FAO, 1995). On the other hand, the world is experiencing increasing population, industrialization, political tensions, cultural diffusion among societies, and conflicts over access and rights over resource ownership. In a way, all these factors have exacerbated global environmental degradation, particularly land degradation.

In a bid to avert and redress the situation of environmental degradation, the Rio de Janeiro Earth Summit (1992) was convened in Brazil. It was advocated that integrated approaches to planning and management of land resources be implemented by all member states in the world. Also subsequent post-Rio Conventions such as the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD), and the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) (2002) all consented to the idea of integrated management and sustainable development. In keeping with this, the South African government adopted new legislation such as National Environmental Management Act (NEMA, 1998) and White Paper on Land Policy (1997) to streamline ways in which natural resources can be managed. This was intended to correct the injustices of the apartheid regime, and embrace the notion of sustainability, which underpins the analysis of this study.



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The apartheid segregationist policies such as the Glen Grey Act of 1894, the Native Land Act of 1913 and the Land Act of 1936 (Hendricks, 2001) confined the access to land by Africans (indigenous people) to the reserved areas (former homelands). There is no doubt that the land carrying capacity in these areas was far exceeded, therefore, sustainable land management is a necessity for sustainable food production, food security and poverty reduction. Shackleton, Shackleton and Cousins, 2000 (cited in Shackleton, Shackleton and Cousins, 2000) affirms that the land resource is extremely vital in any rural setting. Thus the mainstreaming of land management centers on improving rural people's management practices to achieve

land resource sustainability in the world. Consequently, it is also of utmost importance that the legacy of indigenous management knowledge systems practiced by indigenous people is analyzed in this study.

The political changes witnessed in 1994 underwrote and directed land management structures and land reform in South Africa (SA). The changes are also reflected in policy formulation and decision making that ushers democracy and community participation. Therefore, the concern in this study is to ascertain the link between legislation and land management practices adopted by indigenous people. Land management in SA has a long history, thus it is important that the Colonial, Apartheid and Post Apartheid periods are explored as part of this history. The study puts more emphasis on the post-apartheid period from 1994 to 2004. This is because the political changes that took place during this period have had and continue to influence and impact on land management in the formerly racially segregated South Africa.

Conceptual Framework

The conceptual theoretical framework used for this study is the land management paradigm (LMP) (Enemark, 2005) with Coffee Bay as the case study area in the Wild Coast. This theoretical framework serves as the basis for the analysis

and interpretation of data about land resource management. The LMP entails analyzing land management activities based on components such as land policies, land information infrastructures, land administration and public participation. It centers on understanding of land rights and user rights, land value, and land use for a holistic analysis of the functional relationship in land management. At the same time it analyzes land tenure to ensure the provision of land for the poor, ethnic minorities and women, and suggests measures to prevent and manage land disputes (Enemark, 2005). To this end, the paradigm offers a platform for the rural indigenous people's voices of Coffee Bay regarded as the 'other' to be heard by the other stakeholders in LM.



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The LMP ushers and embraces sustainable land management (SLM) to harmonize both land management and environmental protection. SLM is necessary to meet the requirements of the growing population (World Bank, 2006). In this context, the cardinal concern is not to preserve in a pristine state but rather how to co-exist with nature and the growing population's needs in order to maintain the functions of the land resource to benefit the community in question in a sustainable manner. This framework puts the notion of sustainability to the real-life situation in a local context, which covers indigenous people's land management practices in Coffee Bay.

The organizational structures for land management differ widely between countries and regions throughout the world, and reflect local cultural and judicial

settings (Enemark, 2005). Institutional arrangements change over time to improve the support of the implementation of land policies and good governance which influences land management practices. At the advent of a democratic government, SA adopted a land reform policy programme through democratic institutional arrangement. This underlies land management practices as is seen in South Africa's Constitution (1996) and the White Paper on Land Policy (1997). Land reform is conducted from three ways, namely: land restitution, land redistribution and land tenure, with the aim of redressing the issues of racial discrimination against the formerly marginalized groups (White Paper on Land Policy) especially the indigenous people. All these are spearheaded by the Department of Land Affairs in support of sustainable land management and equitable distribution of land.



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Growing evidence shows that most land resource management decisions are made by local individual land users such as farmers, pastoralists and brick makers among others, but not by national policy makers and planners (Enemark, 2005). Therefore, incentive structures under which local land users make land resource management decisions vary from one geographical space to another considerably. Hurni (2000) highlights that the following factors; culture, technology, structure of the markets they operate in (including markets for the land itself), politics and economics also have an influence on decisions made by land users for SLM. All these determine the behaviour of a local land user on the land resource in any part of the world.

The framework seeks to protect and prevent harm to all the land resource management stakeholders. It addresses management roles for the different stakeholders and social justice issues (Enemark, 2005) towards building sustainable land management by the local land users. In a way, it embraces de-colonization of our thinking and recognition of traditional knowledge management systems as the foundation to sustainable land management. Hence, it provides an understanding of how people in rural areas create livelihoods and manage their land resource.



Fourie and Gysen (1996) argue that land management is necessary and requires information flow about land tenure among all stakeholders. Indeed, LMP promotes information flow in land management among stakeholders as a vital direction in which to proceed rather than a routine task in itself. The framework enhances proper land management practices at the different tiers in the management hierarchy through stakeholder participation in policy formulation (Enemark, 2005). The stakeholder's active participation from the grassroots to the central government in policy decision making, harmonizes land management policy implementation process in the country.

This framework recognizes that both multiple and conflicting realities coexist between traditional and western LM strategies, which are evident at Coffee Bay. Therefore, the land management paradigm is an empirical approach that stems from the postmodernist paradoxical context. This approach deliberately gives voice to

those silenced or ignored (Enemark, 2005) (indigenous people) by hegemonic (modern and colonial) views of land management and degradation underpinned by the histories and geographies vested in apartheid and post-apartheid regimes about land resource management.

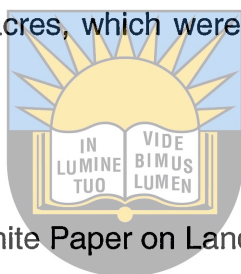
In general, LMP serves as a major impetus in facilitating a holistic approach to the management of land as a key asset of any nation or locality such as Coffee Bay. Hence this research focuses on the exploration and scrutinization of policy and thus emphasizes good land management practices in the rural built environment. This framework helps in bringing this out. Therefore, this paradigm is a cornerstone in the analysis of local land resource management issues in Coffee Bay. It also allows the adoption of a triangulation approach in exploring and gathering, analysis and presentation of data on local land resource management in Coffee Bay.

Existing Body of Knowledge

Throughout the world, the quality and quantity of land has been affected by human-environment interaction. Alkema and Cavallin (2003) argue that man's interaction with the natural environment is complex. They further argue that the socio-economic and the natural environment compete for space and interfere with each other. Land is a fundamental livelihood asset for shelter, food production and other livelihood activities (DFID, 2002). DFID further argues that, secure, safe and

affordable land is a necessary, but not always a sufficient condition for reducing poverty. The British philosopher John Locke (1632-1704, cited in FAO series, 2004) posited the following argument to show the importance of land:

... He that encloses land, and has a greater plenty of the conveniences of life from ten acres, than he could have from an hundred left to nature, may truly be said to give ninety acres to mankind; for his labour now supplies him with provisions out of ten acres, which were but the product of an hundred lying in common (p. 38).³



In South Africa, the White Paper on Land Policy (1997) covers the importance of land, and the essence for its proper management. Quite clearly, recognition should be given to issues ranging from tenure, land accessibility, gender, land use, land degradation, management systems, and policy and regulation of the land resource to achieve SLM.

Establishing and clarifying land rights through formalization has become a key issue in development policies that aim to promote more productive uses of land in the world. Schomaker (1997) argues that the perceived improvements in land quality attributable to development programmes and projects are provided more by guesswork and wishful thinking than by the use of indicators or the results of planned

³ J. Locke. 1690. *Second treatise of Government*. In C.B. McPherson, ed. 1980. Indianapolis, USA, Hackett Publishing. Locke's philosophy is not consequentialist, but contractarian. He believed that people had a natural right to appropriate goods (including land) found in nature, and that others had a duty to respect this property right, which was grounded both in the nature of things and in the social contract forming the basis of civil society.

monitoring. Schomaker (1997), therefore, advocates for an urgent need to focus more on the inter-linkages between the environmental system and the human system rather than the individual components. The inter-linkages between the two are important to enhance proper local land resource management for sustainability of land.

Over the last two decades there has been a gradual shift in attitude towards local natural resources management and utilization. FAO (1976) attests that decisions on land use have always been part of the evolution of human society, thereby influencing local land management practices. At the same time, natural resource management has been moving out of both agency offices and farmers' kitchens into town halls (Arnold, 2000). The decisions made in these boardrooms just enslave people at the grass root, instead of liberating them. On the one hand, Arnold (2000) notes that, critical environmental issues are diffused and politicized, making them a poor fit for traditional "command and control" regulatory solutions, especially at the local level for proper land resource management.

The majority of our land is no longer primarily controlled by individuals owning large swaths of farm or forest land. Kanda (2006) notes that the episodes of political influence from the intense donor and state-led activities control the environment (land) in Africa. In essence, locating where land management decisions are made is contradictory and complex. Therefore, it is also equally important to demonstrate the contradictions embedded in the 'management' of land as a resource.

The World Development Report (2003) states that, conflicts over land and water will worsen, especially in areas already suffering from water stress in South Asia, Middle East and North Africa. It further asserts that land availability in the developing countries exists in three types:

- Land in use for annual and permanent cultivation
- Land lost or no longer usable economically for cultivation
- Land reserve; still in use for sustainable agriculture.

Globally, this categorization has worsened conflicts over access and rights to resource utilization. Recent research shows that conflicts over land and natural resources occur at different scales and dimensions as expressed in the literature (Chitiyo, 2000; Cousins, 1996; Goldblatt, 1995; Kraybill, 1995; Poonan and Mackenzine, 1996; and Sibanda, 2003). This situation is exacerbated by high population growth (FAO, 1995), and 16% of the total world arable land area is degraded (World Food Summit, 1996). It is clear that land is in jeopardy and it requires good management practices for sustainability.

Shackleton, *et al.*, (2002), argues that, people's perceptions are strongly shaped by historical context, mainly related to the degree of people's access to natural resources underpinned by the policy in place. They further note that any conflicts therein, tend to deflect focus away from local users, sidelining or rendering them invisible in decision making over resource rights and accessibility. Indeed, this kind of

situation renders people useless and helpless in the decision making process and defining their own rights. Rights to natural resources should be exclusive and enforceable (Murombedzi, 1990) and based on as few conditions as possible (Murphree, 1996).

According to Ribot (2004), local land users hold discretionary powers over public resources, but most of the actions are determined by the central governments. Mertz, Wadley and Christensen (2005) reached a similar conclusion. Ribot further highlights that improper and inappropriate policies undertaken turn most land resource management practices into charades due to the plurality of local institutions. One study conducted in Niger, highlights that communities have “local” rules for land resource management which helps to resolve the local land disputes (Ouedraogo, 2005). This implies that regulations reflect local realities and cultural norms of society. However, a number of case studies show that, despite rhetoric to the contrary, central authorities continue to drive natural resource management on the agenda (Campbell and Salus, 2003; King, 2004; Mosimane and Aribeb, 2005; Shackleton *et al.*, 2002; and Wily, 2000).

Under colonization, most countries in the south experienced two systems of land regime side by side; the traditional one based on agrarian principles, and the western one in areas specified by rulers (British or French) (Oestereich, 2000). Whatever rules of heritage existed, succession must remain negotiable.

Consequently, there have been a number of policy and regulation formulations at global, regional and local levels geared towards natural resource management for sustainable development. For instance, the Rio Earth Summit (1992) through Agenda 21 argues for integrated approaches to planning and management of land resources to be implemented by all member states in the world. In addition, countries in the world embarked on land reform programmes focusing on tenure, redistribution, and restitution due to the legacy of colonialism and globalization for instance, Brazil, Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Botswana, Zimbabwe and South Africa (Wily, 2000). In particular, South Africa's land reform is underwritten and directed by the political changes from apartheid to democracy.



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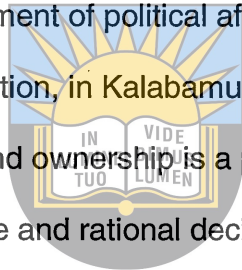
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In India, public policy advocates for decentralization of natural resource management (NRM) as crucial to local livelihood strategies (Baumann & Farrington, 2003). Ironically, two formal institutional systems have been identified as having the legitimacy and potential to enhance rural livelihoods in India (the partnership model and local government reform). For Latin America, a wave of market-oriented land policy reforms were adopted in the 1990's, from Mexico through Honduras and Nicaragua to Brazil, Ecuador and Peru (Baranyi, Deere and Morales, 2004). In this regard, land policies are considered central for sustainable growth, poverty reduction and governance. However governments should develop national land policies in consultation with the civil societies. The Bathurst Declaration (1999) concludes that sustainable development requires a sound land administration system.

In sub-Saharan Africa, land policy has moved rapidly up the political agenda in almost all the countries in recent years. Wily (2000) noted that, in eastern and southern Africa; Uganda, Tanzania, Zanzibar, Mozambique, Zambia, Eritrea, Namibia, South Africa, new land tenure laws have been promulgated in the last decade, all of which are in their earliest stages of implementation. Wily further noted that Rwanda, Malawi, Lesotho, Zimbabwe and Swaziland have new national land policies and Kenya was the most recent country to establish a commission of inquiry into land matters in 1999. This turn in the African history is marked with the realization of the importance of community participation in local NRM, both conceptually and in terms of their roles in design and implementation of management policies. Indeed, this recognition goes hand in hand with the new global economic order (globalization). Therefore, valuing local knowledge and technologies plays an important role in land resource management for sustainable development. Doremus (2005) calls for the assemblance of local land users' objectivity to avoid uncomfortable and difficult debates over the underlying values in land resource management.

In addition, Agrawa (2001) argues that, in many countries there is a shift away from centralized resource management to community – based natural resource management (CBNRM) approaches for different types of natural resources. Hendricks (2001) attests that citizens and local officials are powerful allies in resource stewardship and environmental protection. On the other hand, Glazewski (2000)

comments that little cognizance has been taken of NRM principles and environmental concerns in the legislation. Glazewski further advocates for an intensive research to synthesize the links between land degradation, land restitution and land resource management generally. These recent land reforms paved way for women to independently own land in most countries, (Miles, 1998; Larsson, *et al.*, 2003; Mafafo, 2003; and Kalabuma, 2006). However, few women own land while the majority has secondary rights (UN department of political affairs - UNDPA, 2003) either due to cultural norms (Lesotho situation, in Kalabamu, 2006) or introduction of cash crops. Indeed, land management and ownership is a politically appealing justification because it promises objective and rational decisions.



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In South Africa, all the global events that took place such as; Rio Earth Summit and WSSD have shaped and influenced local land resource management in terms of enacting different land policies and environmental legislations in the country (Land reform and Environmental Acts). Currently, land rights have been the key area of political conflict in South Africa. Indeed, land reform programmes in the country are aimed at resolving these conflicts. This is in line with the advocacy of the Freedom Charter of 1955 adopted by the African National Congress (ANC) (<http://www.anc.org.za>, 20th/05/2006). In addition, Section 25 (5) of the 1996 South African Constitution mandates the government to make resources available and to create conditions which enable citizens to gain access to land on an equitable basis. In the same respect, land resource management is embedded in this history.

Currently, the management of land is spread over several ministries and departments, each carrying out functions as mandated by their specific Acts (Whyte, 1995), for instance, the Department of Land Affairs focuses on land reform programmes and the National Department of Agriculture looks at the utilization of natural agricultural resources. All these activities are geared towards sustainable land management.

Rather, historically specific conjunctures of conditions that stem from colonial, through apartheid to post-apartheid, in one way or the other, set unique pathways for changing indigenous land management practices in South Africa. Hendricks (2001) notes that Land Acts (1913 and 1936), and the formation of the Bantustans in 1948 changed African land tenure and destabilized communities which compelled them to settle in unsuitable areas. Indeed, this is by no chance that indigenous land management systems were infringed, as black people were evicted from their land and pushed into confined areas during colonial and apartheid era (Bosch, 2003). The local people were regarded as agents of land degradation (Hajdu, 2006). Racial natural resource conservation in South Africa became part of an ideological and political conflict catalyst (Fabricius, Koch, Magome and Turner, 2004). These conservation strategies were entitled to whites only at the expense of the Blacks in the reserves. In the end, land degradation became pronounced in the reserves (Hendricks). The apartheid government adopted betterment planning as a rehabilitation tool in the former homelands to combat erosion, conserve the environment and develop agriculture. This programme was characterized with

villagisation of scattered homesteads in the reserves and each plot apportioned into residential areas, arable and grazing commonage (Beinart, 1994). This authoritarian conservation politics was tainted with segregation tendencies of separate racial development and pushing further indigenous people to small crowded plots of land. Beinart (1994) concludes that betterment was not meant to protect the land against any form of land degradation but was initiated to forcibly remove more people in more places with greater social consequences and marginalize larger numbers of the majority. Jones (1999) asserts that authoritarian approaches to environmental management are based on a view that local people are incapable of managing their environments. Many authors have extensively written on the subject (Beinart, 1994; de Wet, 1995; Fay, 2003; and Maxted, 2002). In general, betterment planning caused widespread social distress without improving the natural environment in the former homelands, and its effects are still witnessed even in Coffee Bay. Land reform as a subject has thus caught the attention of many scholars in the world.

Currently, burgeoning literature on land in South Africa focusing on issues of land reform (Mosimane and Aribeb, 2005; Wily, 2000; Christopher, 1997; Hall, 2003; Jacobs, 2003; and Bannister, 2003) generally indicates that it has taken a slow pace due to some bottlenecks (Mc Cusker, 2002; Ntsebeza, 2002; and Cousins, 2003). Land tenure in South Africa can be categorized into private and company freehold (commercial farms), common property regimes (homelands) and state-owned land (forestlands, nature conservation areas and public lands) (Whyte, 1995). Whyte

(1995) further noted that, land use in South Africa is broadly divided into urban space, agricultural production, nonagricultural use, nature conservation, and forestry. These spaces are regulated by different policies such as NEMA (1998).

In trying to resolve the past anarchy in NRM struggles especially in communal areas, Communal land Rights Act (CLRA), 2004 was adopted in SA. This Act provides for legalizing security of tenure by transferring communal land to communities to manage their land related affairs (CLRA, 2004). Further, in streamlining land management, LandCare Programme – LCP (1989) was adopted, focusing on community based initiatives around conservation of natural resources through sustainable utilization and the creation of a conservation ethic through education and awareness (Jacobs, 2006). Ultimately, these had direct implications on the rural communities and definitely pounced on their indigenous land management practices.

King (2004) noted that, the post apartheid democratic structures have challenged traditional governance systems by empowering households to have access to environmental resources (such as land). This undermines traditional authorities' power over NRM. To the contrary, Taylor (2000) noted that local government has an important role to play in identifying and using local land resources for sustainable economic development. In fact, in this whole state of NRM, indigenous resource management systems are regarded as sources of land degradation.

Land degradation narratives reflect the extent of the problem in different parts of the world. Pimentel (2006) notes that 10 million hectares of cropland are lost annually worldwide due to soil erosion and 43% of total land area in Africa is at risk from human-induced land degradation (UNDP-GEF, 2004). Country level evidence on land degradation shows that 15% of the total Brazil is severely degraded by human activities (Castrofilho, Cochrane, Norton, Caviglione, and Johansson, 2001), and Barrere-bassols and Zink (2003) note that land degradation in Latin American highlands is often perceived as resulting from local farmers inadequate land management practices. In India, 140 million hectares are affected by erosion while in Argentina 29% of the land area is degraded by erosion (Kelley, 1990). The South African Environmental Monitoring Group – EMG (1991) notes that the recent national survey suggests that nearly 25% of the magisterial districts of the country are already badly degraded. This is attributed to mismanagement emanating from local farmers (Beinart, 2002; Maddox, 2002). On the other hand, many scholars argue that Transkei is environmentally degraded by factors such as crowding, over-utilization of land and poor planning among others (Crais, 2003; DEAT, 1996). This implies that land degradation is a global problem which calls for proper land management.

In the literature surveyed, little has been written about land management, specifically focusing on rural indigenous people in the former homelands in the post-apartheid era. The 'super-role' of the indigenous people in land management has not

had much literature dedicated to it. At worst, indigenous people in South Africa were regarded to being core agents of environmental and land degradation (Hajdu, 2006; Maxted, 2002) during the apartheid regime. Much has been written about the roles of community resource management (Agrawa, 2001; Fabricius, *et al.*, 2004), local governments and traditional authorities and the government (King, 2004), and the private sector in promoting proper land management for sustainable development. The indigenous human agency (the actual people concerned) has been neglected, that is, their feelings, their abilities and their perceptions in land management have all received less attention. Another notable deafening silence has been the marginalization of the cultural and societal perspectives that influence the attitudes, beliefs, and biases of people toward the use of resources and environmental protection. More crucially, issues of patriarchy in land resource management (Kalabamu, 2006) are mere pass-by statements in most current studies, and yet women are at the centre of resource management in the world. There is growing concern that significant proportions of the public have an inadequate understanding of many aspects of rural life, especially about their environmental management practices in general. In short, the onus of this study is on establishing not only what is known about these various issues, but also what is not known and how such gaps in the existing body of knowledge might be addressed by future research.

In general, the policy and institutional frameworks for local land resource development, and land management specifically, in South Africa has embarked on an

integrated development plan system (IDPS). The system is intended to empower local governments to be more viable and more focused on development. However, its functionality is deeply tainted by colonial and apartheid experiences. This study therefore, seeks to explore the conflict involved in local land resource management, and the mechanism under which legislation affects the local land users, especially in the Wild Coast. The paper also seeks to highlight the role of local land users, and draw links between legislation and local practices in land resource management. Ultimately, managing land resources remains a challenge in developing countries, especially South Africa which is recovering from the ravages of apartheid. Yet, coincidentally South Africa finds itself entangled in the waves of globalization and neo-liberalization policies of the new global order (e.g. Growth, Employment and Redistribution - GEAR). Therefore, an analysis is necessary to establish the complexity of local land resource management in the Wild Coast of South Africa.

