

**THE EMERGENCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE BALEMIRUI PROJECT IN THE
NORTH WEST PROVINCE: INSIGHTS INTO PROSPECTS AND CHALLENGES
OF LAND REFORM IN SOUTH AFRICA**

by

KELEBAMANG WINNIE MOKGUPI

submitted in accordance with the requirements

for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

in the subject

DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

at the

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

SUPERVISOR: PROF. PDS STEWART

February 2015

DECLARATION

I declare that “**The Emergence and Development of the Balemirui Project in the North West Province: Insights into prospects and challenges of land reform in South Africa**”, is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references and that this work has not been submitted before for any other degree at any other institution.

Kelebamang Winnie Mokgupi

November 2014

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my parents Kurubi Isaac Mokgupi and Senthio Johannah Mokgupi

To my dear father, you have been a pillar of strength. With your most powerful weapons: prayer and the Bible you made me believe that anything is possible, no matter the circumstances.

To my beloved departed mother, thank you for believing in education even though you were not educated. Thank you for believing in me and for the unconditional and never changing motherly love that sustained me throughout.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The journey one travels towards a qualification matters. Equally important, are those who help us along the way. My heartfelt appreciation to the following people who in their unique ways kept me going through the time of this research:

My parents, brother, sisters, nephews and nieces I thank you for your support and I am blessed to have you in my life.

The Rasplaas community for allowing me to be part of them in a unique way. I thank you for your patience and trusting me.

Prof. Tennyson Mgutshini, my mentor and line manager for making sure that this work gets done this year. Thank you for your guidance, support and for believing in me.

My former Chair of Department, Prof. Linda Cornwell for your encouragement and constant reminder that I can do it.

Dr Moipone Rakolojane for your motherly love and always wanting the best for me.

Dr Derica Kotzé for the support and love you always showed me. I thank you for being inspirational to me.

The late Mr Kasay Sentime for your guidance and advice in the writing of this dissertation. May your soul rest in eternal peace.

ABSTRACT

Introduction: Land reform is one of the consistently debated, complex and contested subjects in the South African development discourse. Many impoverished communities have been dispossessed of their land during the colonial past. Indicators, measures and evidence of success in land reform are scant, anecdotal and poorly documented.

Aim: The aim of this study is to determine whether land reform in South Africa can indeed yield positive development outcomes. In the absence of clear indicators to measure successful land reform, the researcher uses case study methodology to evaluate the impact of land reform on a particular community, the Barolong-Balemirui Project in the North West Province.

Methodology: Generic Qualitative methods are used to collect and analyse data collected from (n=45) participants. Within this, multiple data collection approaches that include document analysis, informal discussions and unstructured interviews were utilised to gain insights into the role played by South African land reform across a range of developmental outcome areas.

Findings: The study found that land reform could indeed, produce positive development among the impoverished communities in South Africa. This empirical exploration also highlights that the success of land reform programmes and projects depends on many interlinked variables which include enabling policies; the availability of support from development institutions; the private sector and the state, the commitment of the beneficiaries in utilising the land for development purposes as well as the appropriateness of the identified development objectives. The

development inputs and outputs of a successful land reform project are therefore multifaceted and complex.

Conclusion: This study emphasises the importance of the participation of beneficiaries in the evaluation of land reform projects to determine real and lasting developmental impact.

Keywords: Land reform research; Land distribution; Poverty and Land.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION	i
DEDICATION	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
ABSTRACT	iv
LIST OF FIGURES	ix
ABBREVIATIONS	x
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW	1
1.1 INTRODUCTION	1
1.2 BACKGROUND	1
1.3 A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF LAND REFORM IN SOUTH AFRICA.....	6
1.4 LAND REFORM: A LINGUISTIC EXPOSITION	9
1.4.1 Land Reform and Poverty	9
1.4.2 Participation, Accountability and Democratic Decision Making	10
1.4.3 Gender, Equity and Land Reform	11
1.5 RATIONALE	13
1.6 PROBLEM STATEMENT	14
1.7 RESEARCH AIM.....	14
1.8 RESEARCH QUESTIONS.....	15
1.9 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.....	15
1.10 OUTLINE OF THE STUDY	17
1.11 CONCLUSION	18
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW	19
2.1 INTRODUCTION	19
2.2 WHY A POST-DEVELOPMENT CRITIQUE?.....	22
2.2.1 Theory Review of the quest for a Post- Development society.....	23
2.2.2 The International Experience of Land reform: The case of Zimbabwe and Brazil	26
2.2.3 Global and International review of Land Reform: A review of the Agrarian question in Brazil.....	27
2.2.4 Market-led Agrarian reform in Brazil.....	28
2.2.5 The Land Reform and Poverty Alleviation Pilot Project.....	29
2.3 A REGIONAL REVIEW OF LAND REFORM: A REVIEW AND ANALYSIS OF THE ZIMBABWEAN EXPERIENCE	30
2.3.1 The European Invasion.....	31
2.3.2 The Land Apportionment Act of 1930.....	32
2.3.3 The Lancaster House Agreement.....	33
2.3.4 Land Reform and Resettlement Programme (LRRP).....	34
2.3.5 People-Driven Actions and the role of the War Veterans	36
2.3.6 The “Fast Track” Resettlement Programme	37
2.4 THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT: THE POLITICS AND LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK OF LAND REFORM IN SOUTH AFRICA	39
2.5 LITERARY SUMMATIONS OF THE LAND QUESTION	40
2.6 THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS LAND REDISTRIBUTION PROGRAMME:	

INTRODUCTORY INSIGHTS.....	43
2.6.1 Land redistribution	43
2.6.2 Land redistribution for Agricultural Development (LRAD)	45
2.6.3 Restitution	46
2.6.4 Tenure Reform.....	47
2.7 TYPES OF LAND REFORM	48
2.7.1 Market-based land reform.....	48
2.7.2 State-based land reform	52
2.7.3 Land reform and development.....	55
2.7.4 CONCLUSION	61
CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH DESIGN	62
3.1 INTRODUCTION	62
3.2 STUDY RESEARCH DESIGN: QUALITATIVE RESEARCH	62
3.3 RESEARCH APPROACH.....	63
3.4 SETTING: THE EMERGENCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF BAROLONG-BALEMIRUI PROJECT	64
3.5 PARTICIPANTS.....	67
3.6 SAMPLE AND SAMPLING METHODS	67
3.7 DATA COLLECTION	68
3.8 SELF COMPLETED QUESTIONNAIRES AND INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEWS.....	69
3.9 DOCUMENT ANALYSIS.....	70
3.10 DATA ANALYSIS.....	70
3.11 ACADEMIC RIGOUR.....	72
3.11.1Credibility	73
3.11.2Transferability	73
3.11.3Dependability	75
3.11.4Confirmability	75
3.12 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS	76
3.13 CONCLUSION	76
CHAPTER FOUR : DATA PRESENTATION, DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION	78
4.1 INTRODUCTION	78
4.1.1 Outline: The Experience of Barolong-Balemirui Project at Rasplaas Farm	78
4.2 GENDER.....	78
4.3 PROJECT SUSTAINABILITY AND MANAGEMENT.....	80
4.4 RESEARCH FINDINGS	81
4.4.1 Economic activities	81
4.4.2 Social Sustainability.....	84
4.4.3 Asset Creation	86
4.4.4 Land related issues.....	88
4.4.5 Access to services	89
4.4.6 Household Resilience	89
4.5 GENERAL OPINIONS	91
4.5.1 Problems and dynamics of the Barolong-Balemirui Project	91
4.5.2 Problems encountered before the acquisition of land	91
4.5.3 Development of new policies	91
4.5.4 Procedures and processes followed.....	92

4.5.5 Lack of commitment from the government officials	93
4.5.6 Lack of commercial farming skills	94
4.5.7 Lack of farming equipment, services and planning	95
4.5.8 Summary.....	95
4.6 CONCLUSION	97
CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION, SYNTHESIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	98
5.1 INTRODUCTION	98
5.2 THE FAILURE TO ADDRESS HISTORICAL INJUSTICE.....	98
5.3 THE DEVELOPMENT IMPACT OF LAND REFORM ON THE LIVES OF PEOPLE IN THE PROJECT	99
5.4 THE COSTS AND BENEFITS OF THE GOVERNMENT'S MARKET-LED APPROACHES TO LAND REFORM.....	104
5.5 RECOMMENDATIONS.....	105
5.6 CONCLUSION	106
REFERENCES.....	107
ANNEXURE 1: QUESTIONNAIRE.....	118

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1: The Literature Review – A Thematic Overview	22
Figure 3.1: Data Collection Processes Summarised	64
Figure 4.1: Participant Representation by Gender	80
Figure 4.2: Sources of Income.....	84
Figure 4.3: Ownership of Equipment	88
Figure 4.4: Challenges in Land Reform	89

ABBREVIATIONS

ANC	African National Congress
BSAC	British South Africa Company
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CODESA	Convention for a Democratic South Africa
CONTAG	Confederação Nacional de Trabalhadores na Agricultura
DLA	Department of Land Affairs
ESTA	Extension of Security of Tenure Act
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INCRA	Instituto Nacional de Colonização e Reforma Agrária
LRAD	Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development
LRRP	Land Reform and Resettlement Programme
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
MLAR	Market-Led Agrarian Reform
MST	Movimento dos Sem Terra/ Landless Rural Workers Movement
RSA	Republic of South Africa
SLAG	Settlement and Land Acquisition Grant
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
ZANU-PF	Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People's Union

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The legacy of colonisation of the indigenous original people of Africa lingers on in the depth of rural poverty, inequality and unemployment in the present day. One of the most profound places where this inequity is evident is in land distribution which is tied into a long history of racialised land dispossession. The redistribution of land is a potent symbol of remedying historical injustice and oppression in general and a history of coloniality specifically.