Catalyst for Research

Problem Statement

The Department of Land Affairs (DLA) and Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT) have since 1994 introduced many key policy regulations to enhance land reform and sound environmental management under the post-apartheid

government. This is because land and other environmental issues at this moment of transformation and transition of the country from ravages of apartheid and racism, had to be addressed in a constructive, transparent and democratic manner. Therefore, it is important to establish if there is a link between legislation/regulations and local land management practices. What impacts do these policies have on the local daily practices, indigenous knowledge, and rural livelihoods? Do the existing policies acknowledge the role of local land resource users (community participation) in policy and decision making over land resource management issues or not?



Despite the fact that land cover and land sustainability management practices are vested in the day-to-day local land user's decisions and practices, for sound environmental management, recent studies have not covered much about indigenous people's land management practices. Therefore, there is need to ascertain if, local land resource users are accorded due respect in the different aspects of resource management. Thus an analysis is called for to examine how land as a 'resource' is managed locally by the indigenous people in Coffee Bay. The assumption is that changes in land use practices and resultant changes in local resource management and policy realizations are determined by people at the grassroots. The study places indigenous people at the centre stage in land management initiatives. This is because land as a vital resource can be properly managed depending on the indigenous peoples' cultural and local environment for the community in question to achieve sustainable land management (SLM).

Aim

Within the land management paradigm perspective, this study aims to examine how land as a 'resource' is managed by the local indigenous people in Coffee Bay (Wild Coast), with specific reference to whether it is moving towards or away from sustainability.



Objectives of the Study

The objectives of the study are as follows:

1. To examine the form of land tenure and its influences on the local land user management systems in the rural setting of the Wild Coast.
2. To assess gender issues (patriarchy tendencies) in land resource ownership and management in the Coffee Bay area.
3. To establish different indigenous knowledge management systems practiced in land resource management in Coffee Bay.
4. To establish changes in land use patterns in relation to human settlement as well as identifying land based activities in the area since 1994 to 2004.
5. To determine different physical forms of land degradation and also establish management measures (land care programme) put in place to address the problem.

6. To establish the existing links between legislation and current land resource management practices in the area.

Research Methods and Techniques

This part of the dissertation presents the entire research design and procedures adopted for the study. This process of preparation and procedure entailed identifying the methods, techniques, and stakeholders who participated in the study. Also the section presents information on the ethical concerns in this study, nature of data collected, fieldwork merits, and challenges encountered in data collection as a whole.



The study adopted an intensive case study design that required mainly qualitative approaches, though quantitative techniques were found useful in data presentation and analysis. In short, the methodology used in this research is both literature and field based. The literature component focuses on secondary data that exists in the form of books, journal articles, magazine articles, statistical bulletins, government reports and notices (White Papers and Acts) to provide an overview on issues pertaining to land and local land resource management (Barnes and Duncan, 1992). This provided a rich background on which the study was based for its analysis. At the same time, documentary analysis enabled the researcher to formulate the study objectives which stemmed from the identified gaps in the existing body of knowledge

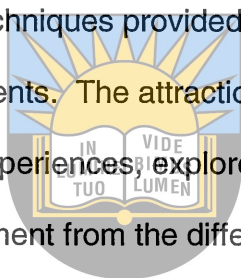
on land and its management. More importantly, current debates on the subject matter especially in the new South Africa were tracked down from the burgeoning literature on land reform due to the merits of qualitative approach.

According to Mittman (2006), qualitative approaches are tools used in understanding and describing the world of human experiences. The world of human experiences provides the basis for the indigenous knowledge systems that indigenous people adopt in land management systems. Yet, qualitative approaches are often dismissed as unscientific by the leftist science school of thought. It is important to note that qualitative research methods were valuable in providing in-depth understanding of the complex situation of land management especially in the rural South African given its history. This approach helped in exploring the indigenous people's lived experiences in LM. The researcher learnt from the indigenous people's lived experiences thus offered a clear interpretation of the local events which gave the 'other' a platform for their voices to be heard. Key informants were treated as subjects not as objects in the study. Most scholars believe that the qualitative approach aims to offer a perspective to a situation and provide well-written research reports that reflect the researchers' ability to illustrate or describe the corresponding phenomenon. Indeed, this was also the case with this study. It provided a platform for rich and in-depth exploration and descriptions on land management.

In addition, fieldwork included qualitative data collecting techniques such as sampling, interviewing (structured and unstructured interviews), questionnaires, focus group, and observations (Flick, 2002; Hay, 2000; Gubrium and Holstein, 2003). These enabled the researcher to obtain information from the different stakeholders about local land resource management. Finally, aerial photographs from 1994 to 2004 were analyzed to establish land use changes in the Coffee Bay area. The choice of the triangulation approach was underpinned by the nature and complexity embedded in it (land is regarded as a contentious and political issue). This selection of techniques was also based on the need to understand the full multi-dimensional and complexity about the stakeholders' lived experiences in land management. Also these methodologies were informed by the land management paradigm. In short, techniques adopted in this study were based on the need to reflect on the entire aim, objectives and conceptual framework in trying to close the gaps existing in the body of knowledge.

Graham (cited in Flowerdew and Martin, 2005) argues that philosophical problems and answers are implicated in the choice of methods, approaches and conceptual theories. Ultimately, the formulation of this study's research problem links with the epistemology and land management paradigm to the entire research framework analysis. This in turn dictated the research techniques that were adopted (qualitative and quantitative) in the analysis of the entire study.

Hay (2000) asserts that these methods elucidate human environments, individual experiences and social processes. Therefore, the relationship between local land management practices and the recent history of the entire land management and distribution in the apartheid and post-apartheid era were easily drawn during fieldwork. Hoggart, Lees and Davies, (2002) argue also that the depth of insight that emerges from qualitative research can make the research process more exciting. Indeed, fieldwork guided by these techniques provided mutual relationship between the researcher and key respondents. The attraction of the qualitative method was the need to get closer to lived experiences, explore beliefs and actions revolving around local land resource management from the different stakeholders in the Coffee Bay Wild Coast.



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Most importantly, having established the nature of research informants during the pilot study, the researcher recognized that these informants must be sampled randomly. This sampling technique was based on the stakeholder's category, location and activities engaged in by participants or organizations in land management in Coffee Bay. This technique proved useful in exploring the different stakeholders lived experiences about land management in Coffee Bay and rural South Africa in general especially in the rural areas. This was in line with the case study research design. Key informants that were sampled included traditional authorities, local people, government official from provincial to local municipality level, non-government officials and community based organizations. Quite clearly, the technique offered enough

scope for in-depth investigation, and exploration of their attitudes, perceptions and different contrasting realities of land management in Coffee Bay. This technique was adopted during the process of interviewing, questionnaire administering, and focus group sessions.

Intensive interviews were used in this study. These served as a special form of discussion involving interaction between participants (Flowerdew and Martin, 2005). Semi-structured questionnaires were adopted in collecting data from different relevant government officials at different levels, Non-governmental organizations, community based organizations, and traditional authorities in the area of study. The interview guide contained a list of issues to be sure to ask about when talking to the interviewees during the interview session. It was during this same period that key informants raised their concerns about government oppression and neglect for the rural population especially in areas of service delivery and infrastructural development.

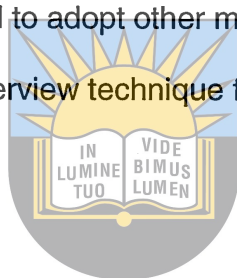
Additionally, in-depth interviewing provided a clear understanding of the complex cultural situations of the Wild Coast which helped in the realization of the different research objectives. For instance, the verbal communication between participants elicited information or expression of opinions or beliefs from forty two persons. In turn, it helped in filling the gaps in the existing body of knowledge which other methods such as observation and focus groups were unable to bridge efficaciously (Kevin, 2000 in Hay, 2000). Denzin and Lincoln (2000); Limb and Dwyer

(2001); and Robson (2002), all attest that interviews provide a greater breadth of data than other types, given its qualitative in nature. Winchester (1999) acknowledges that in-depth interviews illuminate underlying structures of patriarchy and masculinity, which were profound in local land resource management.

The fact that interviews were held in environments, with which key informants are familiar, made it easy for many of them to respond to questions. This comfort enabled key informants to draw examples by showing or taking the researcher around their built-up environment. At the same time, it brought to surface the emotional experiences as expressed in the told stories about land management in Coffee Bay. In keeping with Valentine (2005), the interviewer was in position to repeat and phrase questions to make them clear for informants especially those to which they were struggling with providing responses. This guidance and clarification of confusing issues enabled both the researcher and the interviewees to reach at common grounds hence validating the information that was being collected. In a way however, this data collection technique provided cheerful moments between participants. During the interview session, key informants such as non governmental organizations interviewed on behalf of their organizations preferred to be quoted only on the positive remarks their organization/s have made/make in land management in Coffee Bay.

Despite their strength, interviews had some demerits especially on the side of the researcher. The requirement for interviews to be conducted in quiet and private

places created difficulties to both the researcher and interviewee in that these conditions could not be found. This meant that there were some disruptions during the interview sessions by people knocking at the door and other disturbances. At the same time, critics argue that information obtained during interview sessions may be biased by power relations between the interviewer and interviewee (Flowerdew and Martin, 2005), hence the researcher had to recognize positionality and neutrality. This meant that the researcher had to adopt other methods such as questionnaires as a follow up and complement interview technique for more valid information from the respondents.



Questionnaires were employed to complement the interview technique during data collection. Most of the questionnaires were administered through face-to-face interaction with participants in the form of interviews after having scheduled appointments. This was intended to clarify terms and explore the abilities of key informants especially government officials in areas of policy formulation, and implementation, and their departmental role in land management. Both open and closed ended questions were set for short and explanatory answers about issues of tenure, indigenous knowledge systems and extent of land degradation in Coffee Bay. After these brief interview sessions, questionnaires were left with the Government officials⁴ both electronic (soft) and hard copies of the questionnaires for their

⁴ Government officials represents officials from Department of Agriculture (DoA), Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (DWAF), Department of Land Affairs (DLA), Department of Environmental Affairs, Economic and Tourism (DEAET) and Department of Local Housing

convenience and easy communication with the researcher. These served as follow ups to gather more information and cross-sectional checks on the validity of the information availed to the researcher during the interview schedule. Indeed, the questionnaire survey is an indispensable tool in collecting primary data about people's behaviors, attitudes, opinions and their awareness about subject specific issues (Partiff, 2005). The busy schedule that government officials had/have proved suitable for questionnaire technique. The provision of government officials with the researchers' email address created an easy and cheap way of communicating though getting feedback from some local government officials seemed a bit problematic as they had so many field commitments. In general, the questionnaires distributed guided the different government officials in responding to the issues raised about land and land management in South Africa.

Notwithstanding the demerits of questionnaires, the researcher concurs with other authors (Flick, 2002; Flowerdew and Martin, 2005) that these have the tendency to ask a rigid set of simple questions for respondents to answer. In addition, Valentine (2005) notes that questionnaires make respondents to answer in particular ways that they may not have thought of or may not want to use. In essence, they are left with no choice. The reality is that people's minds are not rigid and therefore, new ideas evolve which make them to offer different responses to the same set of questions at different times. To this end, validation of information was ensured by employing many techniques in data collection.

Focus group (FG) interviews were conducted with different local land users in Coffee Bay. Also semi-structured questionnaires were adopted in guiding the focus group discussion. It offered multiple lines of communication among the participants, where they shared ideas, beliefs and attitudes about land resource management issues in Coffee Bay. Hoggart, Lees and Davies (2002) maintain that communication within the group becomes multidimensional, which promotes accuracy in the research. The voices of the women, the colonized, the indigenous and other minorities (youths) were heard from their silence, which enabled a more holistic understanding of the Wild Coast society on issues pertaining to land management. This was achieved as most of the local respondents were women.



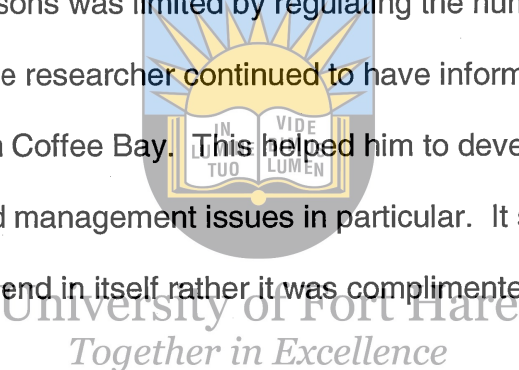
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Additionally, FG created a line communication and allowed direct interactive contact between the researcher and respondents in their usual environment especially in their homesteads. This was very conducive for the respondents and neighbours gathered to share their lived experiences in land management with the researcher. In a way, it availed the researcher the opportunity to understand the Xhosa customs pertaining to land management. It was during this time that the researcher realized that some fanatic religious people never wanted to associate themselves with customs in public but all recognized their traditions in LM. In turn, the researcher used follow-up questions to probe more information from the responses as the questionnaire guide was loose-tight (semi-structured questions). Accordingly, Conradson (2005) argue

that FG is not just a way of collecting individual statements, rather it is a means to set up a negotiation of meanings through intra-and inter-personal debates. During the FG sessions, gestures and other facial expressions (when some contentious issues especially about government policies arose) were noted and taken care of through follow-up questions.

Consequently, FG was efficient and fruitful as the researcher's intended goal was achieved. It offered a clear understanding of the ways in which indigenous people establish land management strategies and social issues based on Tshezi norms and customs. At the same time, knowledge sharing and experience revelation among participants was a norm which enriched the study with vast information. Vitally, it enabled the researcher to get to conclusions on the often conflicting perspectives of rural land management. It is important to note that, the researcher had the opportunity to return to comments and cross reference between participant's responses in a more friendly and interactive manner than that afforded by a questionnaire and individual interviews (Conradson, 2005). The fact that respondents were familiar with each other, gave them freedom to express their lived experiences on land management. The factors that were basically considered in recruiting group members was 'first free for all available' but it is important to consider other variables (age, gender, and location). These were a requirement because of the need to capture Coffee Bay indigenous people's views.

On the other hand, in as much as FG is efficient, the research was mindful of their weaknesses such as opinion leaders dominating during the discussion. To avoid the bias in data collected, reserved people in the group were encouraged by the researcher to say a word, and personal contact after the discussion was a must. This was intended to probe and quiz them on some issues raised during the group discussion and their concerns captured as well. At the same time, the risk of recruiting many persons was limited by regulating the number of participants to 4. Most importantly, the researcher continued to have informal discussions during the course of his stay in Coffee Bay. This helped him to develop a deeper understanding of the area and land management issues in particular. It should be noted that this method was not an end in itself rather it was complimented with observation technique.



Field observations were sought in this study to reinforce the process of data collection. These revealed the different physical forms of land degradation that are evident in the area of study. Hamersley and Atkinson (1983) argue that the role of the observer varies from passive to pro-active, which informs the different issues around local land resource management in the Coffee Bay. In-depth participant observation was sought to essentially develop a meaningful relationship with the research subjects, and facilitate deep understanding of the research context (Cooper, 1994; 1995). Observation was adopted in an attempt to reach a contextual understanding of local land resource management, in order to accumulate a considerable volume of text

to enrich other methods of data collection. Therefore, an adequate interpretation of the social phenomena of local land resource management was done, which is a true reflection of the local context in Coffee Bay.

Aerial photographs were used to ascertain whether there have been any changes in land use since 1994 to 2004 in the Coffee Bay area. To this end, two aerial photographs 1995⁵ and 2004⁶ were obtained from the DLA (surveys and mapping section, Cape Town). This provided additional information for temporal analysis in land resource management about the indigenous people's practices in the rural South Africa. Kivell (1993) noted that aerial photography for land use survey and land management analysis was well established since the 1940's. He further argues that aerial photographs can offer a number of advantages including speed and cost-effectiveness, easy to use for time sequence comparisons and ability to overcome site access problems. Virtually, aerial photographs helped the researcher to carry out an evaluation about changes in land use practices, thus enhancing the research findings.


Finally, in quantitative terms, informant's demographic data was captured in the questionnaires, during interview and FG sessions by the researcher. During data presentation and analysis, this information about informants' age, gender and education was presented numerically on different tables respectively. This

⁵ Aerial Photograph 1995, Job number: 983, Photo number: 0713; Scale: 1:16,666

⁶ Aerial Photograph 2004, Job number: 1097, Photo Number: 13352; Scale: 1:50,000. All aerial photographs were obtained from Chief Directorate: Surveys and Mapping, Department of Land Affairs, Cape Town, Mowbray, South Africa.

demographic information portrays percentage participation per each classification in the research. Nicol and Pexman (2006) argue that tables allow complex data to be expressed in a tidy format. Actually, tabulation of demographic information enabled the researcher to understand the meaning of the percentage numbers hence valid conclusions were arrived at.

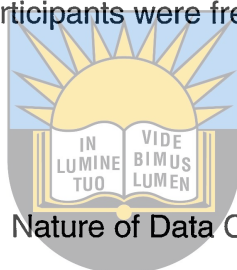
Ethical Concerns in This Research



To maintain ethical issues, permission to do this research was obtained from different participants (government officials, Coffee Bay indigenous people, Traditional Authorities, non governmental organizations and community based organization members). All these stakeholders were issued with copies of a covering letter from the Department of Geography and Environmental Science introducing the researcher and requesting them to help him in anyway possible in the study. At Coffee Bay, the headman (*Inkosi*) had to grant permission to the researcher before collecting data in the area.

During the period of interaction, the researcher explained the research procedure to all the respondents. To this end, all the respondents were informed of the nature and purpose of the study, informed and reassured that there was no harmful procedure involved. At the same time, they were told that there is no right or wrong in expressing their views as the researcher was/is not a government agent.

Thereafter, interviewees took a verbal informed consent regarding participation in the study, and confidentiality was assured to be maintained at all times. Some respondents agreed to be quoted directly in the study on some issues, however, both non governmental and government officials preferred to be quoted only on the positive contributions that their organizations and departments have made to land management in Coffee Bay. This study was operated and conducted on a free and voluntary basis. Above all, participants were free to withdraw from participation during the interview session.



Nature of Data Collected

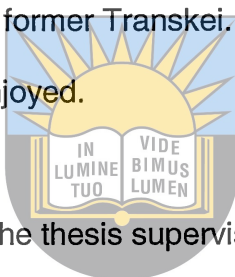
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In keeping with the main aim of the study (p24), the data collected addresses the importance of proper LM and unravels the mechanism underpinning indigenous people's practices in attaining sustainable development in the rural built up environment. At the same time, issues around indigenous people's perceptions on their stake in policy formulation and implementation were explored. Equally important, information on the nature of the existing tenure system, and its influences on the way land is managed were sought from people of Coffee Bay area. Observations and aerial photograph analysis reinforced the process of data collection, hence deductions on land degradation and land use changes were made possible. Finally, information on the linkages between legislation and the existing land management practices was

gathered. It is important to acknowledge that in the process of data collection both merits and hiccups were encountered in the field ranging from simple to complex.

Fieldwork Merits

In this study, active field research was carried out in two phases during 2006 and 2007 at Coffee Bay in the former Transkei. In undertaking this field research, several distinct merits were enjoyed.



In view of the fact that the thesis supervisors come from this area, in depth information on land management was obtained. This covered issues on the past and present indigenous people's LM practices in Coffee Bay. Additionally, easy access to the villages (*//ali*) was enjoyed due to the researcher's rural background and dynamism, and ability to speak a bit of IsiXhosa language. This tremendously narrowed the gap between the researched and the researcher thus eliciting vital information that enriched the study.

The establishment of a permanent relationship with the local chief (*Inkosi*), one local family and working closely with Mr. Luthando Owen (as field assistant) instilled confidence among the key respondents in Coffee Bay to fully participate in the study. To this end, all local informants opened up and shared their lived experiences with the researcher on issues around LM. Equally important, the researcher had some money

that enabled him to travel widely throughout Coffee Bay during field visits and meet all the key informants. At the same time, these funds also facilitated the researcher's stay for a month with a local family, and clear observations were thus made on how local people manage their land and extent of land degradation in the area.

Ultimately, the researcher being of an African descent from a rural setting, knew many traditional customs, though slightly different from AmaXhosa culture and found it easy to identify with the Xhosa people (Tshezi community). Many traditionalist and village elders were thrilled to discover that there were some young educated people like the researcher who were still curious about traditions and concerned about their fate (especially indigenous LM systems) in these rapidly changing times and circumstances of globalization and modernization. Besides all the above, the researcher encountered some problems in the process of data collection in general.

Hiccups Encountered in Data Collection

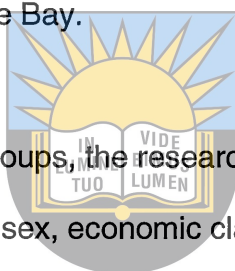
Despite commendable clarifications that the researcher made on how the research will benefit different stakeholders and purpose of undertaking it, and a covering letter from the University department (see Appendix A), most of the interviewees, especially the government officials were reluctant to freely divulge information during the interview sessions. Further more, those government officials who were supplied with the questionnaires had to be reminded from time to time either

through emails or phone calls, and to check whether they have completed filling them. At worst, securing Coffee Bay aerial photographs of 1995 and 2004, from the Department of Land Affairs Surveys and Mapping section was a difficult. This situation was really frustrating, costly and it delayed the whole process of data analysis. At the same time aerial photographs were of different scales, therefore, it was difficult to make clear deductions on land use changes in Coffee Bay. This was not a sequential analysis of the area.



Some local respondents in Coffee Bay showed some hostility towards sharing their lived experiences about LM with a 'stranger'. This situation was complex given the foreign nationality of the researcher, though finally the researcher's ability to speak IsiXhosa language harmonized the process. Also, the experience of some community members with the previous interviewers presented reluctance to participate in this research, asking how it was going to address their problems (lack of electricity and toilets, poor roads, poverty and employment opportunities) in Coffee Bay. Part of the respondents blamed the consequences of LM to the government, and many local respondents had reservations in participating in the research. To this end, respondents were very keen to know whether the researcher was working for DEAT ('nature') or any other government agency. This is because local people regard government officials as their worst enemies who block people from natural resource utilization. Ironically, the researcher had to be first interviewed by the respondents about his relationship with either the government or the DEAT in particular which

harasses them. In essence, security posed a big challenge to the researcher as a stranger especially during interview sessions. It was important to introduce to them a permission seeking letter from the University department in order to justify the purpose of the study and to guarantee confidentiality concerning the information provided. Identifying with the interviewees and compassion played an important role in the success of the interviews seeking information about their lived experiences and attitudes towards LM in Coffee Bay.

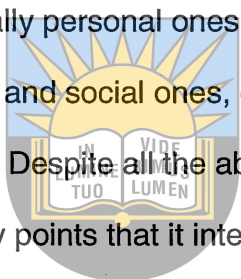


With regard to focus groups, the researcher's plan was to satisfy the intra-group homogeneity in terms of age, sex, economic class, and education level. However, the initial plan of group composition could not work out properly. The failure to accomplish the plan was due to the large number of females relative to males in Coffee Bay. The situation is largely attributed to the migrant labour policy of the former apartheid government where males had to work in the mines. From the initially intended sample of 39 respondents, an additional 10 respondents were also interviewed in order to neutralize the gender composition.

It would be more accurate to say that, in many parts of the Transkei, such as Coffee Bay, topography poses serious problems in data collection. To this effect, the existence of mountains and rivers (Mbomvu River) combined with the poor state of access roads and footpaths made walking from one homestead to another very difficult. In addition, scarcity of transport facilities made it inevitable for both the

researcher and his field assistant to walk long distances as homesteads are sparsely distributed in the area. On the other hand, because of the area being inaccessible, the area tends to be strongholds of tradition and conservation and was therefore a fruitful laboratory for the study.

It should be evident from the above that the main difficulties encountered in this research were not the unusually personal ones, such as linguistic, identity, communicative, geographical and social ones, often experienced by many field workers particularly in Africa. Despite all the above limitations, the study entirely still covered and achieved the key points that it intended to.



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Research Location

The Wild Coast covers part of the Eastern Cape Province in South Africa, which is adjacent to the great Indian Ocean (figure 1). This covers the area between Port Edward in the North and Kei River in the South along the coastline (<http://www.wildcoast.co.za/>, 2006), which is about 25 km wide and 250 km long. The Wild Coast Area covers the whole of OR Tambo District Municipality and part of the eastern coastal area of Amatole District Municipality. The OR Tambo District Municipality has a total population of about 1,676,485 persons, with a population

density of 731 (Person/km²) (EC GIS, 2007). Coffee Bay is located in King Sabata Dalindyebo local municipality (KSD).

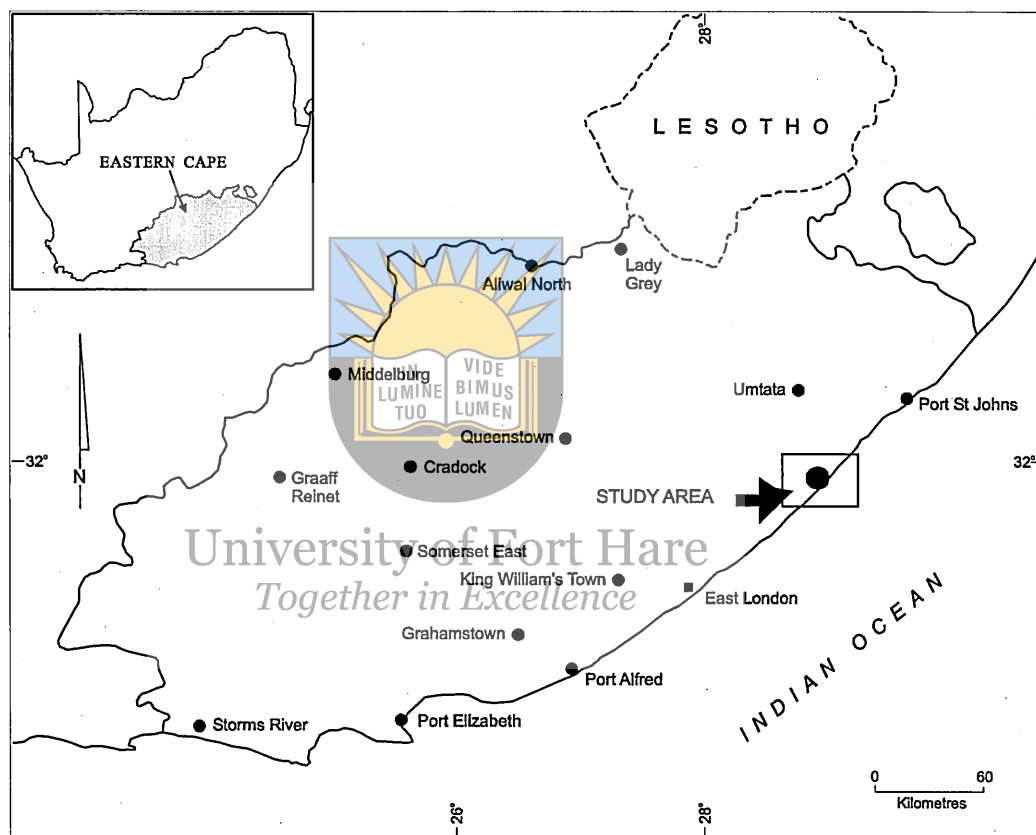
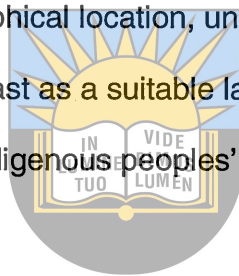


Figure 1: Location of Coffee Bay in the Wild Coast, Eastern Cape, South Africa

The Wild Coast was a white enclave, until it became part of the Transkei in 1976 due to the homeland policies of the apartheid regime (South Africa online Travel guide, 2006). The wilderness of the area, presents man as part of the landscape not as an inordinate boss. It is believed that, Coffee Bay attained its name from a cargo

ship that wrecked at the coast in the 19th century and spilled some of its coffee beans on the shore (Amadiba Adventurers, 2006).

The area was identified for this research, because of its unique position. The traditional AmaXhosa lifestyle continues here. Thus it provides a model for exploring rural land management based initiatives to achieve sustainable development. The result of its attractive geographical location, unique natural resources and high levels of poverty, presents Wild Coast as a suitable laboratory site for research to provide an understanding of the rural indigenous peoples' land management practices in South Africa.



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Indeed, Coffee Bay area has drawn a great interest for this research, because it is nested in a natural amphitheatre that offers a Xhosa African culture. This offers an opportunity of exploring and experiencing Xhosa African culture by combining legendary historical land management systems and knowledge of land management in the rural Eastern Cape province of South Africa. Certain land use practices seem to have changed quite significantly over the years in the area and thus pose as a very good working area for the study. Coffee Bay serves as a screen board for the coastal areas because it has almost all the characteristics identifiable with other coastal places in the Wild Coast.

In general, the whole region is very rural and infrastructure is sparsely scattered in the area, and above all, one of the least developed regions in South Africa. Not much has been written about Coffee Bay that is known. Ultimately, this location context deserves exploring in this 'new' South Africa, to provide valid information about how the rural indigenous people manage their land resource, as it is one of the provinces experiencing serious environment and land degradation.

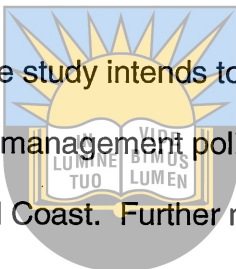


Significance of the Study

Land is the cornerstone in attaining development in any society. In the White Paper (1997), it is acknowledged that land is an important and sensitive issue to all South Africans. Land also physically locates people's sense of being, past and present. Therefore, this study seeks to highlight the local social context within which local land resource management is handled by the local land user in Coffee Bay Wild Coast.

An important rationale for this study is that the majority of the poor people in South Africa live in rural areas (Woolard, 2002), and these people have been subjected to marginalization in different ways. Their roles in resource management are unheard of, or scantily accorded attention and acknowledged. Apart from marginalization, rural communities are economically underdeveloped. Yet rural

people directly derive their livelihoods from natural resources, especially land. In keeping with Kepe (2002), it is important to understand the rural livelihoods' dynamics, especially about issues of resource use and management systems practiced by the indigenous people in the community. For this study, the land management paradigm is used to explore indigenous people's land management practices for sustainable land resource and environmental protection.



In the same respect, the study intends to close the gaps that exist in the literature about land resource management policies and their actual implementation by the local land user, in the Wild Coast. Further more, the research will enhance and provide information about local land resource management principles adopted in promoting sustainable land management in Coffee Bay. This will serve as a point of reference, in decision making upon local land resource management, in terms of determining; land suitability for land use planning, maintenance and conservation, and development.

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The research findings will help to address among others, sustainable land management practices and food security, thus conforming to the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) as well as addressing different issues of Agenda 21, in this racially ravaged society. The state of local land resource management by the local land users will be brought to the surface, and comparisons and lessons can be drawn by different organizations and departments from this study. Findings will also

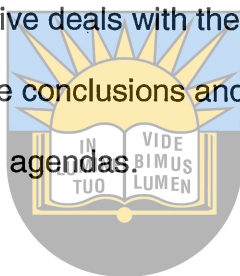
form a basis for assessment and evaluation of different land policies and strategies adopted by the Department of Land Affairs in the Eastern Cape Province.

There is ample evidence to conclude that the sheer scale of human activities on the earth is unprecedented. This suggests that human beings need to be vigilant about their activities in the space to avoid the damage these might have on the quality of the environment. Indeed, the problem of environmental and land degradation has become greater in recent years. Therefore, the value of land, (where the majority of the rural people derive their livelihoods from) is diminishing, thus an investigation into its management practices is essential. In this context, the research focuses on establishing how the indigenous people in Coffee Bay manage their land as a resource. In a bid to explore and understand the different issues around land management, the study adopts LMP entrenched in SLM to ensure sustainable management practices for the indigenous people in Coffee Bay.

Structure of the Dissertation

Chapter One comprises of the introduction to the study, conceptual framework, literature review, research problem, aim and objectives, research methodology, research ethics, nature of data collected, fieldwork merits and also hiccups encountered in data collection, location of the study area, and the significance of the

study. Chapter Two includes the background of the study area (introduction and the general facet of the study area), Coffee Bay in KSD Municipality, situational analysis, and systems of governance in Coffee Bay, while Chapter Three deals with LM in a post-colonial African setting focusing on the legislative framework and an analysis of LM across different government regimes with more emphasis given to the post-apartheid era land management policies. Chapter Four contains data presentation and analysis, while Chapter Five deals with the discussion of the research findings. Finally, Chapter Six covers the conclusions and recommendations to the entire study and highlights future research agendas.



It is thus clear that the major concern of this research is LM as a problem during the great race of change in policy and social setup of the Transkei region especially Coffee Bay and South Africa in general. In order, to attend to the nitty-gritty details of the study, the researcher found it imperative to unearth all the above information and the aspects covered in the proceeding chapters of the dissertation. In a way however, the researcher hopes that this section will give a clear picture and illustrates an independent and different approach to convey the special and confusing message about LM in Coffee Bay through the land management paradigm.

CHAPTER II

THE STUDY AREA

Introduction

This chapter gives a brief overview of the Eastern Cape Province and the Wild Coast, with particular focus on Transkei. It further outlines the different aspects of King Sabatha Dalindyebo Municipality situational analysis in the light of Coffee Bay area. In general, the aim of this section is not to provide a complete synopsis for the entire thesis, but rather to contextualize the facts that are important for the comprehension of the study about Coffee Bay.

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The General Facet of the Study Area

Eastern Cape Province (EC) is inhabited by heterogeneous ethnic groupings, and this trend carries through the local district municipalities such as King Sabatha Dalindyebo (KSD) Municipality. Indigenous people constitute the greatest percentage (83.4%) out of the seven million people (National Census, 2001). Due to the segregation policies of land dispossession (Glen Grey Act of 1894, Natives Land Act of 1913, Native Trust and Land Act of 1936), majority of the indigenous people occupy the former homelands such as Transkei. Hendricks (2001) notes that the migrant labour system and the Betterment Planning compounded the situation thus caused

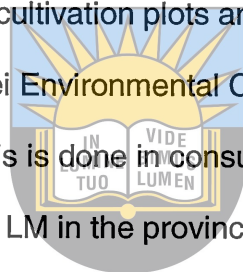
anguish and bitterness among Africans. In a way however, indigenous people had no platform in policy and legislation formulation on LM related issues. This scenario prompted the 'new' South African government based on democratic principles of public participation to embark on a land reform program in 1997. This history, has led to the existence of both western and traditional legal systems in LM.

All the land is held by the government in trust for all South Africans, and is allocated depending on the nature of tenure. Traditional Authorities and local government departments (especially Department of Land Affairs) are in control of land affairs in the province. These government structures shape and design, and enforce the implementation of land management legislation in the province, though it varies from one district municipality to the other.

The EC province has a land of undulating hills, expansive sandy beaches, majestic mountain ranges and emerald green forests, and is the second largest of the nine provinces. Its surface area is 169 580 km² (South African Government Information Services, 2006). The region has natural vegetation diversity, ranging from the dry, desolate Great Karoo, to the northern tropical forests fused with the more temperate woods of the south and mangroves along the Wild Coast. This gives the EC an excellent agricultural and forestry potential, which has to depend on good land management practices to enhance land sustainability. For instance, the people in Transkei (part of the Wild Coast) are dependent on animal rearing and subsistence

farming, in the traditional communal area.

In the EC, Wanklin (2005) notes that the Local Government administers the planning, land use and site allocation of land within the 1 kilometre coastal belt. He further affirms that most formal planning activities exclude the rural areas such as Coffee Bay. On the other hand, the Department of Agriculture parcels sites allocated to people into grazing lands, cultivation plots and residential areas especially outside the 1 kilometer area (Transkei Environmental Conservation Decree No. 9 of 1992) in the Wild Coast. Currently, this is done in consultation with the Traditional leadership in KSD Municipality. Clearly, LM in the province is multi-departmental across the DEAET, DLA, and DWAF among others.



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Perret (2001) notes that the LandCare Project initiated in 1999 was to boost agriculture in the EC Province. The main focus was the creation of financial stability in the targeted communities by means of agriculturally directed interventions, rather than LM. This venture was in line with the national strategy of curbing land degradation through community participation. History indicates that the EC was among the widely affected provinces by the homeland policy. In this regard, many authors have described land and environmental degradation in the former homelands (McAllister, 1992; Simon, 1993). Nel and Davies (1999) paint former homelands as characterized by extreme overcrowding and frequent environmental collapse. Thus LM is called for in this study to ascertain the landcare management practices in which indigenous

people are engaged in the Wild Coast especially Coffee Bay.

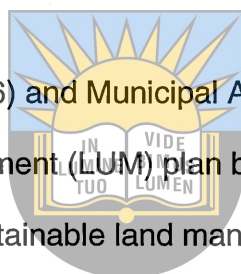
Kepe (2005) generalized that environmental degradation is often connected with a view of the local population as highly dependent on environmental resources and a tendency to blame environmental degradation and local incompetence in land use. On the same note, local people are seen as over exploiting the resources because of ignorance, and or because they are in dire need and can thus not be expected to care for conservation ideas (Moffat, 1998). Farrington, Carney, Ashley, and Turton (1999), points out that the connection between poverty and degradation is so strong that degradation of natural resources is often simply assumed in areas of widespread poverty, such as Transkei. Hajdu (2006) notes that many scholars (e.g. Crais, 2003; DEAT, 2003) have presented that case of Transkei in general as being environmentally degraded by factors recurring in their literature such as over-population, over-utilization of land as well as lack of capable management and planning. Beinart (2002); and Maddox (2002) contend that in South Africa as a whole land degradation is viewed as emanating from mismanagement of land on the side of the local farmers. This indicates that indigenous people are regarded as agents of land degradation in areas such as Transkei.

Coffee Bay in KSD Municipality

KSD local municipality forms part of the seven local municipalities in OR Tambo District Municipality in the EC province. It comprises of both Mthatha and Mqanduli urban and rural magisterial areas respectively. The Coffee Bay is located in Mqanduli magisterial region. Coffee Bay as part of Transkei has a mixture of grasslands, indigenous forests and thickets vegetation types, and is rich in diversity and endemism. The area also has a complex geology with a highly variable topography such as a rugged coastline, and intercepted with narrow gorges and water falls (Foord and Howdoff, 2005) and rivers (e.g. Mboomvu River). In addition, the soil pattern has shallow and unstable soils dominating the landscape, with dolerite soils, ecca sediments and alluvial terraces (Foord and Howdoff, 2005). However, it should be noted that very few detailed soil surveys are available for the area. The area also experiences low and inconsistent rainfall with periodic droughts. This in a way escalates erosion in the area (KSD, 2005). Irrespective of the situation, proper LM is crucial to enhance continued benefits from this area, and maintain its international recognition as one of the world's conservation hotspot (Reyers and Ginsburg, 2005).

Currently there is growing evidence that Coffee Bay has a great potential for regional rural sustainable development in the KSD Municipality. However, it has for long been a neglected region of the country suffering from weak infrastructure provision and employment generation opportunities (Project 6.7, SDI, 2003). Due to its attractive geographical location and unique natural resources, development

projects are earmarked to transform the area. On a broader scale, the Wild Coast has received a great deal of attention from both international donor agencies and national development agencies, including Development Bank of Southern Africa (Project 6.7, SDI, 2003). The SDI (2003) document further indicates that Transkei has drawn great interest and support from the National, the Provincial and local government institutions.



The Constitution (1996) and Municipal Act (2000), mandates KSD Municipality to draw a Land Use Management (LUM) plan based on Integrated Development Planning (IDP) to ensure sustainable land management. Wanklin (2005) argues that Ntinga Development Agency is crucial in preparing the IDPs for the Municipality. The IDPs and Spatial Development Frameworks provide an institutional framework for community co-management of natural resources, residential and agricultural land in communal areas (Project 6.7 - SDI, 2003).

The spatial development initiative has been adopted as an appropriate framework, which would embrace all the opportunities that exist in this area and also resuscitate the collapsing rural economy (Project 6.7 - SDI). The SDI emphasizes the importance of partnership between public sector and private sector involvement in development initiatives. In essence, this also embraces the notion of indigenous people's involvement in the development initiatives such as SLM programmes. For instance, community development tourism initiatives are adopted through boosting

horse riding, hiking, crafts and the richness of AmaXhosa culture. In a way these events enhance rural transformation and sustainable development. KSD has the mandate to ensure that national and provincial policies and programmes are translated into concrete results at the local level and locally practiced in its jurisdiction.

Situational Analysis

The majority of KSD Municipality's population resides in rural settlements which are characterized by widespread poverty and unemployment levels (www.ksd.org.za, 10th/05/2007). The rural villages have varying population densities with an average size of 5.3 persons per household. The settlement pattern is characterized by homesteads dispersed along ridge crests on the uplands and sometimes in the valleys on flat land. Areas along the coastline are sparsely populated. People tend to prefer to locate their homes inland because of the Transkei Environmental Conservation Decree No. 9 of 1992 (SDI, 2003). Indeed, these homesteads form the built up environment that indigenous people manage in Coffee Bay. The households are classified as informal, formal and traditional dwellings (table: 1) across KSD in particular Coffee Bay.

Table 1: Household Classification in King Sabatha Dalindyebo Municipality

Household Class	Number of Units
Household in formal dwellings	30633
Informal dwellings	3945
Traditional dwellings	44467

Source: modified from Multi-year Data templates in SDI (2003)

Additionally, the indigenous people constitute approximately 99% of the KSD Municipality total area population of 415229 people (Census 2001, cited in KSD, 2005). The overall male-female ratio in the area is approximately 45% male to 55% females. Most people have a small size of income holdings especially social grants from the state and remittances from family relatives. Generally, most of the people are unemployed and with high levels of poverty. This can be attributed to lack of economic insights, skills, and technical knowledge compounded with the collapse of the migrant labour system. At the same time, most of the people are illiterate with poor basic infrastructure such as sanitary services in the area (SDI, 2003).

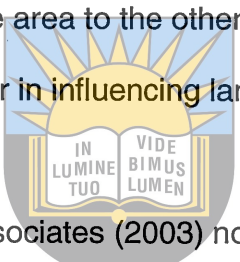
In this area, agricultural development is predominantly subsistence with arable land as the cornerstone of economic development among indigenous people (KSD, 2005). Available information indicates that the rural economy relies on subsistence that is poorly developed. In fact, low agricultural development in this area can be

attributed to segregation policies of the former apartheid government. KSD Municipality notes that overall the agricultural economy has declined in the area. The people, who are still engaged in agriculture grow crops and have livestock, and subsistence fishing. Indeed, fishing, and livestock production and the use of communal rangelands were critical components of their multiple livelihood strategies. Lately, livestock ownership is increasingly concentrated among better-off rural households. Fabricius, *et al.* (2004) argue that in rural areas, very poor households are disproportionately more dependent upon collecting wild resources, such as fuel wood and wild vegetables, from grazing areas. At the same time, arable land is largely confined to the lowlands and slopes, while a larger portion of the land is used for extensive livestock farming. Crop farming is dominated by maize, and supplemented by potatoes, pumpkins, beans and peas. Generally, the contribution of agriculture is of critical significance in supporting the rural economy though the soils in the area are generally poor for arable farming. At household level, lack of food security is accentuated by lack of alternative income to purchase food (FAO, 2003), and farm inputs such as fertilizers and mechanization to boost agriculture.