This chapter will firstly provide a background to the land redistribution question briefly referred to above. It will then relate the land redistribution question to developments in countries such as Zimbabwe and Brazil who have also been grappling with land distribution for many years so as to position the study in the discourse of land dispossession in the South against a history of colonialism.

A brief overview will follow whereby an introduction is given of the land issue land reform policies and programmes in South Africa to contextualize the study locally. Following this overview key principles relating to land reform in South Africa will be explored.

The rationale of the study, the problem statement, research objectives, research question, and research methodology will be explained after which an outline of the various chapters will be described.

1.2 BACKGROUND

The question of land redistribution represents one of the most controversial, complex

and problematic issues within the developmental discourse. This is because the “land question” is intertwined with developmental challenges such as poverty hunger, health and inequality and is further linked to the discourse of decolonization and liberation.

According to Deininger and May (2000) the extent of dispossession of the indigenous people of South Africa by European colonists was greater than any other country in Africa, and persisted for an exceptionally long period. At the end of apartheid, approximately 82 million hectares of commercial farmland (86 per cent of all farmland, or 68 per cent of the total surface area) was in the hands of the white minority (10.9 per cent of the population), and concentrated in the hands of approximately 60,000 owners (Deininger & May 2000). This unequal distribution of land meant that thirteen million black people, the majority of them poverty-stricken, remained crowded into the former homelands. The initial target of the South African government was to redistribute 24.6 million hectares (i.e. 30 per cent) of white-owned agricultural land by 1999. Less than a million hectares of land had been transferred by the end of 1999 (around 1.2 per cent of white-owned farm land). The target date was subsequently revised to 2014 (Jacobs, Lahiff & Hall 2003: 5). By March 2011, however, only 7.2 per cent (6.3 million hectares) had been transferred. The official target date for achieving the 30 per cent target has now been set at 2025. Other countries in the South that face similar socio-economic challenges to South Africa, such as Brazil and Zimbabwe, are equally challenged by the imperative of correcting the injustice of a colonial past through the redistribution of land.

The Zimbabwean government implemented an initiative to acquire 11 million

hectares of white-owned farmland and redistribute it on a massive scale, starting in 2000. Frustrated war veterans and supporters of President Robert Mugabe carried much of this programme out in the form of farm invasions. By its conclusion, smallholder farmers dominated the agricultural sector and only 0.4 per cent of farmland remained in the hands of white commercial farmers. Authors such as Scoones, Marongwe, Mavedzenge, Mahenehene, Murimbarimba & Chrispen (2010) and Hanlon, Manjengwa & Smart (2013) argue that the redistribution programme has dramatically improved the lives of thousands of smallholder farmers and their families. Many human rights abuses, however, accompanied the farm invasions. The major restructuring also had dire consequences on food production, employment and exports.

Scoones et al (2010) recognise that although the agricultural sector has certainly been transformed, there are major problems in certain areas. In a study of 400 sample households, he found that 46.5 per cent of households were finding the going tough, and not regarded as “successful”. Some were really struggling and only just “hanging in”; others were in the process of “dropping out” through a combination of chronic poverty and ill health.

Brazil is one of the countries in the world with the most uneven distribution of land. In this country 3.5 per cent of landowners hold 56 per cent of the arable land while the poorest 40 per cent own barely one per cent (Ortiz 2011). The country recognises agrarian reform and the fight against extreme poverty in the rural areas as the biggest challenges for development. Although a framework for land reform was established, land reform has been exceptionally slow. The Landless Rural Workers

Movement asserts that although close to 500,000 families have been settled on plots of their own, more than four million rural families are still landless in this country of 191 million people. It is clear from the very brief overview of land reform in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Brazil that the land issue presents a challenge for researchers and policy makers alike in former colonies in the South.

In South Africa, land distribution can be associated with other significant issues of inequality such as poverty, gender and chronic diseases such as HIV/AIDS. The proportion of households engaged in farming in the rural areas is declining because of population growth and the fact that households lack access to fields. Rural households without access to land are incapable of growing crops or breeding life stock for their own consumption and sustainability. As a result, these households depend on wages and remittances from employed family members in urban areas. However, with rising levels of unemployment in the urban areas, this source of rural income has declined dramatically.

Social grants in the form of non-contributory needs-based old age pensions, child support and disability grants have now become the most significant source of income for many rural households (Neves, Samson, Van Niekerk, Hlatshwayo & Du Toit 2009). The number of people receiving social grants has increased dramatically over the last few years. Marais (2011) asserts that in 2007, almost 43 per cent of South African households received at least one social grant; by 2010, they were being paid to around 14 million people, or nearly a third of the population, with a total monetary value of around 3.5 per cent of the GDP. The grant system does not only increase dependency, but it is also an inadequate measure to solve poverty and address

development.

Although access to health facilities has expanded in rural areas over the past few years, the system can barely cope with the proportion of rural people living with endemic diseases such as AIDS and tuberculosis. Without proper nutrition from for subsistence farming activities and the necessary medical intervention and support, the life expectancy of people living with these diseases is significantly low further giving rise to an increase in households headed by children and grandmothers. The proportion of women- and child-headed households identified with the migrant-labour systems and deaths resulting from chronic diseases continue to predominate and grow and with marriage rates continuing to decline coupled with poor literacy levels, women have little access to financial support in the absence of land (Cousins 2013). Faced with significant issues such as poverty, disease and poor education, brought about and exacerbated by a lack of access to land, development is an unattainable goal.

The question of the relationship between land redistribution and development should be further explored. Discussion and discourse on land redistribution is concentrated mainly at policy level. The experiences of the very communities intended as the beneficiaries of programs of land redistribution are, however, seldom explored in depth. The Barolong-Balemirui project in the North West Province provides a site for a case study to explore the experiences of the community in land redistribution as to determine the nature of the relation between land redistribution and development if any.

This study also contextualises the debates on land reform among the formerly

colonised countries of the developing world such as Brazil and Zimbabwe. This is important to articulate because the debates about land reform among other developing states can serve to gauge whether the issues, which are illuminated by the project are in tandem with the issues that are generally highlighted in the wider discourse of land reform among the formerly colonised states. The Barolong-Balemirui project is therefore studied within the broader context of the dispossession of the indigenous people of the South and South Africa in particular of their fertile and/or productive land. The key deductions made out of the project can also be located within the discourse of land reform in general as well as within the context of on-going decolonisation after the demise of juridical administrative colonialism and apartheid.

In an attempt to study the relation between land reform and development in rural South Africa, it is important to provide a brief review of the background, history and development of land reform policies and programmes relating to the rural poor.

1.3 A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF LAND REFORM IN SOUTH AFRICA

In South Africa, the land reform programme is an issue, which emanated from the previous dispossession, forced removals and racially skewed distribution of land issues (Van Niekerk 2005). The main aim of the land reform programme is to try and address these past legacies. The previous government of South Africa has left this country with difficult tasks to address past injustice. It is after the new dispensation came into being that the new land policies were introduced to address these past legacies.

Land reform comprises of three programmes, that is, land redistribution, land

restitution and land tenure (White Paper on Land Policy, 1997: ix-xii). The South African land redistribution programme was introduced in 1999. This programme is the main focus of the current study. Land redistribution is often seen as a powerful tool in addressing poverty in areas where the majority of people are based in the rural areas and make a living from land.

Poverty is one of the most serious problems in most of the Sub-Saharan Africa where it is estimated that approximately 50 per cent of an estimated population of 270 million is currently living below the poverty line. The Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) estimated in 1996 that as many as 43 per cent of Sub-Saharan Africa population is chronically undernourished.

Strategies for poverty reduction therefore tend to put significant emphasis on land reform programmes to address the resultant imbalance in access to, and ownership of land resources. Thus, land redistribution is seen as one programme that can enable poor people secure livelihoods while helping to curb the problem of inter-generational transfers of poverty.

The past legacies in South Africa had an impact on the lives of the people who were involved. Thus, according to scholars such as Todaro (1997:327):

a small farmer's attachment to his land is profound. When he is driven off his land or is gradually impoverished through accumulated debts, not only is his material well being damaged, but more important, his sense of self-worth and his desire for self and family improvement can be permanently destroyed.

It is for these human reasons as well as higher agricultural output that land reform is

important for agricultural development and in promoting equity in wider respects. However, the practicality of this strategy may remain unachieved if it cannot be institutionalised.

Land is an important asset for the livelihood of poor communities. According to Maharaj (2004), land policy, land rights and land reform have a critical bearing on economic development and poverty alleviation in both rural and urban areas in developing countries and specifically in South Africa. First World countries, having progressed over the past century from agrarian to industrial economies have, at times, been accused of underplaying the how important the issue of land is today in less developed countries. In the developing world, land continues to constitute the principal source of livelihood, security and status. Many people in developing countries are still engaged in agriculture. Some people make a living primarily from land they do not own and others work as agricultural laborers on large plantations or medium sized farms, as in Southern Africa and they are sometimes referred to as the landless.

Such landlessness is at the root of some of the world's most serious and persisting problems, with consequences frequently extending to severe exploitation and deprivation of minimal political rights and basic human needs. Yet, for decades, this problem, an issue that should be at the heart of the development process, has been neglected or ignored. In South Africa the ownership and use of land have, for many years, been arranged along racial lines, which has led to political tension and economic stagnation. A new set of agricultural issues and arguments for agrarian reform are dominating literature and has an influence on the laws on land and land

tenure in many African states. In Southern Africa, landlessness due to asset alienation that occurred during the colonial rule has been acknowledged as one of the several ultimate causes of chronic poverty.

Before engaging further in a study of reform issues there is a need to revisit some foundational land reform principles that are widely acknowledged as the key points of measurement of the success of land reform programmes.

1.4 LAND REFORM: A LINGUISTIC EXPOSITION

The following three key land reform principles will inform this study and need to be further discussed: land reform and poverty; participation, accountability and democratic decision making; and land reform, equity and gender. These themes are all highlighted in the White Paper on Land Policy (DLA 1997). Even though, as this study shows, government has failed to observe these principles, and though the White Paper does not start from the experience and context of the people concerned, as demanded by decolonial and radical approaches to land, these principles are nevertheless a useful starting point.

1.4.1 Land Reform and Poverty

According to the DLA (1997), priority is to be given to the poor who are in need of land to contribute to income and food security. Furthermore, according to the DLA (1997) emphasis is on the identification of, particularly, marginalised groups in need of land, including women, evicted and existing labor tenants and landless farm workers. According to Van Zyl and Binswanger (1996), equity and quality case for land redistribution rest on the history of racial and economic policies, which favoured white commercial farmers relative to the landless and small holders. With regard to

poverty as a principle of land reform, Van Zyl and Binswanger (1996) argue that the majority of the poor in South Africa reside in the rural areas, often with no or limited access to land and resources. Land reform could therefore be one strategy to alleviate the present crushing poverty situation in South Africa.

Therefore, this shows the complexity in the relationship between rural poverty and access to land. According to the DLA (1997) land must be made available to communities and groups unable to enter the land market on their own. In this regard, Van Zyl and Binswanger (1996) argue that land quality, access to water, limited inputs and markets, are significant in reducing poverty. Therefore, land can be regarded as a security against poverty and as a productive asset; land ownership strengthens support for the family.

1.4.2 Participation, Accountability and Democratic Decision Making

According to the DLA (1997) the participation of communities and individuals as partners with the government and other agencies is necessary. Decisions must be taken democratically at local level. This implies the active involvement of people in decision-making is essential for development and growing empowerment (ANC, 1994). According to the DLA (1997), the extent to which this could be achieved depends on organisation and capacity building, and the establishment of sound and simple administrative processes to support land reform and the development of local governance. This implies that programmes should not be designed with a top-down approach in which the people who are involved are not given the authority for decision-making or programme execution. People who are at grassroots level should be given an opportunity to make an input on their own needs and wants.

1.4.3 Gender, Equity and Land Reform

Key land reform programmes revolve around redistribution. Restitution and tenure reform and women have been identified as a particular target for redistribution benefits. According to the DLA Report (1999), the policy framework that guides gender and land reform includes the constitution of the Republic of South Africa, particularly the equality clause in the Bill of Rights, the 1994 Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), the 1997 White Paper on South African Land Policy, the 1997 Land Reform Gender Policy Framework, Section 5 of the South African Women's Charter For Effective Equality of 1994 as well as a number of international conventions including Cedaw which was adopted in 1979 by the UN General Assembly and also a section of the 1995 Copenhagen Social Development Commitment, which ensure equality in terms of the redistribution of resources. CEDAW recognises that even if women have equal rights in law, they do not always experience equality in practice because of past and existing discrimination.

It allows states to take special steps to promote equality of women. All the above-mentioned policy documents emphasise equality for women. The state must use both policy and other measures to promote full and equal development of women and ensure that women enjoy their human rights. In particular, women's political, social, economic and cultural development should be advanced.

According to the DLA (1997), the land reform programme will bring about equitable opportunities for both women and men. Women will be given the opportunity to own land whether married or not. Further, the ANC (1994) argues that women face specific disabilities in obtaining land. Institutions, practices and laws that discriminate

against women's access to land will be reviewed and brought in line with the national policy. Marcus, Eales and Wildschut (1996) emphasise that women see access to land as central to their role in social reproduction and the domestic economy. In this regard the DLA Report (1999) highlights that, firstly, women's rights in land empowers them. This implies that land rights command respect within the family and society at large. It strengthens the ability of women to challenge inequalities in society.

Access to land also addresses practical gender needs and strategic gender needs of women. Secondly, women's rights in land bring about efficiency. This suggests that women's access to land can be a basis for them to move beyond subsistence production to economic production. Thirdly, women's rights in land improve welfare. This highlights that because land is regarded as security against poverty, as a productive asset, its ownership strengthens support for the family (Cousins 2013).

Finally, equality will prevail as a result. The distribution of land reflects huge gender inequalities in terms of access to resources. Therefore, the inequalities in the social sector, economic and political spheres will be challenged for a successful land reform programme.

In this context, Marcus et al (1996) emphasise women's accessibility to land as it gives them the opportunity to meet a variety of needs including those that are socially perceived to be their responsibility. Women's accessibility to land is central to their role in social reproduction, seeing to all their families' needs and the economy.

Within the Reconstruction and Development Programme, women are awarded

special attention and particular mention is made of the discrimination against women in the RSA concerning land issues. Against this background, it is evident that the land reform programme has the mandate to:

- Improve the women's position in respect of their rights in land within the land reform programme;
- Provide equal gender rights with regard to the system of customary tenure and land administration;
- Provide related support programmes to women; and
- Monitor the impact of the land reform programme on the social and economic status of women (DLA 1994).

1.5 RATIONALE

Countries such as South Africa, Zimbabwe and Brazil collectively share the legacy of a colonial past. Centuries later, poverty and inequality prevail in the South and poor communities and specifically women are particularly vulnerable. The vulnerabilities of marginalised groups are further exacerbated by a lack of access to fertile land. Land redistribution and land reform strategies play a prominent role in addressing these inequities.

Despite some signs of developmental impact, evidence of successful land reform programmes to address issues of inequity in the South and in South Africa particularly is anecdotal and scant. The discourse of land reform is further concentrated at policy level rather than at project level where the impact of land redistribution programmes may be experienced differently by the communities and their beneficiaries. Even so, there is contestation that, the voices of beneficiary

communities of land reform programmes have not yet been fully heard and as such, limited understanding of the relationship between land reform and development exists.

This study will contribute to the body of knowledge on land reform through a qualitative case study into the Barolong-Balemirui Project in the North West Province in South Africa, which benefitted from a land redistribution programme to determine the relation between land reform and development. The voices of the beneficiaries of this programme will intentionally be included in this study. In that respect, this study, therefore, has the potential to contribute to evidence based policy development on the question of land reform.

1.6 PROBLEM STATEMENT

Land reform is one of the consistently debated, complex and contested subjects in the South African development discourse. Many impoverished communities have been dispossessed of their land during the colonial past. Indicators, measures and evidence of developmental success in land reform are scant, anecdotal and poorly documented. This study will therefore explore the relationship between land distribution and development through a case study review of a community experience within a land reform project in the North-West Province in South Africa. This review will be located within the broader discourse of land reform in the former colonies of Brazil and Zimbabwe with similar socio-economic conditions as South Africa.

1.7 RESEARCH AIM

The aim of this study is to elucidate the development effect of South Africa's land

reform as it took place in Rasplaas Farm, and as revealed in the inhabitants' experience and conditions.

1.8 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In achieving the above-identified study aim, a number of research questions were posed to support better insights into the relationship between land redistribution and development. The review of community experiences within a land reform project in the North West Province in SA served as the primary mode and location of enquiry.