System of Governance in Coffee Bay

The governance system of the study area is based on the national and provincial doctrines of democracy. This is in keeping with the global trends of

decentralization and globalization in promoting effective and full participation of all people at different tiers of governance. Coffee Bay is characterized by two systems of governance side-by-side namely the traditional system and local government. These structures are represented by chiefs and headmen (Traditional Authorities) and a ward councilor respectively. Both systems need to be involved prior to the implementation of any project (e.g; LM programmes) within KSD Municipality. The relationship between them varies from one area to the other. This may remain a very big challenge and a cardinal factor in influencing land management issues in Coffee Bay.



Mcintosh Xaba and Associates (2003) note that women in the rural communal areas such as Coffee Bay carried the responsibility to secure familial land rights, in spite of lacking legal recognition for holding land in their own right. This varies from one community to the other, though now currently the constitution provides for gender equality in land ownership and overall tenure matters. Accordingly, Kalabamu (2006) notes that democratic institutions have weakened the traditional patriarchal structures resulting in the transformation of land rights. Although land is open to everyone in the community who wishes to use it, formal permission from the headman and chief must be sought. On the other hand, part of the land in this region is directly under the control of the state, for example, the 1 kilometer coastal strip (Transkei Environmental Conservation Decree No. 9 of 1992). In this coastal strip whoever wants to own a piece of land has to seek permission from DEAET and DLA. In both cases, people owning land in the communal areas are issued with certificates of permission to

occupy (PTO). However, this kind of arrangement has some hiccups such as the land occupier can not easily secure a loan, using his/her land as collateral.

In communal areas such as Coffee Bay, LM is governed by the cultural practices that place members of the different gender at performing different tasks, with the wife managing the domestic intra-familial activities, while the husband, manages the inter-household activities. Decision-making and implementation is a process of compromise between parties across homesteads. For instance, the level of education is not a major determining factor on how LM decisions would be implemented. It is also fully acknowledged that women in these traditional areas transmit indigenous knowledge and skills relating to LM. However, traditional values and one's personality also tend to shape and guide consultation, before decisions on LM are made between parties at the household level.

Despite the vast land surface area of South Africa, land is generally scarce in black communities throughout the country. The chief tightly controls the land for the entire community. Hodson (1998) affirms that the chief is responsible for the distribution of land rights to members of the tribe. However, Buthelezi (2005) emphasizes the critical role of the state in any land affair (land reform programme). This implies that there are different role players in LM. The area that belongs to a particular village under the jurisdiction of the local chief is precisely demarcated. At the same, the land that belongs to a particular family in the village is clearly

demarcated. Every person living in a village has the right of access to land that is controlled by the local chief. The land resource can be bartered away or sold commercially, though this exchange remains illegal to the village committee. Therefore, the history of land ownership and exchange is complex in nature.

The major concern of this section is signposting the features of population composition such as the majority being indigenous people (basically Xhosa speaking), rural based under communal areas and poverty stricken. Transkei is generally regarded as degraded characterized with predominance of mountains and rugged topography covered by alternating soil types. The climatic conditions are categorized as unpredictable and this in a way affects indigenous people's land management practices such as those related to arable farming. KSD Municipality acts locally and thinks globally in addressing land management issues in the area. This is because, the South African government adopted the global fashion of democratization and decentralization to enhance public participation in SLM. The great race of changes in policy and legislation has seen the appearance of a pluralist legal system that is championed by the existence of both the traditional authorities and local governance in the study area's LM. Generally, this presents challenges of understanding the concept of land and the theories thereof.

CHAPTER III

LAND MANAGEMENT IN A POST-COLONIAL AFRICAN SETTING

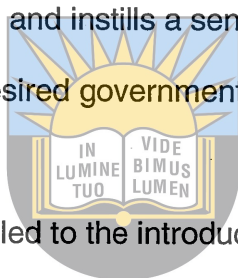
Introduction

This section presents different aspects that prescribe land management in a post-colonial African setting with particular focus on Coffee Bay Area. The chapter highlights the land management legislative framework as a contextual foundation for the socio-cultural, economic and political perspectives. It further reflects on the interface between western and local regulations based on indigenous knowledge system with particular reference to the interactive influence between the two systems. In general, the chapter focuses on the post 1994 'new' South Africa's policies and legislations on LM.

Land Management Legislative Framework

Simpson (1967) argues that land law emanates from the striking doctrines of tenure and state especially about land. Gutto (1994) observes that the internal traditional practices (indigenous law) among indigenous people are indeed a repository of environmental protection norms. At the international level, environment and land law is founded on international treaties signed by the UN and governments

for instance, Earth Rio Summit (1992). In Africa, there are no clear bound policies and legislations drafted by the African Union (AU) focusing on land management. Instead, international LM policies and legislations are adopted by all countries on the continent. At the national level, governments adopt these policies and legislations which serve as cornerstones in drafting their own. Different scholar's advocate for the adoption of both top-down and bottom-up approaches in policy formulation and decision making process. This scenario grants and instills a sense of belonging for the people on the enacted policies to achieve desired government goals.

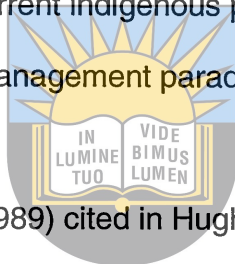


A new pathway of land led to the introduction of property rights NRM at both the international and local level. Christodoulou (1990) notes that the Roman law and English common law treats land as a superior prototype property among the assets of agrarian societies, thus the admittance for property rights to regulate their management. Hugh (2004) asserts that in SA, the Roman-Dutch law was treated as the common law of the land. Though, SA adheres to this type of law, there still exists customary law in some areas.

Socio-Cultural Perspectives

In Africa, all the changes in law and legislation disowned the African laws based on cultural norms and practices in favour of western legislation. Yet, it is well acknowledged that customary systems governed the majority of the land in Africa for

instance, in Ghana, customary authorities still hold considerable responsibilities and influence in LM (Dione, 2006). It is not surprising that the existing land policies and legislations in most cases contradict and undermine African traditional customary system. Saruchera (2004) attests that across the African continent the land and resource rights of the rural poor are threatened by inappropriate policies and institutions. Therefore, the blend in the South African situation necessitates investigation to explore the current indigenous people's land management practices as underpinned by the land management paradigm.



According to Bekker (1989) cited in Hugh (2004), customary law was an established system of immemorial rules, which had evolved from the way of life and natural wants of the people. Chenje and Johnson (1994) contend that the traditional shared values and beliefs (customary law) provides a strong sense of group solidarity and uniformity in land management practices. For instance, cultural taboos restrict people on the use of certain plants, animals (totems and clans) or areas (sacred) with over exploitation of resources. Currently, this seems to be a complex situation in many countries due to heterogeneity and increase in population.

Political and Economic Perspectives

Hugh (2004) argues that the head of the empire or tribal state was at the apex of the power hierarchy, Butler (2002) affirms that traditional authorities in KwaZulu-

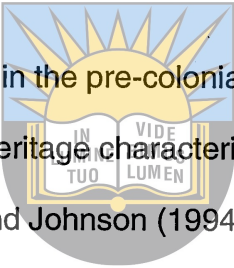
Natal played a key role in managing the allocation of land. The customary system of governance is pegged on societal customs and norms, though very complex than in previous time periods. The customary law entirely controlled natural resource exploitation and management in all societies. However, this varied from one community to the other due to the differences in social norms, customs and traditions of the group in question. Cullinan (2005) affirms that traditional African world-views emphasize the importance of human beings in maintaining close relationships with ancestral spirits and other entities in the natural environment.



Some argue that African land rights directly and strongly stem from the social engineering policies of the society's traditions and norms to ensure proper land management. Land rights then were universal to all in usage, management and ownership without boundaries to the community members and land lord-type authorities. Fiona Mackenze (2003) cited by Johan Pottier (2005), note that in Murang'a district – Kenya, rights 'allocated according to custom' were not necessarily free of struggle. However, Colson (1971) concludes that land rights were rarely defined since they were rarely questioned. In fact, every citizen had a right of direct access to land of the territory controlled by the political unit to which he/she belonged.

Clover (2005) reveals that the division of land in pre-colonial Angola corresponds to a communal system with rights to cultivate one or more parcels of the land in their confluence. Clover argues that when greater demographic pressure set

in, families established closer and more permanent ties that equated to specific rights much linked to the value of title. This set in a situation of individualization of land ownership, besides the community ownership of the resource. In fact, created rules controlled the amount and rate of natural resource use, and developed sanctions to govern and restrain the Consumption of resources for the continued economic benefits.



In general, land holding in the pre-colonial era was vested in the custodian of the chief as people's cultural heritage characterized with patriarchal tendencies in some communities. Chenje and Johnson (1994) argue that customary law guided traditional land management practices across communities. This is because people in Africa generally appreciated and incorporated nature into their worldview metaphors, folklore and belief systems (Fabricuis, *et al.*, 2004), passed on from one generation to another through oral testimony and are now recognized as customary (Folke, *et al.*, 1998) based on good traditional institutions⁷.

In fact, the legitimacy of traditional institutions usually achieved consensus within the community through a historical memory that is integrally connected with the landscape, both in space and time. In Southern Africa, the Nguni speaking people through their chief regulated access to the means of production against feckless and selfish use of resources (land) – set boundaries in both time and space (Fabricuis, *et*

⁷ Traditional Institutions according to Fabricuis, *et al*, 2004 – Kings, Chiefs, headmen and healers – monitored and regulated resource use and management.

al., 2004). On the other hand, they further point that, ancestors validated traditional governance and provided for the creation and maintenance of a particular land identity that is similar to the key features.

It implies that local people locally developed appropriate and sustainable systems for cultivation, housing and settlement, and grazing in their built environment. The establishment of institutional curbs such as sacred areas for worshipping ancestral spirits also lessened pressure on people's plots of land, and other management measures (Chenje and Johnson 1994). Southern African indigenous farmers understood the mechanism of soil erosion and its relationship between rainfall and rate of erosion. Knowing how soil erosion occurs, farmers developed their LM practices to ensure sustainability of the resource which were guided by customary law and passed on to another generation through legendary. Despite, the large population, cultural diffusion, globalization and modernization, indigenous LM practices still exist in different communities across Africa. For instance, terracing and contour ploughing are not a new phenomenon as LM tools in Africa because they practiced them before having had any significant contact with the outside world. Also slash-and-burn coupled with shifting cultivation were practiced to produce food mainly for subsistence, and other measures helped in maintaining their fields as summarized by Chenje and Johnson (1994) .

Indigenous people have a rich heritage of managing and living with the environment. Some of their knowledge lived on seasoned system of communal practices enabled them to derive a livelihood from the land for generations. It is evident that in the past, a number of communities stayed in temporary settlement structures such as KhoiKhoi (Elphick, 1985) in Southern Africa. By its nature, land based activities (settlement activities) were not permanently concentrated to one particular area. The rate of land use was still below the rate of natural resource regeneration which was coupled with low population densities, low demands and low technological developments than today.

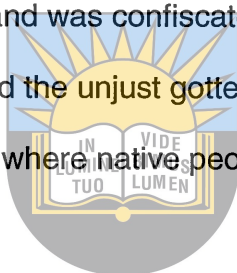


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The Interface between Western and Local Regulations

It should be realized that exploring the history of colonialism and apartheid is important for understanding the interface between western local regulations in the situational context of South Africa and Africa as a whole. Lane (2006, p. 387) contends that colonial processes of territorialisation impacted on the indigenous people.

From the arrival of colonial masters Boaventura (2004) argues that Africans occupied peripheral position in managing their land resource. Therefore, the concept of territorization (Ramutsindela, 2001) can come into play at this stage, in aspects

such as land divisions and country formation, cultural marginalization, policy superimposing and land degradation across the African continent. This was after the Berlin conference that territorialized Africa under different colonial powers such as Germany, Britain, France and Portugal among others. The demarcation undermined indigenous people's practices and traditional leadership. Negrão (2002) indicate that the colonial era did not only divide Africa but also rehearsed globalization and modernity. At worst, African land was confiscated under the pretext of an eminent right acquired by conquest, and the unjust gotten lands were granted and subleased to plantations (Negrão, 2002), where native people worked and suffered all types of discrimination and serfdom.



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In fact, colonial administration had its way in establishing itself in land administration and management which was pluralist in nature by winning some African chieftaincies and leadership. It is in this context that the claims of civilization (missionary ideology) compelled the indigenous social institutions and methods of LM, and worsened with discrimination (racism). This systematically changed the African LM ways, their culture and often their religion to that of the colonizer underpinned by a rational European model. Missionaries held together the pieces of the smashed society using western religious doctrines (Christianity) to form a new society pattern. With regard to land resources, colonialists strived to conserve soils, forests and water supplies, though the situation worsened in overcrowded areas occupied by Africans (Chenje and Johnson, 1994). Colonial administrators prohibited several African

practices particularly in the agricultural sector such as use of wetlands for cultivation, grazing and hunting. Yet, African cultures and traditions had and have a good legacy as proper environmental and LM strategies.

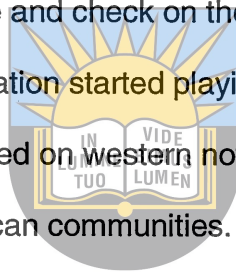
To the detriment of ALM, colonialism imposed and superimposed a new legal system on the pre-existing customary rules. This resulted in pluralistic system of land law, which sparked off conflicts in management and legitimacy. For instance, for Kenya and Mozambique colonial law (English and Portuguese respectively) created a legal basis for land alienation (usually the most fertile and valuable) to the settlers (Kanyinga, 2000). This gave rise to issues of property rights which contradicted with the African set up of communal system. Land started to be individually owned especially by whites, who denounced African cultural norms as backward and satanic. Phuthego and Chanda (2004) conclude that the colonial period disenfranchised many local communities and destabilized their traditional mechanisms of resource conservation. Yet for long, indigenous communities had managed their land based on societal norms, traditions and customs. Here LM was under the custodian of the chief and power of the spirits.

Indigenous people's LM practices corresponded with their access to land, function of customary security of land possession and the multiplicity of networks established by means of blood ties, marriage and inheritance, lineage and community customs. All these were denounced in many African societies on the pretext of

western civilization. Negrão (2002) notes that endogenous institutional dynamics of African societies with regard to administration of people and of land were ignored during colonialism in that African know-how was spurned and replaced with western notions. In essence, Africans had no stake in running their own affairs especially land. Indeed, this crippled indigenous people's LM.

In general, the paradox of colonialism induced breakdown of traditional and indigenous knowledge systems. It dissociated African culture from LM practices by denouncing customary land law in resource management. The introduction of western religion and modern ways of management practices compounded African LM. In turn, indigenous people lost interest in their LM. Other factors that complicated the situation were the increase in population, policies of fencing, and property rights which were based on western notions. Consequently, the adoption of land capital intensive (tractors, fertilization and plantation farming) and extensive operations (very foreign to the African climate) led to shortening of fallow periods, monoculture (led to loss of soil nutrients and erosion) and deforestation practices. Ultimately, it was not by chance that land degradation increased in Africa than before. The later days of colonialism were characterized with stiff resistance from Africans across all states in a bid to attain their independence. Ramutsindela (2001) notes that the days of African decolonization (1950s and 1960s) had been described as a wind of change, which Kwame Nkrumah (1961) of Ghana viewed as a raging hurricane that sweeps away the old colonialist Africa.

The adoption of democratic principles across Africa ensured that many institutions were/are mandated by law, decree or otherwise to allocate land, though LM varied considerably among countries. This was dependent upon a number of factors such level of decentralization, population and political stability, and the influence of international bodies and globalization. This opened doors to public and political structures to intervene and check on the actions of private individuals in LM. It was then that public participation started playing a significant role in land allocation and management, though based on western notions. This in a way interfered with customary systems in the African communities.



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After independence, the new governments were equally attached to a modernizing agenda. Okoth-Ogendo (2000); and Platteau (1996) contend that registration and titling continued throughout the 1960s and 1970s, as part of agricultural and land policies justified on almost identical grounds as those of the colonial state. These processes were aided by very poor and inefficient land administration (Okoth-Ogendo, 2000).

Quan (2000, p. 38) recommends that; 'formal land titling as a precondition of modern development, the abandonment of communal tenure systems in favour of freehold title and sub-division of the commons, widespread promotion of land markets to bring about efficiency- enhancing land transfers, and support for land redistribution

on both efficiency and equity grounds'. Despite the existence of registered titles in Kenya, access to the majority of plots was through inheritance or non-registered sales, lending and gifts (MacKenzie, 1993).

Lastarria-Cornhiel (1997, p. 1326) concludes that 'usually women lose access or cultivation rights while male household heads have strengthened their hold over land'. Mackenzie's (1998) historical study gives a more detailed and nuanced picture of the different ways in which the land reform of the 1950s had affected patrilineal Kikuyu women's land claims in Central Province of Kenya. He thus concludes that land reform increased men's resistance to women's control over land, while increasing women's insecurities. In a way however, it disenfranchised women's land rights and exacerbated gender conflicts, but it did not extinguish customary claims on land. Further more, Knowles (1991) critiques the whole customary process as being against women.

On the other hand, Karanja (1991) argues that in spite of having no inheritance rights, 'women held positions of structural significance, serving as the medium through which individual rights passed to their sons. They enjoyed security of tenure rooted in their structural role as lineage wives (Karanja, 1991). These positions share McAuslan's (2000) analysis of the way African interests in land were extinguished by the colonial state with the support of its judiciary, and continued to be unrecognized for some time (Hugh, 2004).

Tracking Land policies and Legislation Sign Posts in South Africa

The field of South African (SA) environmental (land) policies and legislations are overlaid by rosy descriptions of the old political system, characterized with many forms of injustices on the side of indigenous people in the country. Steyn (2001) summarizes the evolution of the establishment of conservation⁸ and management strategies in South Africa since 1960s. Fuggle and Rabie (1992) on the other hand revealed that the focus of the initial conservation efforts was geared towards the protection of wilderness areas and wild resources. This was not an inclusive approach to environmental management, and little attention was paid to LM in particular.



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Historically, the trajectory of changes in land issues was marked by the arrival of the Whiteman (mid 1700s) on the Cape Coast of SA. In this regard, Hodson (1998) provides a detailed account of events and their influences on land tenure and generally on the indigenous people. In short, indigenous people's LM systems were altered from the onset when whites arrived at the Cape Coast of SA. Jacobs (2000) noted that traditional leaders actively collaborated with colonial and apartheid rule as agents of social control in their areas of jurisdiction, at the expense of their broad

⁸ Steyn (2001) highlights that the conservation agenda which dominated the environmental concern in the 1960's proved to be incapable of successfully addressing the plethora of the second generation's environmental problems that emerged after the 2nd World War.

mass of the population. It is clear, the SA government adopted a fragmented approach to managing land affairs, and so were the policies in 1994 to correct the injustices that indigenous people were subjected to during colonialism and apartheid regimes.

Post 1994 Land Management Policies

Land issues in SA have been a source of conflict. In keeping with LMP, the South African government in 1994 introduced a model of an inclusive constitution and supporting legislation aimed at promoting social equity, tenure security, public participation and justice to achieve sustainable development. Ntsebeza (2002) notes that since the advent of democracy in 1994, SA has embarked on its own version of decentralization in a number of areas like policy and legislation formulations among others.

This is expressed in a range of policy and legislation pieces intended to harmonize land and environmental management in the country. These include legislation on land reform, physical development and provision of infrastructure, traditional authorities, municipalities, heritage and culture, agriculture and various aspects of the environment, in particular land. It must be noted that a full discussion of all these legal aspects is beyond the scope of this study. However this section is

confined to those aspects that have direct implications on people's land management practices in the rural areas while attaining sustainable development.

The rollout of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) (White Paper, 1994) and the adoption of the South African constitution (1996), served as a golden thread connecting and guiding all land management policies in the republic. The constitution mandates the government to ensure people's survival and improved quality of life by protecting the environment (land), and section 24 under the Bill of rights (chapter 2) provides that:

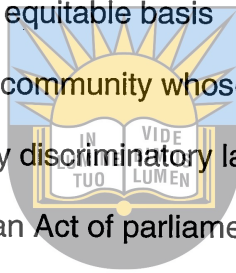


Everyone has the right to:

- a) An environment that is not harmful to their health or well being and
- b) Have the environment protected, for the benefit of present and future generation, through reasonable legislative and other measures that:
 - i. Prevent pollution and ecological degradation;
 - ii. Promote conservation; and
 - iii. Secure ecologically sustainable development and use of natural resources while promoting justifiable economic and social development.

Additionally, the constitution covers issues of land tenure for all the citizens especially those that were dispossessed of their land during white hegemony. This is expressed in three clauses:

- a) A person or community dispossessed of property (land) after 19 June 1913 as a result of past racially discriminatory laws or practices is entitled, to the extent provided by an Act of parliament, either to restitution of that property, or to equitable redress
- b) The state must take reasonable legislative and other measures within its available resources, to foster conditions which enable citizens to gain access to land on a equitable basis
- c) Finally, a person or community whose tenure of land is legally insecure as a result of past racially discriminatory laws or practices is entitled, to the extent provided by an Act of parliament, either to tenure which is legally secure, or to comparable redress.



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In essence, land reform that is expressed in the South African land policy (1997) is a constitutional mandate to be enjoyed by all citizens. It aims at confronting the legacies of communal tenure (McIntosh Xaba and Associates, 2003). The policy seeks to address past injustices in land management and ownership through restitution, redistribution and tenure reform (White paper, 1997), with emphasis given to equity across gender and race, stability, poverty reduction and growth. In harmonizing LM, the policy mandates the provincial and municipal authorities to address land management issues according their needs and demands, under the guidance of DLA. This localizes land management which meets the needs of that particular locality in a sustainable manner. In the context of the study, McIntosh Xaba and Associates argue that land reform is the critical pillar of land reform in communal

areas, as it extends democracy, recognizes individual rights, acknowledging African community tenure systems into an affordable land administration system. The rights based approach was further expressed in the different pieces of tenure legislation (table 2).