To this end, three specific research questions were centrally utilised as the building blocks of the study and they were:

1. What are the ways in which land reform addresses the range of perceived and felt historical injustices?
2. How does land redistribution impact the lives of the people living and taking part in the Barolong-Balemirui land reform project in the North-West Province of South Africa?
3. What are the effects of government's market-led approaches utilised within land reform?
4. What are the challenges experienced by the beneficiaries of Barolong-Balemirui project

1.9 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Generic qualitative methods are used to collect and analyse data from the Barolong-Balemirui land reform project in the North-West Province of South Africa. Multiple data collection approaches that include document analysis, a self-completed questionnaire survey (n=45), unstructured interviews (n=2) and informal discussions

(n=2) are utilised to gain insights into the role played by South African land reform across a range of developmental outcome areas.

The choice for the specific project is based on the emergence and development of the Barolong-Balemirui project at a time when the debates about land reform in the context of rural development in the post-apartheid South Africa are at its peak and as such, it provides a perfect learning experience on how best the connection between land redistribution and development can be understood. While the Barolong-Balemirui project is a single land reform project, its documentation can serve as a microcosmic picture of outcomes that might be expected as a result of land reform that benefits indigenous communities in South Africa.

By and large, the qualitative data collection methods of informal discussion groups and unstructured interviews were used in this study to capture the views and feelings of the selected research participants who are the beneficiaries of land reform as a way of examining their own understanding of development. To complement this data, further information was collected via self-completed questionnaires, which allowed for a less intrusive data collection method than what was achievable with the individual interviews and the informal discussion groups.

The key word that motivated the use of unstructured participant interviews during the data collection stage of this study was that of “context”, which captures the unique experience of the research participants as they conceive of is the meaning of development. The usefulness of these data collection methods was enhanced by the fact that the researcher is Setswana speaking and could speak to the participants in the project of Barolong-Balemirui in her mother tongue. This helped the researcher

to gain rich insights into the history and lived experience of the participants on the impact of land reform in their lives. The fact that the community and the researcher shared the same language and background offered a noteworthy advantage in the establishment of rapport with the research participants.

A predominantly qualitative research approach to the question of land redistribution and development is motivated by the fact that development is a human experience with subjective insights that an exclusive reliance on quantitative enquiry would not adequately represent. Thus, the bottom-up development paradigm espoused by qualitative methodologies (supported with quantitative methodologies) is enabled to take precedence over the top-down approach used by researchers traditionally to impose disempowering constructs of development on the poor.

1.10 OUTLINE OF THE STUDY

The study is divided into five chapters. Chapter 1 gives an overview of the background to the topic area and introduces the research aim, questions and methods used in this study. Chapter 2 contains the review of literature as related to land redistribution. Chapter 3 provides an overview of the conceptual framework that was utilised to guide the development of the data collection instrument and the later analysis of the data obtained from the data collection processes within the study. Chapter 3 further articulates the methodological considerations within the study. Chapter 4 provides an overview of emergent findings, their analysis and interpretation. To conclude, Chapter 5 provides a summative overview of the study and within this, discussion of findings and some provision of recommendations for future practice and research are provided.

1.11 CONCLUSION

Chapter 1 looked at the issues relating to the background to the study, an overview of land reform in South Africa, a linguistic exposition of land reform, the rationale, problem statement, research questions, research methodology and an outline of the study. Chapter 2 looks at the literature review on land reform, a discussion on the theory for on the quest for a post-development society, the international experience of land reform by looking at the case of Brazil and Zimbabwe, the politics and legislative framework of land reform in South Africa, literary summation of land reform, discussion on the three sub-programmes of land reform (redistribution, restitution and tenure) the types of land reform and land reform and development.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter one presented the background to the study and the range of contemporary perspectives that serve as a basis for confirming the importance of the issue of land reform within the South African developmental discourse. As a progression from the introductory elements, this chapter presents a literature review, which focuses much more specifically on related literary sources that look at issues related to emergent debates about key thematic areas in the land reform debate internationally, regionally and nationally.

As acknowledged earlier, research on issues related to land reform has been carried out in other countries, some with similar socio-political situations as South Africa and others which differ in many regards from South Africa. This review of literature considers research and literary contributions across the entire spectrum but places greater value on the experiences of states that have similar colonial backgrounds to South Africa. This experiential thematic focus has been hailed by others including Lahiff (2008) and Hall (2009) as an important modification that previous research in land reform has failed to take account of. Within this argument, the asserted viewpoint pays particular note to the fact that the land reform issues differ from one nation to the next and these differences are related to factors such as the histories and nature of the colonial experience each country has been through. In this respect, Brazil's history of colonisation and land distribution is acknowledged by many including Cousins (2011), as representing a noteworthy comparable experience to that of South Africa. Regionally, Zimbabwe presents important comparative value by virtue of its recent independence (April 1980), its proximity to South Africa and

significantly, the recent history of political unrest that has been compared to that of South Africa. To that end, the current review of literature focuses more explicitly on the experiences of Brazil and Zimbabwe as examples of the international and regional land redistribution experiences respectively. The focus on these comparative states will serve as basis for highlighting the state of debate within the discourse.

To foreground this noted knowledge gap, the current review of literature aims to provide a comprehensive overview of current viewpoints and existing research evidence, to determine prominent viewpoints in the study area. Arksey and O'Malley (2005: 4) offer a definition of literature reviews and view them as being about "locating, isolating, appraising and synthesising evidence ... from studies in order to obtain a reliable overview.

In addition to the synthesis function, the review was concerned with drawing attention to the range of contested and agreed-upon viewpoints about the impact land redistribution have on national development. More holistically, the purpose of a literature review is to demonstrate to the reader that one has a good grasp of the main published work concerning a particular topic or question in the identified field. According to Taylor (2006), the review should not just be a description of what other people have published but a critical discussion that presents insight and an awareness of the different arguments, approaches and theories. In achieving this, a systematic approach was utilised in line with guidance suggested by Parahoo (2006).

Boswell and Cannon (2010) explain that a literature review helps the researcher

identify “what is known and unknown about an area that has not been totally resolved in practice” and to determine ways by which an issue can be resolved or managed based on research evidence. In the context of this study, a literature review was conducted to provide in-depth background and context of this study. In facilitating the primary aims of a literature review, the current review has been developed with respect to a number of incremental thematic areas that include:(i) debates about the importance of land reform to the developmental discourse; (ii) global and regional experiences as they relate to land-reform and development with a focus on the Brazilian and Zimbabwean experiences of land reform; (iii) legal considerations as they relate to land reform; (iv) insights into land reform programmes and their impact on resettlement and development priorities and (v) an articulation of societal impacts resulting from land reform.

The diagrammatic representation (Figure 2.1) below offers a pictorial outline of the structure of the literature review.

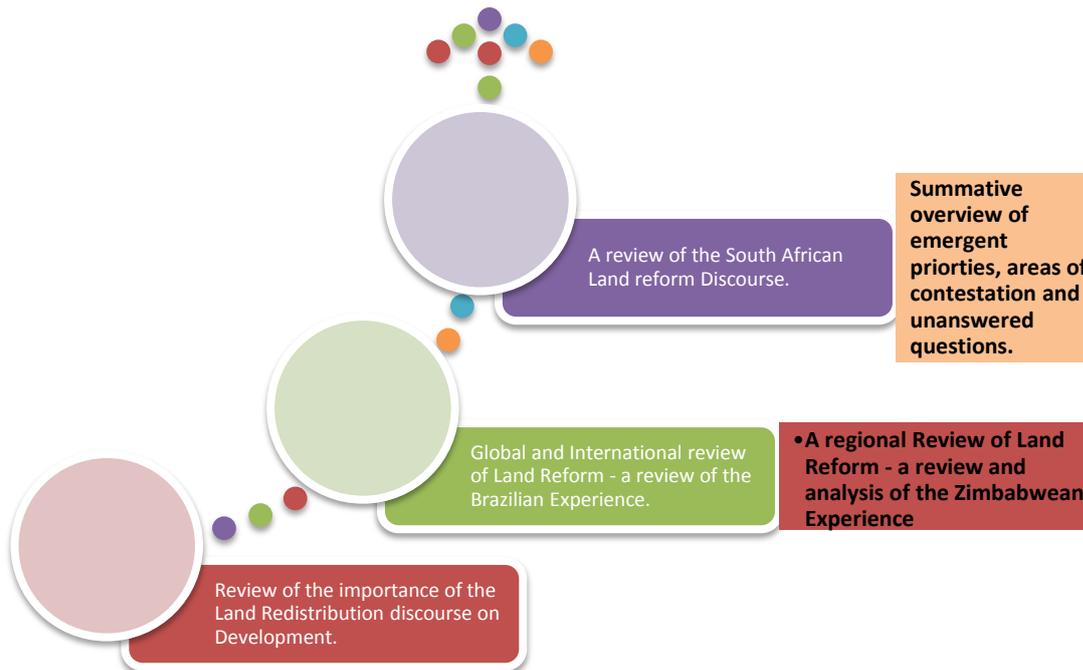


Figure 2.1: The Literature Review – A Thematic Overview

2.2 WHY A POST-DEVELOPMENT CRITIQUE?

The question of whether the availability of land can lead to development among the impoverished indigenous communities of South Africa can best be explored through the conceptual lens of the post-development critique. This is simply because what is considered to be the “mainstream development” popularised in international institutions and development co-operations is just a dominant “regime of truth” that makes development to be another imperial project of the powerful over the weaker subjects in the society. Thus, according to Cheru (2009: 277-278), “what is normally accepted as “development” in Africa has been essentially an imperial project, derived and financed by dominant Western powers to serve Western needs”. This means that there is a need to adopt a concept of development that disavows development as a universal agenda in order to understand different realities of progress in their own varying contexts. This chapter, therefore, seeks to motivate why post-development critique is an appropriate approach in exploring the linkage between

land availability and development among the impoverished communities in the post-apartheid era.

2.2.1 Theory Review of the quest for a Post- Development society

The idea of development is by its very nature a contested phenomenon. This is simply because the idea of development has ever since its emergence been prone to socially-constructed, ideological biases and indeed, the politics of domination in ways of knowing and seeing as to what constitutes development. Thus, the idea of development has never been a pre-given phenomenon hence it cannot be taken for granted when articulating a social phenomenon such as that of land reform and its linkage with “human progress”. This is important to understand because different contexts require a different understanding of development hence there is no singular universal knowledge regime as to what constitutes development.

Indeed, with the expansion of what is popularly referred to as “Western civilisation” and its usurpation of the histories of the world, the question that has become a subject of contestation among scholars relates to whether several epistemologies are feasible within spatio-historical temporality of post-colonialism after several years of colonial domination. Thus, the contestation over the subject of a singular form of knowledge versus several epistemologies have pitted scholars such as Spivak (1994) who questioned whether the subaltern can speak, and Hobsbawn and Ranger (1983) who stressed on the “invention of traditions” and Comaroff and Comaroff (1991) who argued that the colonial encounter altered everything and everyone in Africa against those such as Hamilton (1998) who argued that there indigenous voices always place a limit on the “colonial invention” of the identity of the

non-Western subject.

Indeed, though the debate about whether colonialism succeeded in completely re-orientating the non-Western subject continues to remain relevant, it can be argued that this underlines the importance of focusing in issues that relate to the “identity discourse”. It needs to be emphasised that, in the formerly colonised world, the question of development cannot be separated from that of identity. This is why even the idea of land redistribution in a spatio-historical temporality such as that of the post-apartheid South Africa cannot be divorced from the identity question of race politics.

By and large, the fact that the polemics over the nature of the impact of colonialism cannot be bridged, it means that the only way of resolving the question of singular versus several forms of knowledge is to deliberately adopt a position within the debate. This is what scholars such as Haraway (1988) referred to as “situated-ness”. As someone who hails from the communities whose epistemologies are rarely privileged within the development discourse in general, it is important that I reject the notion that colonialism succeeded in altering everything indigenous in Africa. This is simply because resistance as part of the colonial encounter ensured the existence of what Escobar (2007) described as “knowledge’s otherwise” as he reflected on views and perspective that are on the periphery of the dominant knowledge system.

In addition to resistance, one can also remain optimistic about the presence of multiple world views on the ground that the impact of colonialism cannot be generalised, as it was not homogenous throughout the world. Thus, according to Quijano (2007), the forms and effects of cultural colonialism have been different with

regard to times and cases. In Latin America, the cultural repression and colonisation of the imaginary were accompanied by a massive and gigantic extermination of the natives, mainly their use as expendable force, in addition to the violence of the conquest and diseases brought by Europeans. The cultural repression and massive genocide together turned the previous high cultures of America into illiterate, peasant subcultures condemned to orality; that is, deprived of their own pattern of formalised, objectivised, intellectual, and plastic or visual expression.

Quijano's (2007) position is that Latin America became the most extreme case of cultural colonisation by Europe. Thus, he argues that Latin America cannot be compared with Asia, the Middle East and Africa because in Asia and in the Middle East high cultures could never be destroyed with such intensity and profundity but they were nevertheless placed in subordinate relation not only in the European view but also in the eyes of their own bearers.

In Africa, cultural destruction was certainly much more intense than in Asia, but less than in the Americas. The Europeans did not succeed in the complete destruction of the patterns of expression, in particular of objectification and of visual formalisation in Africa. What the Europeans did do though was to deprive Africans of legitimacy and recognition in the global cultural order dominated by European patterns. What emerges from Quijano's analysis of the impact of colonialism across the regions of the Third World is that in Africa, the process of colonial domination did not totally annihilate and exterminate indigenous African ways of thinking, knowing and patterns of expression, but merely subalternised and inferiorised them in the global cultural order.

The post-development critique is an important conceptual tool in the quest to understand the linkage between the availability of land and development among impoverished communities in the post-apartheid South African context. This is because of the fact that different groups have vested interests in the discourse of land reform. The fact that land redistribution can lead to loss of wealth among the rich farming community implies that the rich have a colonial perception of development. However, land reform has a very different meaning for impoverished communities. In this way, the post-development critique is an important conceptual tool because it helps us to understand the meaning of “politics of truth” and it also opens up the “possibility to think reality differently” (Escobar 1992:414-415). Important to this study is therefore the question of which truth matters to the impoverished communities that are in need of land as opposed to the dominant discourse of truth about development that serves the interests of the rich who stand to lose their land through redistribution programmes. This study attempts to be faithful to the truth of the impoverished communities.

2.2.2 The International Experience of Land reform: The case of Zimbabwe and Brazil

The question of the relationship between the availability of land and development among the impoverished communities of South Africa cannot be fully examined without having an insight into the international experience of both the practice and discourse of the linkage between land reform and development.

The deliberate focus on the case studies of Zimbabwe and Brazil results from a number of similarities including the fact that, like South Africa, these countries are members of the developing world which experienced colonialism as a system that

underpins the discourse of land reform.

2.2.3 Global and International review of Land Reform: A review of the Agrarian question in Brazil

It is the view of Medeiros (2007) that the concentration and ownership of land in Brazil is intertwined with the political economy of the country dating back to its colonial era. In this time period the Portuguese king distributed large acres of land in order to assure control of the territory and at the same time produced surplus from the land for export to the metropolitan markets of Portugal and Europe.

In 1850 private ownership of land was established through the land law, preventing a large part of the rural population from having access to land. This law deprived mostly native and former African slaves the opportunity to own and cultivate their own farms. It expedited the pace of legal procedures for expropriation of rural properties for the land reform programmes of the government and made it very difficult for landowners whose land had been expropriated to have legal recourse. The law further mandated the courts to accelerate decisions on those expropriations.

According to Lipton (2009), frustrations with the pace of land reform and redistribution by the landless peasants gave rise to violence and land occupations. As a result President Henrique Cardoso was forced to create a Ministerial Office for Land Policy in 1996, which mutated in 1997 into the Ministry of Agrarian Development. Legal and concrete measures were taken by government to halt the pace and volumes of land occupations and violence that characterised land reform in most of rural Brazil in the 1990s. These measures included legal provisions that the government would not expropriate occupied land.

2.2.4 Market-led Agrarian reform in Brazil

The government of Henrique Cardoso in the early 1990's succumbed to change because of the violence and massacres that gripped the nation as a result of land reform. Once in power, he made structural changes to land reform in Brazil and adopted the principle of market-led agrarian reform (MLAR). MLAR was aimed at increased efficiency and access to capital for landless peasants. This reform measure enabled peasants to purchase land from landholders at a fair price. Camargo (2003) defended this neoliberal policy of government that was funded by the World Bank as a wonderful initiative towards improving efficiency and productivity on the farms. He also praised this policy for helping to fulfill the long-term goal of government to expropriate land with the consent of the landholders.

This market-led agrarian reform policy can be criticised for the following reasons:

- It reinforced the existing power disparity in Brazilian agriculture for centuries through commodification of land as the rich landowners did not only resist the distribution of land but also made a concerted effort to concentrate and protect their landholdings. In spite of the availability of land, 4.5 million families in Brazil remain landless in the current day and age.
- Market-led agrarian reform is grounded in a false assumption that poor landless peasants can negotiate fair prices for land when the rich rural owners can afford to inflate their prices. The unequal economic power between the two parties therefore has to be recognised.
- The participation of local politicians in the self-selection process introduces favouritism and patronage thereby further weakening the negotiation power of

poor landless peasants.

- The policy favours big rural farm owners of mostly unproductive land as it assigns value to uncultivated land. It subsequently enriches the rich few at the expense of the landless millions.
- Under the mantra of market-led agrarian reform the Brazilian government shirked its duties and responsibility to empower the landless peasants by giving them access to technology together with enabling them through agricultural policies to pay off their debts and make the farms productive.