Table 2: Other Tenure Policies in the New South Africa

Policy	Aim / Goal
Interim Protection of Informal Land Rights Act 31 of 1996 (IPILRA)	To protect the existing rights
Transformation of Certain Rural Areas Act 94 of 1998 (TRANCRAA)	Creating opportunities for the transfer of land from the state as nominal owner to the rightful owners and users
Upgrading of Land Rights Act 112 of 1991	Changing of the existing rights
Land Titles Adjustment Act, 111 of 1993	Normalization of old titles (e.g. PTO's for the case of Communal areas)
Communal Property Associations Act 88 of 1996	Addressing institutional concerns arising on communal land and a central instrument for group transfers outside the ex-bantustans

Development Facilitation Act 67 of 1995	Facilitate RDP programmes in relation to land and security of tenure, and fosters rural –urban linkages in land development initiatives for sustainable development.
Extension of security of Tenure Act, of 1997	Provides security of tenure for people on some land in the townships (rights to occupy, evict and matters therewith)
Communal Land Rights Bill of 2002 (CLRBB)	Transfer of title of communal land from state to the current land occupants, and chiefs recognized as juristic persons on behalf of their communities
Communal Land Rights Act 11 of 2004	Envisages section 25(6) and (9) of the constitution, by providing legal security of tenure – transferring communal land to communities to run them, maintains gender equality in land ownership, and recognizes administration committees

Source: Modified from Government Gazettes, South African Government Information
<http://www.info.gov.za/documents/acts/index.htm>, 20th/08/2007

This rights based approach is good, but not much can be seen on the ground, instead people's rights are further disenfranchised by the different clauses in the constitution which contradict each other. On other hand, it's clear that the South African land policy argues that new tenure systems and laws must be implemented in line with the reality as it exists on the ground, and gives recognition to de facto systems of land rights as a starting point for restoring sound tenure reform.

The DEAT designs environmental policies that encompass land issues. For instance, NEMA (Act No. 107 of 1998) provides for environmental governance by establishing principles for decision making on human actions affecting the environment. In essence, the Act seeks to protect people's rights as stipulated in chapter 2 of the Constitution. It places people and their needs at the center of environmental management to equally serve their physical, psychological, developmental, cultural and social interests by advocating for controlling pollution and degradation from all stakeholders. It also recognizes the vital role of women and youth in environmental management and development. Finally, the environment is held in the public trust for the people, and legislation mandates all stakeholders to control the environment under the guidance of government officials on behalf of the minister of environment. Consequently, it leads to capacity building for the indigenous people with new land management strategies to enhance sustainable land management.

The agricultural policy of South Africa (1998) urges resource users to sustainably use natural resources in agriculture and avoid risks that will lead to irreversible damage (Ministry for Agriculture and Land Affairs, 1998). It acknowledges that the primary custodian of the land is the resource user whose actions have an impact upon the environment, and the polluter pays for the environmental damages. The Conservation of Agricultural Resources Act (Act No. 43 of 1983) (DoA, 1983), and

Fertilizers, Farm Feeds, Agricultural Remedies and Stock Remedies Act (Act, No. 36 of 1947) (DoA, 2006) are still in force and these are complemented by the LandCare programme to ensure SLM.

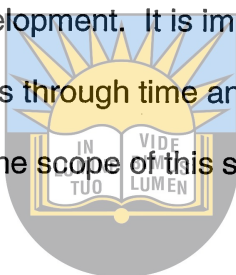
Accordingly, the White Paper on Agriculture (1995) notes that sustainable utilization of national resources (land) is a responsibility for all South Africans, while the government has to ensure that policy and economic climate encourage efficient and sustainable resource use. It further highlights that resource degradation is mainly caused by poor living conditions and over population, and poverty exacerbated by lack of ownership. It is also noted that land users will bear the cost of rehabilitating the mismanaged land, but not of that of rectifying damage caused by natural disasters. In correcting the situation, the government is obligated to develop appropriate land management techniques by means of extension, and set procedures for the enforcement of the law. This is achieved through integrative land use planning and community participation to ensure optimum management and utilization of natural resources in particular land.

It is important to note that, there are peripheral policies which influence land management in Coffee Bay such as Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Act 41 of 2003 which recognizes the role of traditional leaders in land administration and management. Though not yet in force, it reinstates their legitimacy in natural resource management. Also the local government: Municipal Structures Act

117 of 1998, and the Municipal Systems Act 32 of 2000, which constitutionally mandates both District and Local District Municipalities to co-operate with each other in maintaining sustainable development in their area of jurisdiction. It is an obligation for Municipalities to undertake central role of service delivery and aspects of land reform. McIntosh Xaba and Associates (2003) note that the Municipal Systems Act (Act No. 32 of 2000) requires each municipality to prepare an IDP, to embrace Land Use Management System for the whole municipality. In this regard, KSD District Municipality fulfills its constitutional obligation to bring about proper land management in the whole municipality. McIntosh Xaba and Associates (2003), argue that it is necessary to provide an institutional framework for community co-management of natural resources and residential and agricultural land in communal areas. This influences indigenous people's land management strategies in Coffee Bay as they try to comply with the integrated development plan. Additionally, municipalities enforce the implementation of government policies under the different departments such as DLA, DEAT, and DoA.

In summary, adequate policies for promoting equitable and socio-economic access to land and its management are emerging, though too complex to comprehend by land users and policy enforcers (government officials) in the post colonial African setting. SLM is seen a responsibility for everyone, and the government is obliged to provide a supportive role to all the land users in achieving sustainable development. Indigenous people's land management practices are at the center of SLM especially in

rural subsistence environments such as Coffee Bay. Also customary law though not fully considered will prevail because of the comeback of traditional leaders in land management at different spheres of government. Additionally, LM is departmentalized, and public participation is encouraged in all pieces of legislations across departments. The challenge is that Local Municipalities may not have the capacity to incorporate these policies in their IDPs which serves as a policy guideline document for sustainable development. It is important to acknowledge that the full implication of all these changes through time and space would however require a full legal review which is beyond the scope of this study.



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CHAPTER IV

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

Introduction

This section constitutes an analysis of data gathered at the research site through the application of various research techniques such as focus group, interviews and questionnaires with various stakeholders, and through direct observations and aerial photograph interpretation. It also covers demographic characteristics of the respondents and further highlights Coffee Bay's contextual territorial juxtaposition related to LM and policy issues that constitute and influence indigenous people respectively.

Demographic Characteristics of the Study Informants

A combination of respondents participated in this research varying from government officials, politicians, traditional leaders, traditional healers, NGOs and CBOs, and local indigenous people. The government officials represented different departments ranging from DLA, DWAF, DEAET, and DoA. Amongst the politicians, the area councilor for lower Nenga, and the traditional leadership right from the chief, headman to the sub-headman, all participated in this study. NGOs and CBOs had

their responses and roles are considered in this study. Finally, local indigenous people both female and male, young and old, and traditional healers and local opinion leaders formed the greatest composition of the research informants. In total, 90 informants irrespective of their group participated in the study. About 90% of the informants were aged between 30 to 60 (Table 3).

Table 3: Age Composition and Informants percentage participation

Age (years)	Number of Informants	% Participation
21 – 35	20	22.2
36 – 50	35	38.85
51 – 70	20	22.2
Above 70	15	16.7
Total	90	100

A high number of respondents were females (Table: 4). This is because in Coffee Bay, more females were in control of LM related activities in the rural built-up environment (homesteads). At the same time, the homesteads randomly sampled were mostly headed by females, either with no males staying there or gone to Gauteng for work. This situation can be attributed to the legacy of apartheid policies (migrant labourers) and lack of employment opportunities in the area.

Table 4: Gender and Informants percentage Participation

Gender	Number of Informants	% Participation
Female	55	61.05
Male	35	38.85
Total	90	100

The research encompassed responses from interviewees of different levels of educational backgrounds both formal and informal. It happened coincidentally that an equal number of both categories of informants formed the study sample (Table 5). It was established that 50% of the informants, especially old people between the ages of 30 – 50 have never been to school. But this does not mean that they know nothing about LM. Respondents with informal education attest and affirm that past regimes, lack of resources (few schools and economic muscle) among other factors compounded their abilities to attain formal education. It is a common understanding that Coffee Bay constitutes part of the rural former Transkei Bantustan. On the other hand, a number of women also attribute it to the nature of African tradition which did not focus much on educating females.

The cause of not acquiring formal education then was quite complex and varied considerably from one homestead to the other. Currently the trend has changed offering almost equal education opportunities to all. This is because the government

has tried to provide schools and adult education programmes to redress the situation of illiteracy especially in rural areas. However, a lot still needs to be done in this regard, to meet the Millennium Development Goals (UN MDGs) for instance, ensuring primary education to all children by the year 2015.

To that end, government officials from provincial to traditional leadership interviewed have formal education. This varied from semi-literate to highly educated officers. In this regard, different policies and legislations were articulated at different spheres of governance. The existence of multifaceted policies and legislations across departments seemed confusing to many government officials. Actually, in some cases policies and legislations overlap due to them covering a wide spectrum of political regimes.

Table 5: Category of Education and percentage Participation

Category of Education	Number of Respondents	% Participation
Formal	45	50
Informal	45	50
Total	90	100

Social Status of the Population Interviewed at Coffee Bay

Due to the different policies passed in SA by the past and present government regimes, many of the male respondents in Coffee Bay indicated that they worked as migrant labourers in the mines especially during the apartheid regime. This was achieved by the help of Mr. Mdesaline, who has links with the platinum Rustenburg mines in Northwest Province. However, due to some reasons, many people in this area have been laid off. Indeed, this has further worsened the unemployment levels in the area as well as family welfare. For instance, 90% of all the indigenous people interviewed in Coffee Bay (females and males) are unemployed. Government social grants and remittances from family employed members constitute their income.

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Additionally, youths between the ages of 21 to 30 in Coffee Bay are without employment. Those who can speak some English are employed as tourist guides for the different backpackers and as Wild Coast lifeguards. Indeed, the establishment of cottages in the area since the 1980s has created employment opportunities, though not enough to swallow up the existing people seeking work. Almost, 90% of the youths interviewed because of failing to get employment in the cottages and elsewhere, have now lost the passion to work on land due to frustration. Currently, some of the unemployed people are thinking of leaving Coffee Bay to seek employment opportunities elsewhere especially in the mines.

Youths retort that this current government wants to 'kill' them, as it prevents them from having access to the ocean (marine resources). This is because the Indian Ocean for all the generations has formed part of their lifestyle and a source of livelihood. This is a general complaint across all age groups. The informants also singled out DEAET as coercing them, during the enforcement of Transkei Environmental Conservation Decree, No. 9 of 1992 (1 km distance away from the Ocean). At the same time, DWAF monitors and patrols the indigenous forests to prevent people from using them in the area without their authorization. Incidentally, the indigenous people are excluded from the utilization of a number of the natural resources (water resources, forests and wildlife) that exist in Coffee Bay. This implies that local people are treated as aliens in using the natural resources in their courtyards.

Land Use and Land Distribution in Coffee Bay Area

This section deals with issues of land accessibility, land rights, conflict dimensions, and land based activities. Indeed, this part gives the local situational dynamics of land use and land distribution about the study area. This section builds on responses collected from the indigenous people, traditional authorities and the local government representatives (KSD and OR Tambo District Municipalities).

Land Accessibility

In Coffee Bay, land is still relatively accessible to both local people (*Abahlali*⁹) and 'outsiders'¹⁰. The *Inkosi*¹¹ remarked that in the past, land was open to anyone loyal to the king to settle, but due to high population densities things have changed now. This is how the Tshezi community got land from King Dalindyebo. All respondents also remarked that there are procedures, criteria and costs involved before one is allocated a plot of land in Coffee Bay.



The traditional leadership represented by the subhead man administers land matters in his area of jurisdiction (*Lali*¹²). The subhead (*Inkosi*) reports directly to the headman and the chief of the area respectively. These structures are still legitimate in the eyes of indigenous people and they determine land accessibility and distribution in the Tshezi community.

In Coffee Bay land accessibility and distribution is controlled by a committee of 10 persons with 6 local elders, 1 male youth and 3 women. All the local respondents affirmed that they got access to their plots of land (sites) by first approaching the

⁹ Abahlali is a Xhosa used in this study to refer to local people in Coffee Bay, though it may carry different meanings.

¹⁰ Outsiders in this context refer to people coming from other areas regardless of their race. This has turned out to be a common phenomenon in these days of globalization and South Africa's open door policy (all people are welcome to settle in the country, and that SA belongs to all those who live in it).

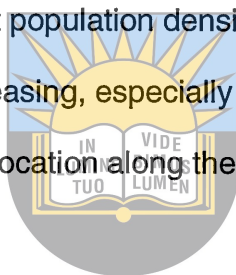
¹¹ Inkosi is also a Xhosa term used in this study to mean chief, headman and sub headman in the Coffee Bay area

¹² Ilali or Lali is a Xhosa term referring to administrative area (Village). It composes of clustered homesteads under the leadership of the subhead man or headman (Inkosi) for that jurisdiction.

inkosi and then Tshezi community members. The *inkosi* grants permission to a person to look for and identify a place in his area of jurisdiction. It is then that verifications are made to ascertain whether the plot of land is free space, *inkosi* calls for a community meeting (*Imbizo*). The committee introduces the person looking for a place to settle to the community members. This is intended to ascertain and collect community member's views and opinion about the new land applicant. In a way, the committee seeks the community member's permission before allocating the person a site. The immediate neighbor's views are given the first priority before the committee can decide on whether to allocate the person a site.

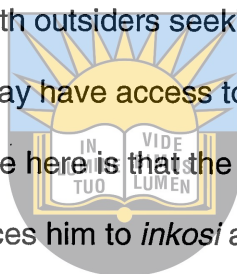
Mr. Ks argues that it is evident at the moment 'new site applicants' especially 'outsiders' have a tendency of approaching some community members who they anticipate to be their immediate neighbors with bribes. This is because these people will be the ones to convince others in the Tshezi community to allow the person to be allocated a site. If it is established that bribery and corruption is the basis, then the community member involved is punished. However, the norm of approaching the subhead man (*inkosi*) is maintained regardless of whether you are a local or an 'outsider'. Generally, negotiations are undertaken between the person, subhead man (headman or chief), committee and community at large before allocation of a site can be made.

Site allocation is crowned with a ceremony, when a person officially becomes a site owner in Coffee Bay. Elders remarked that in the past, people used to pay an equivalent of R5, local beer and a brandy. Currently, people are required to take local beer, brandy, and R40 for them to get a permission to occupy certificate (PTO) from DLA. On average, people have approximately 2 hectares for settlement, though observations reveal that old people who have been there for long have bigger plots of land. Local people argue that population density and rate of population influx in time and space in this area is increasing, especially during the festive season. This can be attributed to its geographical location along the magnificent Indian Ocean.



People in the community have access to land through other means such as marriage, inheritance, and renting. Marriage allows women automatic rights to their husbands land. At the same time, unmarried women are also given land, though the committee and community are very cautious about one's personality. They argue that letting unmarried women have their own land may cause men to fight which may undermine the community's solidarity. That is why the committee seriously scrutinizes them. Also parents can apply for and acquire land for their sons and daughters from the *inkosi*. It is important to note that normally, sons only leave their parents' homes when they are going to marry or having married to start a new life. Both old males and females are free to apply for land, but females are more favoured in land allocation. Elders argue that females are the mothers of the Tshezi community who need to be given first priority.

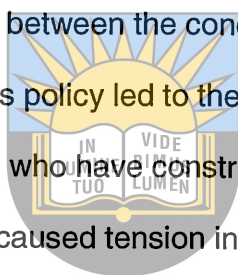
In addition, family members have access to their parents' or relatives' land through inheritance, though this process mostly favours males (sons) in the family. Other people gain access to land through site owners renting out their plots to them, in order to supplement their household incomes. Yet, this action is not allowed in the Tshezi community, but due to financial constraints people find themselves doing it. Renting of land is common with outsiders seeking holiday sites and it is normally on yearly basis. Other people may have access to land through negotiating directly with the plot owner. The procedure here is that the site seeker gives the plot owner a cow or its equivalent, who introduces him to *inkosi* and the community to declare his/her transfer of ownership to the site seeker.



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The issue of the household surname is a complex one in the Tshezi community. They argue that a site must belong constantly to one surname (family name) at present and in the future, though some people are not adhering to it. In this community, the surname is closely linked to the role of ancestors on that ancestral land, in mediating the past and the future problems of that family. To this end, land is paramount in the mediation between the ancestors and the family occupying the site. A specific piece of land is thus integrally connected with a specific family name in the Tshezi community.

The land that is in the conservation area of 1Km distance away from the Indian Ocean as legislated in the Transkei Conservation Decree (1992) has been frozen by the DEAT and DLA departments. In this area, anyone who wants a site has to approach DEAT and DLA departments for assessment of the project proposed to ascertain the magnitude of its impacts on the environment and allocation respectively. Though, the area *inkosi* must agree together with the community before any transaction can be concluded between the concerned parties. On other hand, local respondents indicated that this policy led to them leaving their ancestral lands, but now land is given to outsiders who have constructed structures on top of tombs of their people. This policy has caused tension in this area among the Tshezi community members.



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Universally, the DLA and chiefs have no absolute right over land, instead only play a facilitative role in distributing and managing land affairs on behalf of the community in Coffee Bay. Accordingly, the chief argues that land must be registered under the name of the Tshezi community. He further contends that this land is an asset for all the Tshezi people thus it needs to be protected and well managed. He further remarked that all outsiders (especially developers) should come to the chief and the entire community to discuss the percentage share of dividends and fees to be paid to the Tshezi community. At the same time local politicians also call for absolute ownership of land to be given to the Tshezi community members.

Traditional leaders demarcate sites for people, in the presence of all the people to avoid disputes emanating from land invasions among community members. Here, sticks or stones are used to demarcate boundaries between site holders. Meanwhile natural features are taken note of by all the community members as witnesses. It is also important to note that land is primarily allocated to people for residential purpose. Everybody has to obey the rules of the area. Outsiders are told about the rules and norms governing land in the area to prevent conflict among community members. Any member, who breaks these rules is punished and reminded of what is expected of him/her by the *inkosi* and the Tshezi community at large.



Land Rights for Site Owners
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The rights for site owners are dictated by the history of the Tshezi community and the apartheid land categorization. Land in Coffee Bay is owned by the Tshezi community on the basis of the communal land tenure system under the guidance of the sub headman. Once a site is given to a person, he/she is entitled to a number of rights that are universal to all other Tshezi community members, though absolute control is enjoyed at household level. All local respondents noted that they enjoy rights of occupation on the allocated site without any interference, and user rights are expressed in the form of settlement, grazing and farming, brick making, and burying the dead. It was acknowledged that one has the right to give away his/her site through inheritance and as a gift to other people. However, site holders are not

allowed to sell land because it belongs to the Tshezi community. In a way however, the communal land tenure system helps those people who are in absolute poverty to protect their land from the current land commodification.

The local respondents highlighted that in their community they believe and trust that land is their life and argue that there is no life without it. At the same time, some respondents remarked that land is a channel of communication through which they speak to the ancestors. Mrs. Ks remarked that land is a gift from God, and it nurtures them (arguing that when they die, it takes care of their accommodation). In essence, local people treasure land, and enjoy their rights in a way that does not infringe on the rights and freedom of other community members, though some conflicts exist.

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Conflict Dimensions in Land Management

There exist some conflicts among the Tshezi community members resulting from alienation, and abandonment of land. Despite, the clearly known traditions and norms of the community, some site owners invade and encroach on their neighbors' land to benefit themselves. It is likely that the increasing population and mushrooming cottages are contributing factors to this habit. The fact that site allocation is a procedural process, local respondents noted that when land encroachment happens, the culprit is called by the *inkosi* together with community members to try and resolve it. All witnesses that were around when the site was demarcated are called to testify

against the offender. If it's true that the person encroached on his neighbour's site then, the offender is punished by reducing his site or requested to leave depending on the nature of the case. Normally, the community under the guidance of the elders and *inkosi* decide on the fate of the offender (e.g. land invader).

Mr. Bh. noted that 'very serious misdemeanors (land invasion and bewitching to death) could result in eviction, but because of the Extension of Security Tenure Act of 1997, the community and *inkosi* do not have the mandate anymore to evict wrongdoers'. At the same time, elders highlighted that land related cases if unresolved at the sub headman's court, are forwarded to the headman and the chief to rule on the case. In line with this, it was noted that mostly rural elites challenge traditional courts ruling and prefer to refer their cases to the magistrate, though in the past it was not a common practice. This suggests that there are restrictions on the power of the traditional authorities to evict a wrongdoer from his area of jurisdiction, hence community members have resorted to 'self-help' justice, for example vandalizing property.

On the other hand, sites that have been abandoned by the owners may be repossessed by the community members, though this has caused a lot problems when the person comes back to settle on his site. However, this happens when it is established by one's neighbours and reported to the *inkosi* that the site owner has left the community or relocated to another area. It involves a process of consultation by

the land committee with the relatives and other community members about the circumstances under which the site owner left. If the site owner declares that s/he is not coming back to that site, then that site is repossessed by the community and made available for re-allocation to new applicants. However, this causes conflict as some of the community members start fighting the person who reported to the *inkosi*. This group argues that at least seven years must pass before the community can repossess the land.



There is ample evidence to argue that land is one of the sources where rural people derive their livelihood. Like elsewhere in the world, land is used for different activities, and in Coffee Bay there are also different land based activities in which indigenous people engage in the built-up environment, though almost uniform across homesteads. Generally, these homesteads are characterized by houses, kraals, arable land (garden), burial sites, and brick making. The parceling of the site is done by the DoA and the *inkosi* based on the suitability of land for the different activities (residential, arable farming and grazing). These sites are approximately 2 hectares, and the largest portion is used for gardening.

Settlement as a primary reason for land allocation takes on different forms in Coffee Bay. In general, the houses are traditional with a few 'modern' ones. Generally, indigenous people use materials from the local natural resources (Plate 1).