Market-led agrarian reform was therefore nothing more than a metaphor for state aid to rich landholders while depriving the landless millions of Constitutional rights.

2.2.5 The Land Reform and Poverty Alleviation Pilot Project

The Cédula da Terra project was designed by the World Bank in agreement with the Federal government of Brazil to jump-start the market-led agrarian reform (MLAR) in Brazil. According to Sauer (2004) the Cédula da Terra programme (whose official name is the Land Reform and Poverty Alleviation Pilot Project) was originally designed as a pilot project. The programme was concentrated in five states of Brazil because of the endemic poverty common to those states (Ceará, Maranhão, Pernambuco, Bahia and northern Minas Gerais). According to the World Bank (2000) the overall goal and ambition of the project both from the World Bank as well as the sponsors and the Federal government of Brazil was to settle 15 000 families in three years (later extended to four years).

The Ministry of Agrarian Development (Brazil 2005) had justified the creation of the Cédula project, based on three objectives:

- a) It allows for cheaper and faster market-facilitated settlements.
- b) It leads to the pacification of the countryside as the landless negotiate land acquisitions themselves.
- c) It allows the Ministry to contribute to fiscal adjustment through cost reductions as part of International Monetary Fund (IMF) mandated structural adjustments.

Sauer (2004) also sought to assess whether there had been improvements such as political emancipation, access to land at lower prices, and access to infrastructure such as water, power, and basic sanitation for families buying land from the Cedula project. He concluded (cited in Rosset, Patel & Courville 2006:190) that the majority of the families that benefitted from the project have been unable to survive, forcing many family members to seek outside job opportunities.

However, the most serious limitation of the World Bank programme was the absence of much needed high-quality, long-term technical assistance that were not included in the project design and implementation of the Cedula project.

2.3 A REGIONAL REVIEW OF LAND REFORM: A REVIEW AND ANALYSIS OF THE ZIMBABWEAN EXPERIENCE

Land reform in Zimbabwe is one of the most debated topics within the discourses that seek to examine the linkage between land availability and development.

When Zimbabwe (formerly Rhodesia) gained independence in 1980, many people hoped that the inequities that existed during the colonial rule would be redressed and a more just and equitable society established (Lee & Colvard 2003).

2.3.1 The European Invasion

Where Zimbabwe is now was the empire of Great Zimbabwe. It was incomprehensible for Europeans to believe and accept that Africans had built the great structure themselves. The white settlers of Rhodesia also refused to accept the African origins of the African civilization associated with Great Zimbabwe.

As a result of the Rudd concession of 1889, the British South Africa Company (BSAC) was given a royal charter from the British government that gave them power to enter into and maintain a police force in, what was to become, Southern Rhodesia. The war of 1896-1897 became better known as the first “Chimurenga” war. This war was fought for the liberation of Zimbabwe from the evil of colonisation that brought about forced labour and low wages, European settlement, the seizure of the Ndebele cattle by the BSAC, and taxation that resulted in the BSAC accumulating the cattle by force. Despite being the legitimate owners, the Rhodesian people were forced to become tenants or squatters on their own land.

In 1922 the white minority passed a referendum that allowed them to become a self-governing colony. They subsequently voted for them to run the country (now Southern Rhodesia) without the supervision of the British government (Lee & Colvard 2003). This referendum ended the BSAC rule and in 1923, the country became a self-governing colony (Thomas 2003).

Some black Africans were refused permission to buy land adjacent to the white settlers because they were regarded as a threat to the white farmers. This increased competition and created serious economic threats that depreciated the value of the white owners' land. The Morris Carter Commission report was approved by the

Rhodesian Legislature on 20 June 2007 but was not gazette until 1928.

In 1930, the Land Apportionment Bill, which resulted from the commission report became the law and was affected in April 1931.

2.3.2 The Land Apportionment Act of 1930

The Land Apportionment Act of 1930 stipulated that the existing agreements should not endure beyond six months, which meant that all the Africans who did not possess land in the native purchase areas would be evicted onto the reserves by 1937 (Elich 2002). Farmers experienced unsustainable production due to the introduction of the Maize Control Act and the Cattle Levy Act (Sachikonye 2003).

The main objective of the Maize Control Act was to limit the marketing outlets for blacks while the Cattle Levy Act was introduced to limit the number of cattle owned by an individual, as they would be obliged to pay higher taxes. The Maize Act stipulated that African maize could be sold to one or two outlets namely “trade producers”, that is, white traders who could then resell the maize to the maize control board or to an African not employed by whites (Moyana 2003). This skewed system allowed for whites to sell maize at higher prices. Maize produced by Africans could be sold to fellow Africans who did not have the means to purchase it at a reasonable price or to buy it through a bartering process.

The Land Commission of 1925 made recommendations that four to six hectares of grazing land was reasonable for cattle in the reserves. The main objective for the act was:

to provide for the control of the utilisation and allocation of land occupied by

natives and to ensure its efficient use for agricultural purposes, to require natives to perform labour for conserving natural resources and for promoting good husbandry (Moyana 2003: 31).

This was a misguided understanding because the root cause of the problem was overcrowding. Furthermore the act that was intended to change the traditional tenure system to a private holding system as to gain control over land failed.

2.3.3 The Lancaster House Agreement

In 1979, Great Britain and Zimbabwe signed an agreement that was known as the Lancaster House Agreement. This agreement was the outcome of the Lancaster House Conference of 1979 that was attended by all the parties that took part in the negotiations of the Constitution of Zimbabwe. The Lancaster House agreement was signed at independence. Degeorges and Reilly (2007) asserted that "it was a radical approach that made land redistribution impossible". The Lancaster House Agreement was seen by many as the main reason for the unsuccessful implementation of the land redistribution programme. The Lancaster House conference was, however, not the only cause of the failure of the redistribution programme. According to Thomas (2003), corruption associated with the Mugabe government and the elites of the Zanu-PF party skewed the redistribution of land.

The land redistribution programme was further hindered by the terms of the agreement that stated that the government could not expropriate land. Instead they had to purchase land through an agreement between the buyer and the seller. It further stated that the government had to compensate owners of the purchased land in foreign currency.

According to Alexander (2003), this radical promise of resettlement in the long run benefitted the black elites more than the poor landless people who were residing in the communal areas as the same people who supported the liberation struggle. Zanu-PF was, however, using the communal areas as a scapegoat in order to access the land. According to this agreement, it meant that the white farmers in Zimbabwe were allowed to retain their land for a period of ten (10) years. This made the redistribution of land impossible because no one could force the white farmers to sell the land. This is the reason why only infertile land was being sold. It is clear that Zimbabwe gained little from the agreement and the promises made by Britain. There is still a debate raging as to whether this deception by Britain is the main reason for the failed land reform programme in Zimbabwe.

The failed promise by Britain was utilised by President Robert Mugabe who emphasised that it was Britain's fault that they did not fund the resettlement and therefore had to return their land instead of purchasing it. Cliffe (2000) further alluded to the fact that the willing-seller principle gave the white farmers the power to sell only unproductive land that would not give the new occupants the opportunity to establish a productive and successful economic sector.

President Mugabe after being elected to power, promised to resettle people from communal areas to expropriated land perceived the Lancaster House Agreement in a negative light.

2.3.4 Land Reform and Resettlement Programme (LRRP)

The land reform programme aimed to transfer land to Africans. Unlike Europeans Africans traditionally regarded land as to the property of the ancestors. This

traditional believe system of collective ownership was eroded when land was transferred to individuals through a title deed. According to Reilly (2000), black Zimbabwean people relate to land as something sacred tied to the ancestors. This is the reason why they want a fair land redistribution process.

The government in 1980 planned to acquire 8.3 million hectares of land on which to resettle 162 000 people under so called Phase One of the Land Reform and Resettlement Programme (LRRP) (Thomas 2003).

Most of the people who were resettled fell under the so-called Model A scheme under which they were allocated 6-7 hectares of land to cultivate and to use for grazing. The Model B scheme was mainly for co-operatives (Thomas 2003).

The government was under a lot of pressure, being warned that the loss of commercial farmers could leave the economy in a very poor state. There were also constant threats that the donor countries would withdraw their financial support from Zimbabwe.

The aim of the LRRP to create political stability, acceptable property rights, economic growth and agricultural development failed because many of the white farmers refused to sell their land. There were a number of farms that were identified for acquisition based on the Land Policy Statement of 1990. According to Thomas (2003), the selection criteria for the farms that were acquired were: farmers who owned more than one farm, underutilised farms and farmers who bordered the communal land and absent farmers.

2.3.5 People-Driven Actions and the role of the War Veterans

According to Sadomba and Andrew (2006), land hunger was more common among the rural poor and their frustration of a slow paced land reform led to the illegal occupation of farmland. Squatting and the poaching of resources on state and privately owned land accompanied this illegal occupation. These events pressurised the government to speed up the process of land reform (Sadomba & Andrew 2006).

According to Sadomba and Andrew (2006), the war veterans were tired of waiting for the government to speed up the land reform programme and they began to organise themselves to demand welfare and economic benefits from the government which included health, education, jobs and of most importance to them, land for resettlement. The war veterans were subsequently promised welfare benefits and about 20 per cent of the land that was to be acquired by the state for resettlement (Sadomba & Andrew 2006). As a result of frustration with the process, the war veterans, with the support of the local communities, chiefs, the rural poor and other frustrated members, started occupying the land that was owned by the white farmers particularly farms that were located in Mashonaland (Sadomba & Andrew 2006). Even though not all the war veterans took part, the small number of those who participated was able to mobilise and establish committees that could keep records of the occupiers of the land and would take responsibility for organising food and security (Moyo 2001).

According to Alexander (2003), the war veterans challenged and opposed the judicial system on any decision that was unfavorable to land redistribution and went on to threaten to stage war. White people and the Movement for Democratic Change

(MDC) were regarded as the enemies. Alexander (2003) further emphasises that the relationship between the war veterans and the ruling ZANU-PF party that was characterised by violence, was a clear indication of electoral victory by ZANU-PF and the role that the veterans played to achieve that victory. The victory of ZANU-PF was associated with the threatening of the judiciary, and the sidelining of some ministers in policy decisions in favour of maintaining the relationship between the ruling party and the war veterans (Alexander 2003).

White people and Britain were continuously attacked and blamed for supporting the MDC and the MDC supporters were attacked in the urban areas by the war-veterans towards the 2000 elections (Alexander 2003). In 2002 the international community realised that the country's land issue "time bomb" had exploded.

2.3.6 The "Fast Track" Resettlement Programme

Due to the mounting pressure from the veterans on the ruling party and complaints from the veterans over the slow pace of the resettlement and forced removals, the government decided to introduce what came to be known as the Accelerated Land and Resettlement Implementation Plan or "Fast Track" resettlement. The "fast-track" resettlement programme was introduced between July 2000 and December 2001 with the intention of settling 5 million hectares of land and to make sure that about 30 000 families were settled as soon as possible on one million hectares of land (Alexander 2003).

This programme was similar to the accelerated resettlement of the 1980's whereby less attention was given to support the settled families in terms of infrastructure. Alexander (2003) argues that the ministries that were involved in this programme did

not have the necessary means such as budgets, human resources and equipment to support the resettlement programme. The demands for the Fast-Track programme increased particularly from the war veterans' side. There were new targets put in place despite the challenges that the ministries that were involved experienced. According to Alexander (2003), there were numerous court cases and that led Mugabe to increase the number of farms to be acquired to 3 000.

The Fast-Track programme was not free of criticism. The programme was criticised for benefiting the ZANU-PF elites. It excluded women for resettlement. Goebel (2005) emphasises the impact of this land reform policy on women. The author recognises that:

... one of the most important bridges to understanding the gender dimensions in Zimbabwe is the exclusion not inclusion as the ZANU-PF government claims. The problem of excluding women is not only happening in Zimbabwe, in South Africa the rate of resettled land and support to women is very low despite all the policies on gender equality that we have (Goebel 2005:23).

In August 2002, 2900 white farmers were served with eviction orders and in the weeks that followed, 90 per cent of the white farmers in central Zimbabwe were forced to leave their farms. Authors such as Scoones et al (2010) and Hanlon et al (2013) argue that the redistribution programme has dramatically improved the lives of thousands of smallholder farmers and their families. Many human rights abuses, however, accompanied the farm invasions. The major restructuring also had dire consequences on food production, employment and exports. Scoones et al (2010) recognise that although the agricultural sector has certainly been transformed, there

are major problems in certain areas. In a study of 400 sample households, he found that 46.5 per cent of households were finding the going tough, and were not regarded as “successful”. Some were really struggling and only just “hanging in” while others were in the process of “dropping out” through a combination of chronic poverty and ill health.

2.4 THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT: THE POLITICS AND LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK OF LAND REFORM IN SOUTH AFRICA

Pre-independence in 1994, the politics of land distribution had been dominated by apartheid-led policy whose unashamed priority was the maintenance of a status-quo in which land, particularly the productive land, was monopolised by a minority white population. This pattern on land distribution is cited by many including Hopkins (2002 cited in Chiagara 2004:18) who conclude that, under successive apartheid governments in South Africa, legislation was passed to preserve the colonial and apartheid control of land for almost four hundred years. Earlier summations by Elphick and Malherbe (1989) indicate that this racially skewed dispensation culminated in the Glen Grey Act of 1894 and Land Act of 1913, which set aside only 8 per cent of South Africa’s total land area as native reserves. Subsequently the colonial and apartheid policy ensued and consolidated social, cultural, residential, economic and political segregation of blacks from whites through the classification of the whole population into White, Black and Coloured. Evidence of the harshness and cruelty of the practise of apartheid with regard to coercive alienation of natives to their land and the creation of titles of land that served capitalist agrarian production is commonplace.

2.5 LITERARY SUMMATIONS OF THE LAND QUESTION

The celebrated South African novelist Alan Paton (1948) in his widely acclaimed novel *Cry the Beloved Country* offers a critique of the inhumane policy of apartheid through the images and metaphors of the South African landscape and the corresponding allocation of it. Paton opens his critique at the genesis of the novel where he aptly invokes a symbolic and deliberated description of a desirable, beautiful, holy, life sustaining land which is conspicuous for its sparse human population, and the beauty of the *titihoya*—one of the birds of the field.

Here the grass is rich and matured, you cannot see the soil. It holds the rain and the mist, and they seep into the ground, feeding the streams in every kloofs. Not too many cattle feed upon it. It keeps men, guards men, cares for men. But the hills break down and change their nature. For they grow red and bare and cannot hold the rain and mist. The streams are dry in the Kloofs. It is overpopulated-, too many cattle feed upon the grass. It is coarse and sharp, and the stones cut under the feet. It no longer keeps men, guards men, cares for men. The titihoya does not cry here anymore. The great red hills stand desolate, and the earth has torn away like flesh. The lightning flashes over them, the clouds pour down upon them, the dead streams come to life, full of the red blood of the earth. Down in the valleys women scratch the soil that is left, and the maize hardly reaches the height of a man. They are valleys of old men and old women, of mothers and children. The men are away, the young men and girls are away. The soil cannot keep them any more (cited in Chiagara 2004:19).

The vivid imageries of brutal land deprivations in colonial and apartheid South Africa also found further illuminations in the writings of the Frantz Fanon (1963) who emphasised the role of violence—the power of the gun in propagating colonial

power. This illuminates the fact that land is an integral component of socio-economic development and as long as the white minority in South Africa continues to enjoy privileged access to land acquired during the colonial and apartheid era, it will not engender socio-economic development of the black majority in the country. The experienced materiality of colonialism worldwide and in South Africa in particular is grounded on dispossession and repossession of indigenous and native African lands by the British imperial and apartheid authorities.

Fanon (1963) held that colonialism created a world “divided into compartments”, a “narrow world strewn with prohibitions”, a “world without spaciousness.” He maintained that a close examination of “this system of compartments” would “reveal the lines of force it implies”.

The discourse on the tragedy of the unfair land distribution confirms that superiority that was assumed by the colonisers. Harris (2002) bears this out in his work and confirms that, some of the early settlers in South Africa, like most in America,

were biologically and inherently racist to the core and regarded native Africans as being lazy, degenerate and irredeemable (Harris 2002:12).

The attitude held by Europeans that native Africans needed to be uprooted from their ancestral lands and “civilised” by Europeans was predominant in the 16th century, as abundant evidence in the literature can prove (Seed 1995; Hulme & Jordanova 1990; Arneil 1996). Most of these ideas are as old as the European conquest of colonial societies, even before the Europeans came to South Africa and even surfaced in the first European theorising about the rights of Europeans in Latin America (Buckle 1991) by the Spanish theologian, Francisco de Vitoria, in the 1530s, or by the Dutch

legal theorist, Hugo Grotius, a century later.

Resulting laws related to land ownership were aligned to these erroneous, but widely held beliefs. The value of taking over native land and labour were powerfully and influentially elaborated on by Locke (1947) in his labour theory of property. Locke (1947) held that God's gift of land to Adam and his posterity acquired value only as labour was expanded on it, and that labour justified individual property rights. Those who did not labour on the land wandered over what Locke (1947) called "unassisted natures"—land that yielded little and laid in common. It is against this intellectual background that one can gain a better insight and perspective into the actions and activities of Europeans in South Africa.