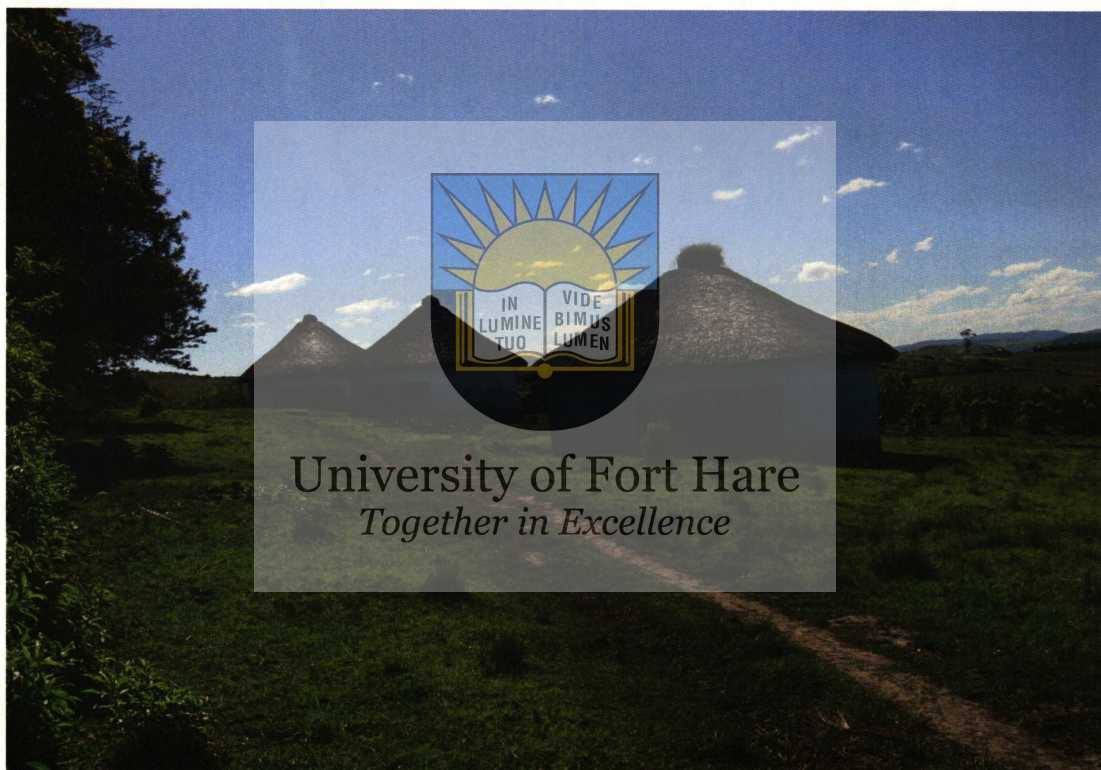
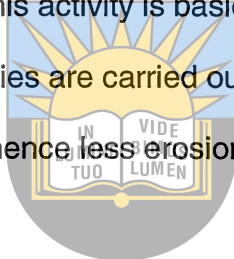


Plate 1: Coffee Bay Community Traditional Houses

On average, each homestead has about 4 houses on their site, with vegetation (grass) between the structures. Field observations showed that houses are constructed on flat and gentle slopes depending on the terrain of the site. Before, any construction is embarked on, trenches are dug (to channel any running water) and mark out the area that the house will occupy. Normally, grass is left in and around the

marked out area to avoid leaving the ground bare. This implies that indigenous people try to fit construction to the site conditions with less disturbances on the land. In line with this, local respondents argue that it is a norm among the indigenous people to do construction work between May and July and sometimes August. House construction is seasonal in Coffee Bay. For brick making, small areas are cleared during the same period and surrounded with grass, so that when it rains the washed away soils can be trapped. This activity is basically dominated by women and young girls. In essence, these activities are carried out during the winter season which is characterized by low rainfall, hence less erosion.

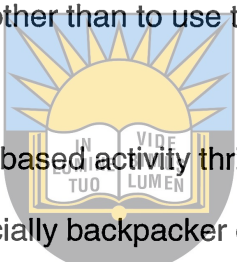


Observations reveal that burial sites occupy any corner of the site normally on the garden side. These are covered with stones and ridges with grasses which reduces soil movement from the site. On the other hand, a kraal is a common feature almost in all the homesteads visited, which occupies a small section normally between the houses and the garden. This is either for cattle, goats, or sheep. Also kraal making and mending is mostly a male's duty done during the winter season. Animal grazing is an activity that is year round in the area, and community members monitor the area to check elements of overgrazing. Accordingly, local respondents noted that to minimize degradation, they distribute their stock to relatives elsewhere with no animals to overcome overgrazing.

Arable farming is practiced on a small scale for subsistence purposes. This is carried out in the gardens demarcated by the DoA on the site. Numerous crops are grown by the indigenous people in Coffee Bay such as maize, pumpkin, beans, and sweet potatoes. The field is prepared during the winter season, and planting of crops is embarked on during different months especially starting in August. It is important to note that the main source of draught is human power, though people prefer tractors, oxen and mule for weeding and planting purposes. Local respondents remarked that around August up to October they start planting beans mixed with maize. In December, potatoes and pumpkins are grown whereas during the rest of the year, vegetables are grown especially between June and July. All respondents remarked that climate controls their farming activities. The local respondents noted as well that use of contours and mixed cropping is a norm in the area. This can be attributed to the relief of the area which is undulating with flat valleys and gentle slopes. They argue that this is intended to keep the soil particles fixed on the slope and to prevent rain induced soil erosion.

Indigenous people noted that there are other management measures they engage in, such as burning of grass, adding of ash, lining of stones across any rill or gully, dumping of old thatch grass (mulching) from their houses into the gardens, use of trenches and keeping the area green as much as possible. Also 50% of the local respondents indicated that officials from the DoA have advised them to use “black fertilizer” to boost soil fertility on their gardens. In general, indigenous people are

conscious about land management, and they are good students of nature by planning their land based activities basing on climatic patterns (seasons). Indigenous people trust that nature controls itself. However, some elders remarked that weather conditions have changed in Coffee Bay, for instance, they noted that since the 1970s, there have been changes in rainfall amounts received with strong winds hitting the area. They also noted that soils are getting old, and yet the plots are very small and give no room for long fallows, other than to use them through out the year.



Tourism is another land based activity thriving in the area, though the benefits are limited to few hands (especially backpacker owners). This was observed based on the people visiting the sacred places belonging to the Tshezi community members. All the people attested that it gets to its peak during the festive season when holiday makers from all other parts of the world come to enjoy the magnificent scenery of the area. Economically, this seasonally improves the situation of unemployment by offering casual jobs to local people especially the youth.

Field observations and aerial photographs reveal that there are some changes in land use patterns, in particular, looking at 1995 and 2004 photographs. It is quite clear that, the total area under arable farming (gardening) is decreasing over time. It also reveals that the number of houses at homestead and the community at large are increasing over time. It is likely that pressure on the land is increasing tremendously as well. The ongoing tourism development initiative projects are attracting more

outsiders to look for land to settle in anticipation of the business boom. Field observation shows that these areas have started to experience some erosion, though people are trying to arrest the situation. This therefore, supports the argument for the local respondents that due to; weather changes, low soil productivity and the small size of their sites have made them to stop cultivating their gardens. In short, farming is just shrinking instead of expanding while housing construction is increasing in the area.



Land Degradation as Experienced by Indigenous People

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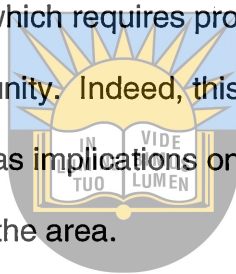
Over the years indigenous people gain experience as they work on the land that helps them to identify any changes on the land they occupy. Also, elders indicated that they at times pass on this information to others through story telling and information sharing among the community members. Indigenous people noted that they identify land degradation by looking at vegetation, farm produce, appearance of stones, soil colour and soil clumps among others. Elders, especially women noted that when the vegetation cover is reduced on the farm, very short than the usual height or takes longer to grow is an indication that the land has a problem. Additionally, they affirmed that when the farms produce decreases for a number of consecutive seasons is clear indication of degradation. At the same time, when many stones of different sizes appear on the plot and soil colour changes from 'dark or

black' to 'brown or red'. Finally, they highlighted that also the formation of soil clumps usually caused by tractors after ploughing are all clear indicators of land degradation. The end result is rills and gullies (dongas) forming, though not very common in this area. Rills and gullies as forms of physical degradation are common along the road side because of the poor drainage system, and on some slopes, though the government's LandCare programme has not been adopted in addressing the problem. Local indigenous people affirmed that the LandCare programme has never been introduced in the area. Yet, a substantial number of people know the benefits this programme in land conservation and community welfare improvement.

Indigenous people further argued that nature controls and regulates itself. This is why they try and leave those affected sections on their sites for some time, for example for a year or so. This is intended to let the land to fallow. Mr. K and Mrs F noted that they try and dump things such as tree branches in gullies, put stones across the gully and let grass grow to rehabilitate that section of the land.

Land management is treated as everybody's responsibility in the community, though mostly practiced by adults. There is a growing consensus from most of the parents that youths are not interested in working on land and in fact pay less attention to it. The youths interviewed argued that "there is much more life in the urban areas than staying in the rural areas working on land". The youth only think about getting 'white collar' jobs, and search for opportunities elsewhere.

In addition the general talk of 'child abuse' has also filtered into Coffee Bay youth population. This talk of 'child abuse' has turned out to be an excuse for children not to help their parents or get involved in land based activities in their respective homesteads. Parents raised this issue with anger that their own children are reporting them to the local police because the law allows them to do this. For instance, parents noted that five people have been charged on that account. Yet, parents argue that land is their source of wealth which requires proper management according to the traditions of the Tshezi community. Indeed, this is a contentious issue among elders in the community. This also has implications on the sustainability of the indigenous land management systems in the area.



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In general, indigenous people are fully aware of the effects of land degradation. In support of this argument, Mrs. Bq remarked that "if land is degraded, cows will have no where to go for grazing, even our houses can be washed away, and reduction in farm produce may translate into famine and eventually death". This statement expresses how local people are mindful of the state of their sites, and in a way ensures sustainable land management. To this end, elders remarked that land now is old and requires good care and can be spoilt or damaged by rainfall and wind.

Indigenous People's Conservation Folklore (Amasiko)

Just like in any other African community, culture and customs underlie the people's way of life in the rural areas. Communities delineate mythical imagined lands or sacred spaces with legal boundaries clearly known to all the people. This indeed predetermines indigenous people's conservation strategies based on societal norms and generally accepted myths in that geographical area. Mrs. Bq noted that western religious and scientific notions are strongly working towards detaching indigenous people away from their African norms and traditions. Yet, many still believe in these myths on land management. Respondent R, argues that these myths have been of help in guiding people in this community to live harmoniously on land in a sustainable manner. Through these myths all the people here in Coffee Bay treat land with dignity and caution.

In all the homesteads visited, it was observed that courtyards were covered with grass. Respondents indicated that every house must have a courtyard with grass where they can sit while performing their rituals like traditional marriages, and curing of the sick. Some herbs are grown in this area to facilitate the treatment of the sick. In addition, the courtyard is trimmed with well designed trenches to channel any runoff in case it rains. Indeed, this arrangement allows for erosion control, as it improves water infiltration and reduces the raindrop effect on the earth's surface.

It is apparent that here in Coffee Bay people treat land as life. Local people argue that there is no life without land. Elders attested to their sons that “land is your wealth, blood and life, therefore, it deserves your full attention and good care to derive your everlasting livelihood”. In addition, others believe that land is a place through which they can communicate with the dead. It is also a place of ‘gold’ and their livelihood is based on it. Females attributed land to a place that bonds family across generations, their laboratory and production unit. Ultimately, these kinds of sentiments instill a sense of belonging for people to land, thus its proper management.



Also in this community, indigenous people believe that whenever they relocate to another area, it is through land that people keep in touch with their ancestors. It is a norm for many here to take the local brew (*Mkomboti*) to the place where they have transferred. This local brew serves a ritual for appreciating the ancestral services offered to the person during his/her stay in that place. It should be noted that many local interviewees identified with this practice, though they confessed that because of religion (Christianity) they are slowly abandoning it. For instance, respondent A, said that these western notions are eroding away their Xhosa identity with land. This is intended to inform the ancestors about their transfer, and thanking them for shielding them during their stay. Indeed, this symbolizes the strong ties that indigenous people have on the land. Ultimately, this practice ensures that people have to take care of their land as a means of communication with their ancestors.

During a focus group interview, respondents unanimously indicated that in the case of any misfortune such as death, community members are not meant to work on land. This lasts until the dead is buried, and people only resume working on land usually after two to three days. The rationale behind this practice is that people come from the soil, and land must be respected as it receives one of their community members. In addition, after lightening and heavy storms all community members are supposed to keep in their houses and are prohibited from working on land. Here the logic behind this practice is that when one opens up the land, exposes it to the agents of erosion (wind and running water) which causes degradation. Tropical storms, with associated hail and thunder are viewed with awe or even reverence as God induced events. In both cases the fallow period of the land is increased and therefore, soil particles are left intact and compact. However, modernization and new religious observance are working against these societal norms, for instance, many youngsters have started challenging it. At the same time, rural elites also do not adhere to this. Therefore, issues of globalization have led to 'glocalization', thus disrupting the indigenous people's way of life and LM.

Coffee Bay has one well known hill called *Ngqukula*. This place is believed to be a home for *Inkanyamba*¹³ which the local people regard as sacred. All the people are prohibited to go there, unless rituals are going to be performed by the elders and

¹³ Inkanyamba is snake believed to be staying on the hill and associated with all the area spirits. Therefore, it has supernatural powers to protect these people from any catastrophe (storms and drought).

traditional healers in the area. It is believed that, if any person tampers with any thing on that hill, Coffee Bay experiences strong winds and heavy storms. These are said to result in rills and gullies forming along landscape slopes in the area. For instance, local people said that last year (2006) some whites (*Abelungu*) who were staying at Coffee Shack went out to explore the place, after which the area experienced bad weather conditions that day. Ultimately, these weather conditions led to farm and vegetation destruction, thus environmental degradation. It is common knowledge that this kind of belief leads to land conservation as there is less human interference in these sacred places.



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Institutional Frameworks in Rural Land Management

There has been some form of a fashion in the LM institutional arrangements across the world. Historically, the territoriality in LM was based on clan, lineage, chiefdoms, and kingships over different spaces. Recently, the global phenomenon of LM has manifested itself at the micro level in the form of institutional arrangements that manage and deliberate on issues of resource management. This section therefore analyzes nationalization, departmentalization, localization and traditionalisation of LM issues in Coffee Bay area. This is intended to mirror and reflect on the stakeholders' responsibilities in LM.

In Coffee Bay, as in the rest of South Africa, the state owns the land, that is, all communal areas fall under their stewardship. Under this arrangement, Coffee Bay portrays departmentalization of responsibilities. DLA, DEAT, DWAF, DoA and DLG share responsibilities of ensuring proper LM and sustainable development in the area, though in most cases work independently of each other. In ensuring efficient LM and adherence to and actualization of national and provincial policies and legislation, departmental works are reinforced by other local governmental organizations. For instance, Ntinga Development Agency (NDA) supplements and implements national programmes under the umbrella of KSD municipality development initiative for the actualization of sustainable land use management (SLUM) programme. Therefore, at this point there is specialization and division of labour, and each department operates in isolation of each other. *Together in Excellence*

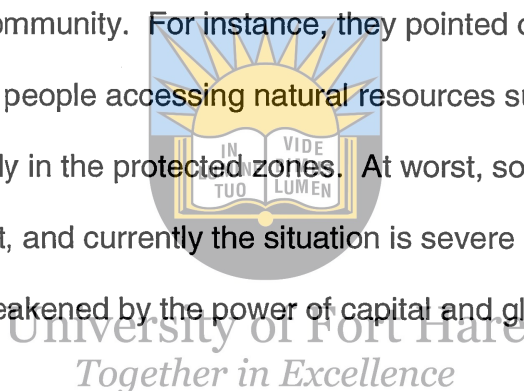
In essence, DLA is the central department that directly handles land matters, such as the land reform programme. The national DLA thus exercises authority over the land reform programme, the Deeds Registry, the office of the Surveyor General, the National Spatial Information Framework and the administration of land as a national resource. In accordance with the national department's roles, the provincial DLA office translates and implements the set objectives and goals of the country. It was observed that, spatial planning (SP), land use management (LUM) and land development (LD) is executed at the local KSD municipality, though not fully implemented due to shortage of capacity (funds and personnel). Also this department

issues PTOs to people who have been given land by the community under the guidance of the headman and the chief respectively.

DWAF is the department that focuses specifically on water and indigenous forests in Coffee Bay. Officials conduct regular patrols to ensure compliance by the local people not to encroach on forests in the area. At worst, local people are harassed, fined and imprisoned. Yet, the majorities of the people are living in absolute poverty, and derives their livelihoods from natural resources such as land, forests and water. At the same time, DoA is in charge of parceling out distributed land according to its suitability for residence, farming and grazing in the area, in consultation with the traditional authorities. This is coordinated by the DLA to harmonize the process of land parceling. Indeed, land parceling has led to a unique land use pattern, which partly explains the geo-spatial outlay of settlements in Coffee Bay.

DEAET operates on a wider spectrum that combines areas of economic affairs, environment, and tourism. This spectrum serves as a showcase in service delivery, especially LM for sustainable development in Coffee Bay. Broadly, the DEAET coordinates sustainable economic development in OR Tambo District Municipality, and provides for essential regulatory and advisory services. Also it serves as the custodian of environmental protection, nature conservation, promotes tourism development and local economic development initiatives. Indeed, this is in keeping with the national department's mission of ensuring efficient utilization and

management of environmental resources to ensure sustainable development. Virtually, the department is in total control of the coastal land within the 1km radius from the Indian Ocean. This is mandated under the Transkei Conservation Decree (1992). Consequently, in Coffee Bay all the developments and activities conducted in this region are overseen by this department through their offices in the area. All respondents indicated that the existence of these officials is not welcomed by the entire Coffee Bay community. For instance, they pointed out that officials harass them when they find local people accessing natural resources such as land, marine, and vegetation, especially in the protected zones. At worst, some of them have been displaced in the past, and currently the situation is severe with local people marginalized and weakened by the power of capital and globalization.



Also the DLG is partly responsible for LM issues in the area as it deals with administering the planning, land use, and site allocations within the 1km coastal belt. However, little or no land use planning is practiced in this rural area, though plans are geared towards tourism development planning in Coffee Bay. DLA and DEAET ought to be working together, though this seems not to be happening in this particular area. For the area outside the 1km coastal belt, DLG becomes involved when applications for the Development Facilitation Act are made by the people concerned. In addition, spatial planning, LUM and LD through the adoption of SDI framework by KSD, fosters the content of planning for proper LM in the area at the local government level. This is a focus on renewal of rural economies especially in Coffee Bay. The spin-offs provide

an enabling environment for the area councilor to mediate and facilitate local transformation between the indigenous people and KSD local municipality. The local government representative and traditional authorities are in conflict with each other. The conflict revolves around who controls what, and who represents and governs the local people. It is crystal clear that democratic principles adopted by the government besides the traditional leadership is the source of the tension and conflicts. There is no doubt that these tensions also spill over to LM initiatives, thus hampering sustainable development in the area. For instance, all local informants highlighted that OR Tambo District Municipality (ODM), NDA and DEAET collaborated in bringing the Coffee Bay tourism initiative (Campsite Development) by securing community participation to be funded by the European Union at a tune of R7.6m for tourism investment. Consequently, due to the in fighting between the two local structures of leadership, two community trusts (Incopho Development Trust¹⁴ and Tshezi Community Trust¹⁵) emerged, thus leading to a standstill of the project. Therefore, local people are caught in a fix and left with no help in this regard, thus worsening the situation of LM and sustainable development in Coffee Bay.

In keeping with the Municipal Systems Act (2000), the KSD Municipality fulfills its constitutional mandate to bring about local development and transformation in the

¹⁴ Incopho Development Trust is/was associated with Mr. Mvunge (area councilor), Mr. Lennox Sibeza and Mr. Bossie Bosman.

¹⁵ Tshezi Community Trust associated with Tshezi Chief Ngwenyathi Pali (sole trustee), and relationship with Gareth Barry Dart. However, due to the involvement of different stakeholders (DEAET, ECPB, KSD, ODM, and NDA) led to the unification of the two trusts into Tshezi Trust. This trust has blessings from all stakeholders including the community members who are anticipating to benefit much out of the project.

area. This is attributed to the fact that local municipalities are the government representatives closest to the local people, and as such it is their responsibility to ensure SLM and sustainable development in Coffee Bay area. At the same time, local officials revealed that Coffee Bay has an investment potential. To the detriment of all these opportunities, there are no LM plans, no planning guidelines, and the localized spatial development framework has not been implemented. For instance, KD1 said that normally things just happen in this area, and sometimes reference is made to the plan of the 1980's (old Transkei Government). Yet, this is outdated given the new thinking, which emphasizes sustainability in development.



The NGOs and CBOs are seen to be tying the thread between the traditional leadership, the local government and the global arena in Coffee Bay's area. For instance, the Transkei Land Service Organization (TRALSO) a local NGO has played different roles in LM in the Wild Coast as a whole, such as coordination, training, networking and dissemination of information to the indigenous people and other stakeholders about land reform, land degradation, and land use planning and livelihoods programme in the entire Transkei region. More specifically, TRALSO's services are peripheral in Coffee Bay. Also Gugu's¹⁶ project operating as a CBO offers skills development especially in line with horticultural production and soil management measures and techniques to community members in the area. In addition, participating members in the project from the Coffee Bay community

¹⁶ Gugu's project as it is widely known by the local people. This project is named after Dr. Gugu a lecturer in the Department of Zoology at the Walter Sisulu University, Mthatha Campus.

highlighted that through this project, food security and poverty alleviation issues are slowly being addressed in the community, though a lot needs to be done as people are trapped in absolute poverty.

Traditional leaders are best placed compared to any other authority in harmonizing LM in Coffee Bay. More specifically, most of the people still pay total allegiance and strongly believe in the sub-headmen, headmen and the chief. This traditional leadership distributes land, settles disputes, and oversees LM and all other activities (community development, and reporting to the house of traditional leaders and KSD municipality) in their jurisdiction (*Ilali*). At the same time, traditional leadership serves as an entry point in Coffee Bay, and their blessing is central in the success of any venture such as LM. Despite, the *inkosi's* commendable role in LM in this community, there is a view that a 'new' breed of rural elites is questioning their legitimacy in LM. In a way rural elites are at the center of confusing and manipulating other indigenous people on many issues. For instance, in the few meetings that they had with the government officials, rural elites tended to deliberate on issues the majority of local people never wanted. This tension developed partly due to many old indigenous people being illiterate. Indeed, this is politics of inclusion and exclusion at its best.

Finally, when the LM issues are not sorted out in the traditional court of the council of chiefs, the local magistrate at Mqanduli regional administrative area takes

the responsibility of solving land issues. It is very rare with the local people, but normally outsiders for example, developers, tend to seek this kind of legal route as an option to what they regard as “illegitimate courts”. The *inkosi* with all his structures below him indicated that land disputes revolve around illegal land occupation or grabbing, and annexing of neighbour’s land especially absent landlords. At the local level, the offender is punished by either reducing the size of his/her previous plot of land or evicting him/her away from that community.



Public Participation in Policy Formulation

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It is generally accepted that after 1994, all South Africans are required to participate in the state affairs. During the process of policy formulation, the public only comes on board at the consultation phase. This implies that in the initial stages of policy planning local people are left out, as the process is considered sophisticated and complex for them to handle which only requires legal experts. Government officials pointed out that communities are engaged in policy formulation through community gatherings, consultations and discussions with the chief, and served with policy draft booklets (though mostly published in English). Government officials pointed out that those public hearings are conducted when there is a bill to roll out at Mthatha Town hall. Indigenous people noted that public presentations and

consultations are usually dominated by 'intruders or outsiders' and rural elites during discussions, which denies many disadvantaged people a chance to participate fully.

On the other hand, the few community members who have participated in policy formulation remarked that consultations are very exclusive (conducted in English, and in town halls) and the process is limited by budgetary constraints on both community and Municipality. Almost, 90% of the local respondents remarked that they have never heard of, and are unfamiliar with policies such as Land Policy (1997), NEMA (1998), and CLRA (2004). This makes these policies very unpopular among the Tshezi community members. In a way however, this policy formulation process favours a certain class of people in the community for example, rural elites who have the means to travel to the meetings. By and large the views of the majority of the rural poor (indigenous people in particular Coffee Bay) will not be heard and incorporated in policy documents. It is likely that this leads to a disjuncture between customary law and the western law, which is compounded by the existence of many pieces of legislation. It was also observed that government officials not being familiar with most of the policies outside their area of jurisdiction hampered public participation in policy formulation.

Additionally, it is quite clear that everybody in Coffee Bay is aware of the Transkei Conservation Decree (1992) because of the restrictiveness, denial and suffering that it brought to the entire community. All local respondents remarked that

this policy alienated them from their birth rights to the area adjacent to the Indian Ocean, though they had owned the area for generations. This policy led to the relocation of families to other places, and indigenous people are denied access to the zone by the DEAT officials. Many people have been harassed and imprisoned by these agents. But to the indigenous peoples' dismay this same land within the 1km radius is now being given to outsiders who have built on people's grave yards. Yet, according to the Tshezi community each family must protect its ancestral tombs from occupation by outsiders. This is because local people believe that it is through land that they communicate with the dead (ancestors). In general, local people now regard it as a 'new' form of alienation from the 'so called democratic government'. Mr Bh remarked that 'the current government is by far worse than the apartheid regime in oppressing the rural people even though we get grants'.

In addition, different government officials argue that the process of land management policy formulation should be facilitated by the government through the decentralised departments. Under this process, local people will own the process and adopt the policy as theirs instead of imposing policies on them. This will give room for indigenous knowledge and customary law to be incorporated in the drafted policy.

All respondents made different suggestions to the government to assist in different ways such as improving their social conditions in terms of upgrading their houses (water, electricity, and toilets). In this area, it was observed that only 3% of

the indigenous people's homesteads had toilets. It is quite clear that these people need fences, tractors and fertilizers coupled with other farming inputs. They also noted that educational awareness on policy needs to be done, and the roll out of other land management programmes such the landcare programme must be thought of.

In summary, the chapter highlights that land is communally owned and the chief controls all the affairs of tenure. Local land user management systems are generally uniform based on the Tshezi community norms. Land resource ownership is based on equity principles putting into consideration factors such as age and gender (though women are now more favored than men). It is an established fact that indigenous knowledge management systems are at the center in rural LM as is the case with Coffee Bay. During the period between 1995 to 2004, aerial photographs reveal no significant changes in land use pattern, though agricultural fields are shrinking instead of expanding. On the other hand, physical forms of land degradation are limited to small rills and gullies developing on the previously cultivated areas. Local measures such as putting of stones across the rill or gully, mulching, and the limiting of grazing and farming to low lands, are practiced by the indigenous people to arrest land degradation. In general, the current legislation emphasizes the sustainability concept which the indigenous people are embracing in their land management practices in the area.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

Introduction

This chapter discusses the research findings in Chapter IV and relates them to the information on rural land management in the literature. In short, the chapter covers issues around land tenure, indigenous knowledge systems, and land use changes and degradation. Finally, the legacy of apartheid in LM is highlighted as the 'new' South African government strives to achieve sustainable land management at the local level.

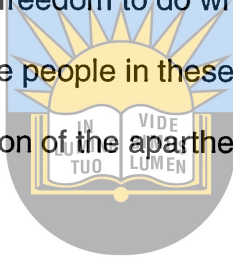


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Land Tenure and Gender

In many parts of the world, land is a source of livelihood to rural communities especially in Africa. This is dependent on the nature of tenure operating in an area, for instance in South Africa, Whyte (1995) notes that land is categorized into private and company freehold (commercial farms), common property regimes (former homelands) and state-owned land (forestlands, nature conservation and public lands). According to this categorization, land in Coffee Bay is under communal land tenure system controlled by the chief, though the DLA also plays a part in land allocation. Meadows and Hoffman (2002) assert that the land tenure pattern is rooted in colonial and apartheid past. Indeed, Coffee Bay as well cannot be divorced from the colonial

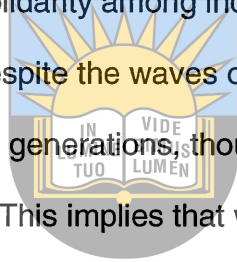
and apartheid legacy for example, cottages for the whites are separated by a wide corridor of land from the indigenous people's community.

Though, currently there are more policies and regulations than before guiding land tenure, and yet local people were not used to this kind of restrictions on land. This might be the case as to why Coffee Bay indigenous people argue that during the apartheid regime they had the freedom to do whatever they wanted on land with less state intervention. It is because people in these former reserves were left to run their own affairs under the supervision of the apartheid government.



The communal form of land tenure in Coffee Bay is democratic, and follows the global and national demands for gender equality. It is evident that local people are consulted, and the land committee has women as members, though the number is still small (2 women out of 10 members). The small number is compromised by the fact that in Tshezi community, decision making is a public consensus. Therefore, the majority of the population being female gives them a chance for their voices to be heard more than males. This may explain the scenario why women have an upper hand in land allocation in the Tshezi community. In a way however, the communal land tenure system encourages individualism and 'familism', where the allocated plot of land belongs to one family for generations and enhances exclusion of any intruder on the site.

Indigenous people's rights on their sites are basically user rights controlled under the norms of the Tshezi community. One can argue that this tenure system limits people to small plots, and the bigger chunk of land is held under the Thsezi community for grazing purposes and future allocation of it to the growing population in the area. Colson cited by Johan Pottier (2005), argues that land use is the concern of the living and the dead, as well as the unborn. It becomes clear that the communal system builds on a sense of solidarity among indigenous people, which keeps alive the customs related to land, despite the waves of modernity and globalization. There is easy information flow across generations, though some young people are not interested in working on land. This implies that with time customs will not be passed on to the new generations which could lead to collapse of the communal systems.



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In protecting land user rights, the South African government adopted a Land Policy (1997), and specifically promulgated Communal Land Rights Act -CLRA (2004). This expresses governments' willingness to transfer communal land to residents' community groups, even though locally (Coffee Bay) indigenous people own land under the guidance of the chief (*inkosi*). In the eyes of many indigenous people this seems not to make any meaning, because they argue that they are occupying ancestral land. This mismatch in policy shows that policy formulation centralization of land issues undermines decentralization policy, and that is possibly why CLRA (2004) has not yet taken effect. In general emphasis of the current land policy is on rights based approach to land management. This reveals that chiefs have *de facto* powers

instead of *de jure* powers in land allocation, which is a source of conflict emanating from the pluralistic legal system that exists in Coffee Bay's LM.

However, traditional authorities and their administration have been strengthened through policy enactment (Constitution, 1996; CLRB, 2002; CLRA, 2004) that recognizes their legitimacy as part of land administrators. Boaventura (2004) noted that in Mozambique after independence traditional authorities and their administration were officially abolished all over the country due to the adoption of democratic principles. Yet, in SA, traditional authorities are strengthened, though at times in policy formulation they are not accorded due attention. Government officials though condemn traditional authorities as being anti-development in Coffee Bay, they have failed to appreciate the strong cultural dynamics among the local people. Ultimately, these tensions hamper LM initiatives in the area.

Another point that is equally important is the factor of accessibility to land. In Coffee Bay access to land is entangled in cultural and traditional dynamics of inclusion and exclusion. In a way, this politics complicates access to land especially to the outsiders, though it has enabled local people to protect their land especially from white cottage owners who are believed to be 'land invaders'. It is quite clear that government officials try to manipulate local people to gain access to land for different interests, for example, for the outsider's. Hence government officials have faced a lot of resistance from the indigenous people and their traditional leadership. Government

official's claim that, traditional authorities are undemocratic, in Coffee Bay's case it is baseless because it involves community participation through *imbizos* (community meetings) which are very crucial in LM. This ensures that the views of community members are considered before any decision can be made in any regard. In the eyes of the local people in Coffee Bay the chief has discretionary powers over land and solving land related community problems. However, recently rural elites challenge their decisions on land disputes in western courts, and local people oppose these challenges. This has created tension among community members which hampers community LM strategies. Shackleton et al. (2002) argues that people's perceptions are strongly shaped by historical context, especially in LM. For instance, in Coffee Bay, even before the coming of colonialists, local people followed customary systems and kinship in land management.


Policies, Participation and Indigenous Knowledge Systems

In Africa and Coffee Bay in particular, indigenous people through their lived experiences and cultures have been able to manage land in their jurisdiction for centuries. Indigenous people at Coffee Bay act locally but think globally in LM. This may be either conscious or unconscious while they stick to their customs, they still adhere to global sustainable principles.

The Constitution (1996), Land Policy (1997), and CLRA (2004) are among others policies that unitary embraces sustainable land management, though little attention is paid to preservation and development of indigenous knowledge systems. In fact what is over emphasized in land policy is land reform which focuses on land management transformation in terms of tenure and the rights based approach. In a way, current policies seem to pay little attention to what traditional LM has to offer. The general trend is that governments adopt strategies and techniques which have worked in other environmental settings, which may not be suitable to the local conditions. This implies that there is a gap between local level realities and national level planning due to policy makers and planners lacking crucial local insights of LM. Hjort af Ornäs and Lundquist (1999) notes that government officials deal with abstractions of 'concepts' instead of things that affect local people's daily lives. In Coffee Bay, government officials are obsessed with tourism development instead of addressing the immediate needs (toilets, electricity, safe water, and land in puts such as fertilizers) of the local people.

In a way, indigenous people have been subjected to different conclusions which depend on the interest of the group. For instance, in South Africa indigenous people were regarded as agents of land degradation (Beinart, 2003), yet this study reveals that they are at the centre of SLM using their indigenous knowledge systems. This can be attributed to the fact that local people's participation in policy formulation at different tiers of government has been minimal, which leaves the world in the dark

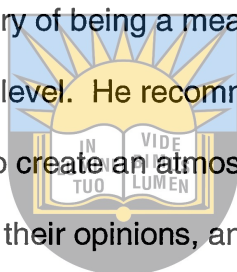
about the potential of indigenous people in LM. Hajdu (2006) notes that local perspectives and consultation with local people by the government is often very urban-based, for example in Coffee Bay the study reveal that a few people especially rural elites participated in policy formulation. This is due to the fact that consultations on policy are conducted in Mthatha town hall, hence it excludes many indigenous people's views. This is because Mthatha is far from Coffee Bay which is complicated by other factors such as poverty and poor infrastructures.



Hajdu (2006) point out that not only is consultation a problem when drafting laws and regulations, but mechanisms of feedback once a law is in place sometimes seem very weak. In the case of Coffee Bay, the existence of traditional authorities and local government officials with different agendas complicates the process of policy formulation especially in the calling of community meetings. Hajdu (2006, p. 231) concludes that;

The lack of a feedback mechanism again reinforces the paternalistic tendency of the natural resource use restrictions, where local people are not given an opportunity to give feedback on this law, since policy makers already know "what is best for them". The problem is that outsiders tend to feel like they have much more knowledge about things than local people.... Similarly, policy-makers often assume that they understand local reactions and do not take time to check that assumption.

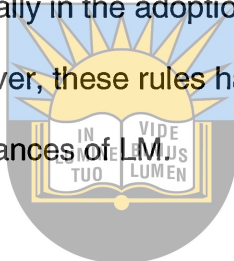
In Coffee Bay, indigenous people generally feel alienated because of not being part of the 'brainchild' for many policies such as the Transkei Environmental Conservation Decree (1992). Yet, such kind of policies directly affects indigenous people through relocating them from their ancestral land thus affecting their settlement patterns. Indigenous people have resisted this policy through passivity and vandalism of property. Hajdu (2006) notes that in South Africa, resistance through passivity and 'slow-working' has a long history of being a means of protest against authorities, both politically and at the individual level. He recommends that in South Africa, it could be seen as especially important to create an atmosphere of participation where local people feel at ease to express their opinions, and there lies a specific danger in interpreting passivity and lack of protest as consent in policy-making.



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The study reveals that local people apply their knowledge acquired over time through working on land in areas such as identifying land degradation. Here characteristics of the land are put into consideration such as colour, appearance of stones on the surface, vegetation density, and quantity of produce harvested over a period of time. This localized understanding of land in the Tshezi community places indigenous people at the helm of sustainable land management. Cullinan (2005) affirms that traditional African world-views emphasize the importance of human beings in maintaining close relationships with ancestral spirits and other entities in the natural environment. The lived experiences gained in using land over time enhance sustainable land management among the indigenous people of Coffee Bay.

At the same time, communal land tenure recognizes and makes chief and headmen to be legitimate leaders in Coffee Bay, who hold the land under the custodian of the Tshezi community. The recognition of these structures by the national government through CLRA (2004) is a thumb print to enhancing SLM in Coffee Bay and SA in general in communal areas. The communal system as it builds on customary laws of the Tshezi community is flexible and inclusive and is expressed in massive compliance especially in the adoption of uniform indigenous knowledge management systems. However, these rules have become intertwined with religion and other western 'modern' stances of LM.



The study reveals that culture and customs underlie indigenous knowledge management systems, for instance, indigenous people believe that nature regulates itself. This is why land based activities are carried out during specific seasons. For example, ploughing and brick making are done in winter. The logic behind this is simple because of little rainfall, and any resultant disturbances on the land will not lead to soil loss. Chenje and Johnson (1994) concluded that southern African farmers understand the mechanism of soil erosion and the relationship between rainfall and rate of erosion. Indigenous people in Coffee Bay are good students of nature and in most cases work on land when it is conducive.

The indigenous people in Coffee Bay have respect for the land. This is expressed in the different fallow dimensions such as not working on land when

someone passes away in the community (only work on land after two to three days), and during a natural disaster or hail storm. Yet, shifting cultivation (that contributed to longer fallow periods) is no longer practiced due to the introduction of property rights and privatization of land ownership, though indigenous people are trying to cope with these changes in LM. This situation leads to the concentration of pressure on the land. Indeed, it may eventually translate into degradation given the fact that indigenous people in Coffee Bay own small plots of land on which they depend on for a living.



In addition, the study also reveals that indigenous people engage in many land management strategies such as intercropping, slash and burning, contour ploughing, organic manure application, mulching, trenches for channeling running water, and gully rehabilitation (dumping of tree branches, and piling of stones across the gully). All these have been long practiced in African communities (Chenje and Johnson, 1994) even before the coming of the colonialist, though the current trend is that 'whatever is good is western'. In fact, this reality about indigenous people and LM is complex and difficult to understand in the new global arena. This may be the reason for most of the young people in Coffee Bay to view land management with mixed feelings.

Land Use Changes and Degradation

Like in any other community that is under communal or traditional leadership, Coffee Bay land use patterns are entirely subsistence based and are expressed in the form of farming small gardens in the backyards, traditional settlements, brick making for housing construction and kraaling for cattle (domestic animals). By the nature of these activities being carried out on small sites owned by indigenous people, it makes them to conduct these land based activities with conscious. This is because the former apartheid government disenfranchised and alienated indigenous people of their land. The undisputable fact that indigenous people own small uneconomic plots of land is being addressed, though the new SA government has taken a slow pace in fully implementing the land reform programme. The growth of tourism as a land use activity has gained momentum, though indigenous people have not benefited much out of the lucrative venture. This has also opened doors for the outsiders to manipulate indigenous people in wanting to get sites to establish their businesses in Coffee Bay. On a broader scale, land use has not changed much, though more houses are cropping up due to population growth, and especially outsiders are tapping on the tourism potential in Coffee Bay. Sacred places are visited with no charge on the visitors, and this undermines indigenous people's cultural tourism and this interferes with their LM. On other hand, tourism development further confines indigenous people to areas away from the Indian Ocean and this process is encouraged by the national government policies. Hajdu (2006) notes that some of the

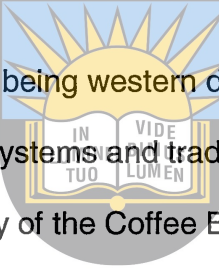
initial tourism promotion initiatives have indeed not been very successfully. In Coffee Bay these were a source of conflict between the chief and the area councilor.

To generalize that the Transkei area experiences serious land degradation could be misleading especially in Coffee Bay, physical degradation is not very common. This is because the study reveals that in Coffee Bay physical degradation such as rills, gullies and dongas is negligible, perhaps because indigenous people are very conscious about it. This is because they are fully aware of the impacts degradation can cause to their livelihoods. Hajdu's (2006) argument that degradation in some areas of the Transkei is a well established fact, applies to a case by case situation. Crais (2003) contends that degradation is often exaggerated and generalized to all areas of former homelands in South Africa. In addition, the indigenous people's abandoning of their former arable areas may explain, to the contrary, that they realized a decrease in land productivity. It is likely that other forms of degradation other than physical degradation are taking place such as acidification and salinization.

Resilience of Customary Land Tenure and Management System

It is surprising that customary land traditional systems and management mechanisms remain strong, though dynamic and evolutionary in LM during this time of modernization and globalization. This is because modernization and globalization

condemn traditional practices of LM in the world today. Other studies also reveal that, customary systems still govern the majority of the land in Africa, for instance, in Ghana, customary authorities still hold considerable responsibilities and influence in LM (Dione, 2006). Bekker (1989) cited in Hugh (2004), asserts that customary law is an established system of immemorial rules, which has evolved from the way of life and natural wants of the people.



In spite of the state law being western driven and despite their inherent global campaign, customary tenure systems and traditional land administration practices still remain supreme in the majority of the Coffee Bay community. It can be argued that the existence of traditional authorities in Coffee Bay has also played a credible role in maintaining the Tshezi community's customs and traditions especially those relating to land management. Chenje and Johnson (1994) contend that the traditional shared values and beliefs (customary law) provides a strong sense of group solidarity and uniformity in land management practices. This is because people in Africa generally appreciated and incorporated nature into their worldview metaphors, folklore and belief systems (Fabricuis, *et al.*, 2004). Generally, African values are under threat and pressure from different circles of land management stewardship. These include threats from; some rural elites denouncing African values, local government officials, religion and other stances of modernization that are underpinned by globalization.

Legacy of Apartheid Policies in Land Management

The study reveals that government officials are not entirely familiar with land related legislations and policies, especially that outside their area of jurisdiction. History shows that SA since apartheid has been grappling with land management policy and integration across departments, and this is still the case. This situation presents a missing link between policy formulation and implementation among different departments. The study also shows that the policy discussion process is exclusive because policy consultative meetings are no longer conducted at the grass root and instead are now being held in town halls. This limits people's participation to the few that can meet their travelling expenses to the town hall. In general, this is typical of what the apartheid government was doing to the Africans who were mere observers and recipients of policies that do not even share their insights on land management. This became unpopular to many African land users.

The Fencing Act No. 31 of 1963 still exists and through its adaptability, indigenous people now feel insecure without having fences around their homes and plots of land. This implies that indigenous people realized the importance of fencing, for instance, people argue that fences help in controlling cattle or other animals from destroying farm fields, even though after harvesting the gardens are opened for cattle to graze the area. Thus the majority of the indigenous people are calling upon government to help them with fences. This is because materials for making fences

are expensive and most of the local people rely on government grants and thus cannot afford fencing materials. Also given the small sizes of plots when left open without fences, cattle destroy all the farm produce and people would starve more if their crops are destroyed.

The DoA's activities of parceling land allocated to different land users into arable land, residential and grazing commonage keeps betterment planning project alive in Coffee Bay. The settlements are clustered into villages. Hajdu (2006) argues that villagization policies were pegged on betterment planning principles of 1945 in the rural areas of homelands. At the same time, in Coffee Bay parceling of land is constrained with environmental policies such as the Transkei Conservation Decree (1992) which pushed indigenous people away from the coastal strip for nature conservation purposes. During this development spree in Coffee Bay the situation of nature conservation has been reversed not in favour of the indigenous people, but rather in support of outsider's interest. The settlement pattern in Coffee Bay now reflects apartheid patterns in that whites stay very close to the ocean and are separated from the rural communities with a wide corridor of land maintaining the status quo between the two groups. Indigenous people were relocated from their ancestral land further inland for conservation purposes. There is no doubt that this has caused tension and anxiety among Tshezi community members. At worst, indigenous people do not even have access to the ocean anymore in that they need permits before access is granted to them. In the eyes of indigenous people these

unpopular policies are a 'new forms of apartheid by their own government'. It is likely that indigenous people are not benefiting much from the mushrooming cottages for the tourist accommodation in the area.

Registration of land rights by issuing of PTO's is by and large a celebration of the continued existence of apartheid policies in LM. The stigma that is attached to this certificate explains why some of the indigenous people in Coffee do not have these certificates. This scenario shows that invisible former homeland policies of LM in the former reserves still exist without much address in the new SA. The admission by the different government officials that most of the policies that are implemented date back to the apartheid regime, though the new government has come up with numerous policies. It is unfortunate that these new policies have not repealed the old segregationist policies thus offers room for continued subjugation on the side of indigenous people in LM.

The KSD municipality does not have a plan for Coffee Bay which complicates the situation and officials only make reference to the 1980s plan. Yet, through space and time the population and other factors have long changed in the area thus needs constant updates of Coffee Bay plan. In a way, this will enable an inclusive planning for all the stakeholders hence ensuring sustainable development in Coffee Bay. This scenario puts indigenous LM people in a paradoxical situation in land administration and this invariably affects their management practices.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

This final chapter presents a summary of research findings inform of conclusions about Coffee Bay's land management practices as experienced by indigenous people. At the same time the chapter advances some recommendations. The major aim is to indicate if the aim and objectives of the study have been attained. Finally the section highlights possible research agendas for future investigation.

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Summary of Findings and Recommendations

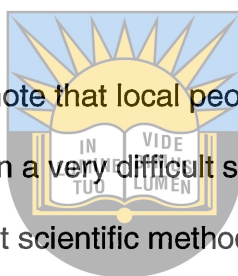
The new South African state faces a dilemma in respect to communal land at the start of democratic maturity in the 21st century. On the one hand, it is essential that land ownership in the rural areas be de-racialized in a systematic way while empowering local indigenous people. On the other hand, need to transfer land to communities under forms of communal tenure must be handled in a way that meets the local situational context and people's desires. This process in its entirety should focus on improving rural land management and above all, increasing of rural wealth.

The difficulties that national level policy-makers have in grasping local perspectives are probably to a certain extent due to weak consultation processes and feedback mechanisms, as exemplified in several instances in this study. In general, local people in the South African former homelands have very seldom been consulted, which means that it cannot be assumed that they would suddenly and unproblematically be able to actively participate in policy-making. This issue of public participation poses a challenge to the SA government to make sure that all stakeholders participate in policy formulation. Therefore, national policy-making should be based on local realities by encouraging local participation.



In addition, there is still limited knowledge and understanding of the environment, between animal numbers, land use, forms of tenure, state of regulation, economic influences and environmental and land degradation in the area and South Africa in general. Consequently, many scholars have misrepresented the actual picture of the area in a broad sense especially on the extent of land degradation in the Transkei as a region. A similar observation was reached by Beinart (2003). The case by case conclusions must be drawn instead of generalizations. Therefore, there is a need to move away from simplistic explanations on all levels, and realize that different solutions are needed in different localities. In this study, the view that local rural people are agents of erosion is challenged.

The study also concludes that Indigenous Knowledge Systems are paramount in land management because the people have a clear understanding of the local environmental and micro-climatic dynamics. In addition, their inherited knowledge is extremely useful in the proper management of the space they occupy. Religion and faith in societal customs are at the center of shaping people's reaction to proper land management.



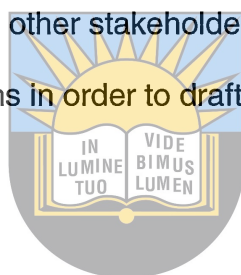
It is important to also note that local people in coffee Bay have small plots of land which in fact puts them in a very difficult situation for sustainable land utilization. Indeed, there is need to adopt scientific methods of production and complement these with traditional conservation methods that are compatible with the local situation and acceptable by the local people in Coffee Bay in order to arrest or reverse the current situation of poverty and people's feel of being neglected in LM affairs.

There is evidence that relocation of people from their previous areas after the enactment of the Transkei Conservation Decree in 1992 has led to a new form nucleated homestead setup (villages) in Coffee Bay. This phenomenon has created a corridor of land as conserved land under the auspices of DEAET between whites and indigenous people. Unfortunately, this piece of land has recently been given out to or set aside for tourism development especially by operators from outside the area at the expense of the local population. Local people are thus not happy that their ancestral lands are occupied by 'outsiders'.

The study also highlights that there exists invisible racism and social class segregation in form of apartheid legacy across Coffee Bay. Betterment planning in the form of partitioning of local people's plots of land (arable, residential and grazing) gives a clear manifestation of apartheid's legacy in Coffee Bay. It should be noted as well that in the rural built up environment there exists other activities such as kraaling, brick making and burying of the dead. This in itself explains why the local people treasure their land as an indispensable resource in Coffee Bay. In fact, local theories embedded in the Xhosa culture provide reasons as to why local indigenous people have tried to promote the notion of sustainable land management. This is basically due to the continued benefits they derive from land. Indigenous people's LM in Coffee Bay sends clear signals that government must help them through the best options available to reduce the stress experienced by them in land management.

Another conclusion that stems from the findings is that local people are skeptical on how and against the current government's motives and interventions such as the land reform policy and the landCare programme. These initiatives are geared towards correcting environmental and LM racism. Though there is a general feeling that the current government and its officials have connived with foreigners (outsiders) to alienate and torture local people by adopting restrictive policies such as the Transkei Environmental Conservation Decree 19 of 1992. Local people argue that apartheid regime was better because they were aware that most of the LM policies


were against indigenous people. However, to the local people's dismay their 'own people' have betrayed them by continuing to promote these restrictive policies which further challenge their existence especially next to the ocean. In general, local people now do not directly challenge the government and its officials, but instead make attacks on the community members who are seen as betraying the Tshezi community, for instance, vandalizing of their property. Consequently, the study argues that national, provincial, local and other stakeholders have a responsibility to try and understand the local situations in order to draft policies that can easily be adopted by the people at the grass root.



Similarly, adequate policies for promoting equitable and socio-economic access to land management are emerging, though fragmented across different departments such as DoA, DLA and DEAET. In addition, all these policies are uncoordinated and often overlap thus it remains a weakness among these institutional structures. In this view the study argues that coordination of policies across departments must probably be reinforced to ensure sustainable land management in Coffee Bay. A requirement that even tourism initiatives should put into consideration in LM policy designing for Coffee Bay.

At the same time, it is clear that many reforms are now encouraging a plurality of local institutions (Ribot, 2004) such as local communities, associations (women and youths), NGOs and local government structures. This proliferation of institutions

needs to be involved in policy formulation and decision making to ensure SLM. If this could happen then everybody would share some responsibility in SLM. In away however, people's participation in policy formulation is a constitutional mandate though very exclusive in nature. Ultimately, the central government has transferred powers to local level. However, the study shows that despite rhetoric to the contrary, the central authorities still continue to drive the whole process of policy formulation on land use and management in South Africa as a whole.

The logo of the University of Fort Hare is a shield-shaped emblem. At the top is a yellow sun with rays. Below the sun is an open book with the Latin motto 'IN TUO LUMEN' written on its pages. The shield is set against a blue background with a white border.

On the other hand, the conflict that exists between the local traditional authorities and the local politicians leads to the indigenous people making choices that compromise legislation and undermine its implementation. In turn policy implementation manifests itself in a form of double stands as different stakeholders pay less attention to it. To the detriment, government officials are not very familiar with policies outside their departmental jurisdiction. Yet, they continue blaming the past regime on grounds of injustices in conservation especially in land management, instead of addressing the problems they are faced with. This can be described as a political comfort zone for some of the different government officials.

It is important to note that the study has been unique and different in that, it is rooted in local indigenous people's realities on land management. This presents conflicting realities as it occurs while at the same time differing on some aspects in the existing body of knowledge. Choosing a broad spectrum of land based activities

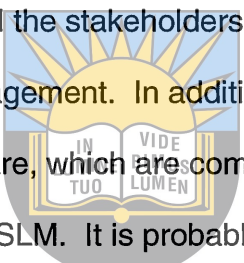
offered some account of most of the management strategies indigenous people adopted in maintaining SLM in their built up environment. This approach gives a strong platform for making comparisons between different activities in terms of land usage and management approaches to ensure sustainability at household level in the Tshezi community.

The study recommends that property (land) rights expressed in enacted policies like CLRA, 2004, during its implementation must seek the guidance of the traditional authorities in communal areas. This is because indigenous people still pay allegiance to the traditional authorities. At the same time, the customs of indigenous people and their local conditions are paramount in the achievement of SLM. This also points to the fact that indigenous people must be empowered with micro-level decision making in LM. In this process other stakeholders must play a facilitative role in the implementation of the micro-level management strategies.

Accordingly, the study advocates for the development of more sustainable technologies based on local principles and norms. This implies that these technologies must be easy for the local people as actual implementers of the particular policies. Actually, all the planning must be inclusive or 'all stakeholders centered' while putting indigenous people at the core. In that, indigenous knowledge systems must feature in these technological strategies. The documentation of IKS in land management should be thought of especially for harmonization of rural

conservation strategies and maintenance of indigenous people's heritage (RSA constitution, 1996).

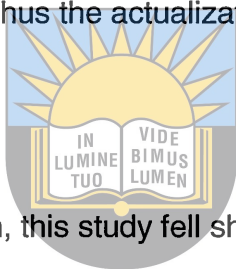
Recognition must be given to institutional strengthening and building of human resource capabilities across all structures and classes in land management. Local environmental analysis must start with what is known and advance to the unknown to ensure easy adjustment by all the stakeholders, especially the local people, on the new innovations in land management. In addition, government projects and programmes such as LandCare, which are community based by their nature, must be boosted to ensure continued SLM. It is probable that with this approach of local participation in LM policy design would achieve the best results ever in curbing rural land degradation.



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The study also recommends that, the importance of both the traditional authorities and local organization (NGOs and CBOs) in land management must not be underestimated. In essence, their full participation in policy formulation and decision making as part of the local community structures instills confidence in the indigenous people to also fully participate in all the activities to achieve SLM. This can be successful by encouraging and improving information flow, inter-stakeholder and intergovernmental co-operation during policy designing. This would encourage all stakeholders to speak out in one voice.

It is a truism that land management in Africa should be understood from the epoch point of the history of the continent and should be viewed in the wider context of the national and global land management systems. This implies that there is need to understand the historical cultural backgrounds of indigenous people's land management before formulating management policies. Virtually, local people must be involved in the policy planning process. This enhances policy trust among the grass root policy implementers and thus the actualization of the national desired policy goals.



Like any other research, this study fell short of fully analyzing the scientific methods that indigenous people practice in land management, establishing other forms of land degradation in the area, full account of land management policies and legislations, and the influence of globalization on land management in Coffee Bay.

APPENDIX A

DEPARTMENTAL INTRODUCTION RESEARCHER'S LETTER



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Questionnaire On Land Management In The Wild Coast: The Case Of Indigenous People In Coffee Bay, Eastern Cape, South Africa

Researcher: Kalumba Ahmed Mukalazi

Institution of affiliation: University of Fort Hare

Mr. Kalumba Ahmed Mukalazi is a master's (MSc.) student in the Department of Geography & Environmental Science at the University of Fort Hare, he is doing research on the above topic in fulfillment of the requirements of MSc. degree.

You are hereby assured that all the information you provide will be treated as confidential and please note that there are no right or wrong answers. Your view point is very crucial in as far as this research is concerned.

Your cooperation is very much appreciated.

Sincerely,

Mr. H.B. Magagula (Lecturer: Department of Geography & Environmental Science)

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR THE TRADITIONAL LEADERS IN COFFEE BAY

Date	
Village	
Name of the respondent	
Questionnaire number	

1. For how long have you been in this community?
2. Please explain how you acquired the land resource and state the kind of tenure you are operating in.
3. What is the total area of the land that you own, and under your control?
4. How are you and your community using the land as a resource today?
5. Some say land degradation is a serious environmental problem in this area. What is your feeling about this statement?
6. When do you think land degradation/low land production output started to occur in this area? How has land degradation affected your way of life and your neighbours? What do you think could have caused degradation on your land?
7. What land management practices are engaged in your community by the people?
8. Do you know any thing about land care and betterment planning programmes, and how did these affect your ways of land management?



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9. How is the government helping you to ensure continued proper land management in this area?

10. In what ways could government help you to ensure continued proper land management in your area?

11. How has the new land policy of South Africa, influenced your ways of land management strategies in your area?

13. Do you know of any soil management and conservation associations in your area? How do you collaborate with these associations and organizations in ensuring proper land management practices by the local people?

14. What problems are you encountering in improving your land, and what strategies have you designed to ensure continued proper land management in your area?

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLE IN COFFEE BAY

Date	
Village	
Name of the respondent	
Questionnaire number	

Please indicate the most appropriate response by using X

Respondent's bio-data

1. In which of the following age ranges do you fall into?

(21 – 35) yrs	
(36 – 50) yrs	
(51 – 70) yrs	
(Above 70) yrs	

2. Gender:

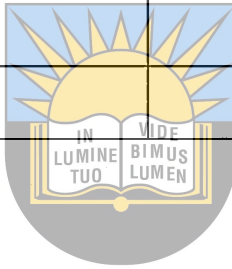
Female	
Male	

3. Marital Status:

Married	
Single	

4. Highest Education Level:

Primary (Grade 1 to 7)	
Secondary (Grade 8 to 12)	
Tertiary	
Other (Specify)	



5. Occupation:

Farmer	
Domestic worker	
Fishing	
Teacher	
Other (Specify)	

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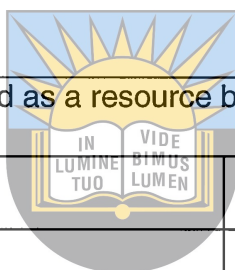
6. Where did you live about 10 years ago? -----

7. What made you change your place of residence? (Ask this question only if the respondent moved from elsewhere)

Land reform changes	
Landownership	
Forced by political situation	
Marriage	
Other (specify)	

8. How were you using the land as a resource before you moved to this place?

Cropping	
Home Gardens	
Grazing	
Settlement	
Other (specify)	



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Land Tenure System

9. Please explain, how you acquired the land resource and state the kind of tenure you are operating in; -----

10. Are the women allowed to own land in this community? Explain, -----

11. What is the total area of land owned? -----

12. (A) Was there a time when you failed to use the land for a certain purpose due to financial, political and or economic constraints?



Yes	
No	
Do not Know	

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B. If yes, what was the constraint?

Economic	
Political	
Financial	
Other (specify)	

13. What factors infringe on your rights to own land? Explain, -----

Land utilization and management strategies



14. How are you using the land as a resource today? Explain,-----

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15. (A) For how long have you been using the piece of land for this same land use type? (The land use/s stated in question 14, if the respondent knows the exact time write it on other)

Past (0-5) yrs	
Past (6-10) yrs	
Past (11-20) yrs	
Other (<i>specify</i>)	
Do not know	

(B) Has the number of fields on your farm changed over the last five years?

Increased ----- or decreased -----

(C) Which activity or use covers the largest portion of the land you own? State, -----

(D) If you grow more than one crop per growing season, which method do use for planting your crops? -----



(E) What draught power do you usually use on your fields? -----

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(F) Has your household land use changed for the better or worse or no change since 1994 and why? Explain-----

16. (A) How do you manage your land both in your home and community at large?

Explain, -----

(B) what traditional land management practices are you currently using to ensure proper land management? Explain, -----

(C) What role is played by traditional chiefs in land management in your area, if any?

Explain, -----

(D)i. Do you know of any soil management and conservation associations in your area?-----



(ii) Do you participate in any of these incentive programmes? Explain -----

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(E) What problems are you encountering in improving your land? -----

Land Degradation and management

17. (A) Some say land degradation is a serious environmental problem in this area.

What is your feeling about this statement? Explain, -----

(B) In what ways do you identify land degradation on your piece of land? Explain, ----

(C) What do you think could have caused degradation/ low production output on your land? Explain, ----



(D) In what ways have you tried to increase on your land production out put? Explain, ----

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18. (A) A piece of land can be used for particular purpose today, but this can change with time. Do you think Land use change could have contributed to land degradation in this area? Explain ----

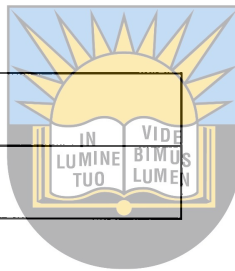
(B) What else do you think could have caused land degradation/decline in land production output in this area? ----

(C) When you (as villagers) discovered that the land was degrading, what traditional management practices did engage in to improve on land productivity of this area? ---

Government Programmes and Initiatives in Land management

19. (A) Do you know anything about the Betterment Planning and or the Homeland System?

Yes	
No	



(B) What was it all about (Betterment Planning and or Homeland System) and how did it affect the way you were using the land as a resource? Explain -----

(C)i. Do you know any thing about land care programmes, and how did this affect your way of managing land? -----

(ii) Besides the above programmes, what other government programmes affect your way of land resource utilization and management in the post apartheid regime?

State and explain how? -----

(D) How is the government helping you to ensure continued proper land management in this area? -----

(E) In what ways could government help you to ensure continued proper land management in your area? -----



(F) How has the new land policy of South Africa influenced your ways of land management? Explain, -----

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20. Would you want to go back and live before the 1960s and 1970s and continue with the land use types, management strategies, and livelihoods therein? Explain ----

21. Is there anything else that you would want to say about land use/land management that we probably did not discuss together today?-----

APPENDIX D

INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

Date	
Department	
Name of the respondent	
Questionnaire number	



Please indicate the most appropriate response for each of the following questions either in the space provided or on another paper.

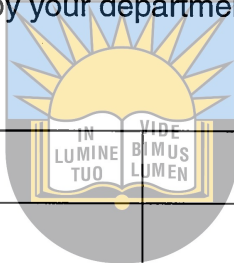
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1. What role, if any, does your Department play in land management? -----

2. What processes does the government engage in to ensure sustainable land management in the rural areas of South Africa? -----

3. On what issues regarding land management did your Department consult with the local/indigenous people about their management practices? -----

4. Through which of the following ways were rural communities (former homelands) consulted by your department about their land management practices?



Community gatherings	
Rural elites	
Discussion with chiefs	
Non Governmental Organizations	
Was not consulted at all	
Writing	
Other (specify)	

5. What were the rural South African communities' main concerns about the land management strategies during the consultation process leading to the implementation of sustainable land management by the indigenous people? ----

6. What government policies and legislation does affect or improve indigenous land management systems? How do these influence the local land management practices in the rural South Africa? Please explain, -----



7. To what extent were the indigenous people in the rural South Africa involved in decision-making regarding land management policies and land related legislation (e.g. Communal land Act, 2004 and land reform policies)? -----

8. (A) Are there traditional working groups in land management? State and explain, -----

(B) Which local institutions are the strongest in land management? -----

(C) Which institutions could help your department with planning at the rural village level in ensuring sustainable land management? -----

(D) Are there any traditional ways employed by these local land users in managing the land resource in the rural areas? -----



(E) How have the existing policies/regulations impacted on the traditional land management systems in this area of study? -----

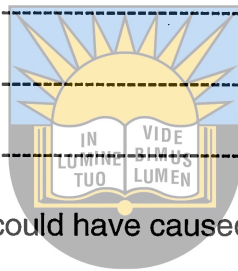
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(F) What scientific land management practices have been adopted/recommended in the rural areas to complement the traditional systems by your Department to ensure proper land management by the indigenous people? Are the local land users accepting to adopt these systems against their traditional land management systems? -----

9. (A) Some say land degradation is a serious environmental problem in this area.

What is your feeling about this statement? Explain, -----

(B) In what ways do you identify land degradation on piece of land? Explain, ----



(C) What do you think could have caused degradation/ low production output on your land? Explain, -----

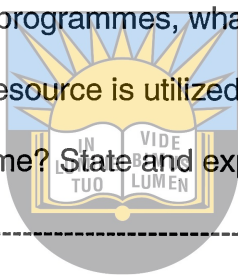
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(D) In what ways has your department tried to address land degradation in the rural South Africa, to ensure proper land management and productivity?

Explain, -----

10. (A) Do you know any thing about land care programmes, and Betterment planning, and how do these affect the way how land is managed by the indigenous people? -----

(B) Besides the above programmes, what other government programmes affect the way how the land resource is utilized and managed by the rural people in the post apartheid regime? State and explain how? -----



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(C) How is the government helping you/Department to ensure continued proper land management in the rural South Africa? -----

11. (A) What land tenure systems exist in South Africa? Which one of these exists in the rural South Africa (former homelands- Transkei)? State and Explain, -----

(B) Under what legal framework does the rural indigenous people manage their land in South Africa? Explain, -----

(C) What is the role of you and the state, in protecting the wider public goods (Land resource)? Are the perceptions and local cultural context put into considerations while designing land management policies?-----



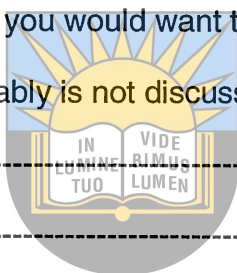
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(D) How far should land itself, and powers overland, be vested in the state of local land users, or otherwise? Explain, -----

(E) How has government and Department addressed the issues of local inequalities and ensuring equal representation of the marginal groups in land ownership and land management? Explain, -----

12. Would you want people to go back and live before the 1960s and 1970s and continue with the land use types, management strategies, and livelihoods therein? Explain -----

13. Is there anything else that you would want to say about land use/land management that probably is not discussed in the questionnaire?-----



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