There is evidence in the literature (Levin & Weiner 1993; Mbeki 1984; ANC 1992) that one of the catalysts for the formation of the ANC in 1912 was the iniquitous issue of the land question in South Africa. It was greatly influenced by the proposed land bills which culminated in the 1913 Land Acts. Land and rural struggles in the 1940s and 1950s were also important in transforming the ANC into a broad-based national movement, culminating in the declaration of the Freedom Charter in 1955. So it becomes logical that at the onset of majority rule in 1994, as the ANC was on the verge of taking over power in South Africa's first majority election, it instituted some procedures to the racial undertones that influenced and determined land policy for almost a century so that it could be dismantled while a just, fair and equitable distributive mechanism with respect to the fundamental human rights as enshrined in South Africa's new constitution would be adhered to with a view to correct the historical wrongs of colonial and apartheid eras. It was against the background of

almost four centuries of exclusive White control of land in South Africa that the newly elected ANC government in 1994 made laws and implemented a radical programme of land reform in order to redress the historical injustice of colonialism and apartheid with regards to the racial underpinnings of land in South Africa.

Cliffe (2000) clarified this scenario when he argued that at the demise of apartheid in the early nineties, the newly elected government of National Unity led by Nelson Mandela inaugurated an ambitious land reform process backed by its White Paper on South African Land Policy of 1997. The policy was embedded on the need and concern of the ANC led government to redress the gross imbalance in landholding and eliminate the racial component of land ownership in South Africa gradually, where more than a third of the population is concentrated in 13 per cent of the land area, and occupy land in insecure and secondary ways. The focal ambition of the reform policy is expressed in three aspects, namely: (i) initiatives to redistribute land; (ii) measures to restore property appropriated through racially discriminatory laws and thirdly, “restitution policies and a programme to reform the manner in which property is actually held” (South Africa, 1997).

2.6 THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS LAND REDISTRIBUTION PROGRAMME: INTRODUCTORY INSIGHTS

2.6.1 Land redistribution

The ANC’s Land Redistribution Programme is anchored in the need to reallocate land to the majority of poor and landless Africans who have been deprived of their right to land ownership. It also addresses the needs of labour tenants, farm workers and emerging farmers for residential and productive uses in order to improve their livelihood and quality of life. Special attention is to be given to the needs of women.

The following pieces of legislation have been enacted to facilitate the programme:

- The Provision of Certain Land for Settlement Act, 126 of 1993 (renamed in 1998 and became known as Provision of Land and Assistance Act): provides for the designation of land for settlement purposes and financial assistance to people acquiring land and for settlement support;
- The Development Facilitation Act, 67 of 1995: introduces measures to speed up land development, especially the provision of serviced land for low-income housing (cited in DLA 1998).

Policy makers believed that land reform could boost the economy and alleviate poverty (DLA 1997). It was from this belief that the World Bank and other advisors to South Africa came up with a far reaching land reform programme for South Africa. This became problematic to South Africa at a later stage because agriculture constitutes a small portion of the economy of the country. According to Vink and Kirsten (2002), agriculture accounted for 10 per cent of formal employment. Secondly, the process of redressing the imbalances of the past, that is colonialism, apartheid, and land dispossession was very slow. A large portion of the land (80 per cent) is still in the hands of the white population who only constitutes 8.9 per cent of the total population of 51,77 million (Statistics South Africa 2011).

According to Hall (1998), the redistribution programme is aimed at transforming the pattern of land ownership in South Africa. The redistribution programme was implemented through the willing-buyer/willing-seller principle. This means land was to be purchased from willing sellers at market price. According to Lahiff (2008), the concept of willing-buyer/willing-seller entered the discourse around land reform in

1993-1996 which was not even part of the African National Congress: *Ready to Govern Policy* of 1992. In 1995, through the involvement of the Department of Land Affairs, the first approach of redistributing land called the Settlement Land Acquisition Grant (SLAG) was introduced (DLA 1997). Through SLAG, the applicants were allowed to apply in a group for land and they were assisted with a grant of R16,000.00 to purchase the land in rural areas for agricultural and residential purposes which was later increased to R20,000.00. The other aim of the SLAG programme was to target the poorest of the poor but did little to assist the poor people with some commercial farming skills. The SLAG programme failed because of various reasons one of them being the group dynamics and the insufficient grant system.

2.6.2 Land redistribution for Agricultural Development (LRAD)

Due to the slow progress in redistributing land through SLAG, during 2000-2008, the government introduced the Land Redistribution for Development (LRAD) to replace SLAG. According to Lahiff (2008), the main focus of the LRAD was on creating more commercial farmers. There was also a shift from focusing on poverty which was a criteria in selecting the beneficiaries in SLAG (O’Laughlin, Bernstein, Cousins & Peters 2013). Unlike SLAG that catered for households, the new policy catered for individuals and offered the grants and made use of greater loans through institutions such as the World Bank to supplement the grant. Under LRAD, the funds are administered by the provincial land reform offices and other agencies such as the Land Bank. The LRAD also maintained the market-led and demand-led approaches of the previous policies. The opponents of LRAD believe that it did not improve agricultural production and the land remained in the hands of the few (Antwi &

Oladele 2013). According to Aliber and Cousins (2013), LRAD allowed for a grant ranging from R20,000 to R100,000 with own beneficiaries contributions ranging from R5, 000 at the lower end which also can be paid in kind up to R40,000 at the upper end of the scale.

Cliffe (2000) stated that by June 1998 almost 250,000 people, in 279 projects, had received land. More people received land during 1998 than in the previous three years combined. In the first quarter of 1999, more than 50,000 people obtained land through the redistribution programme. By mid-November 1999, the Department of Land Affairs had 447 redistribution projects in the implementation phase which involved 360,256 people (55,424 households) and the transfer of 714,407 hectares of land (cited in Cliffe 2000:273; DLA 1998).

2.6.3 Restitution

Restitution is an integral aspect of the land reform programme initiated by the ANC led government of Nelson Mandela when it came to power in 1994. It was aimed specifically at restoring the ownership rights of those Africans who were deprived of their ancestral land by the colonial and apartheid government arriving from the 1913 Land Act with its racial and discriminately connotation. The objective is “to promote justice and reconciliation”. According to Cliffe (2000:274) the Restitution of Land Rights Act 22 of 1994 was enacted to guide implementation and give it a legal basis. As of 31 March 1999, 63,455 restitution claims had been lodged. Finalised claims totalled 241, involving the restoration of 311,484 hectares to 13,584 households (83,378 beneficiaries).

2.6.4 Tenure Reform

The land tenure reform was aimed at a total overhaul of the means through which land is owned. Specifically, it seeks to address issues pertaining to the insecure, overlapping and disputed land rights resulting from the previous systems of governance, especially in the former Bantustans.

The government also enacted some laws to give legal backing and grounds to its land tenure reform programmes and they include the following laws: the Interim Protection of Informal Land Rights Act 31 of 1996, a mechanism to protect people with insecure tenure from losing their rights, and interest, in land pending long-term reform measures; the Communal Property Associations Act 28 of 1996, which enables communities or groups to acquire, hold and manage property under a written constitution; and The Land Reform (Labour Tenants) Act 3 of 1996, which provides for the purchase of land by labour tenants and the provision of subsidies to this end (cited in Cliffe 2000:275; DLA1998).

In addition, the Extension of Security of Tenure Act 62 of 1997 (ESTA) provides for tenure security in two ways: first, by helping people living on rural or peri-urban land to obtain stronger rights to the land on which they are living, or on land close by; and second, by laying down certain steps that owners and persons in charge of rural or peri-urban land must follow before they can evict people. These were aimed at providing support to millions of citizens who were displaced from their land and found themselves squatting in informal settlements and farm lands across the country. The Extension of Security of Tenure Act 62 of 1997 aims to protect them from the vagaries of homelessness pending when alternative means of abode could be

provided (cited in DLA 1998).

The Act also regulates the day-to-day relationships between owners and people living on rural or peri-urban land. A proposed Land Rights Bill was intended to finalise the programme and, pursuant to the 1997 Land Policy, was to significantly reform the context within which South Africans in the ex-homelands occupy property.

2.7 TYPES OF LAND REFORM

Due to the high rates of poverty affecting most countries in the developing world, especially in sub-Saharan Africa, it is incumbent upon policy makers and politicians to ensure that agrarian reforms is tied in with radical moves to provide food security. It is the view of Rosset et al (2006) that the right to food is a human rights issue that is protected by international law. It is the right to have regular, permanent, and unobstructed access to food, either directly or by means of financial purchases. The issue of reducing poverty in most of Africa and specifically South Africa is tied to a radical agrarian reform that takes into consideration the racial imbalances in the distribution and allocation of land in post-apartheid South Africa. It was in recognition of the critical role of land reforms that we have distinguished between state-led land reforms and market-led land reforms.

2.7.1 Market-based land reform

The dominant orthodoxy in land reform in South Africa at the demise of apartheid was market-led land reform spear-headed by the officials of the World Bank. Weideman (2004:223) labels the activities of the Bank officials during the Convention for a democratic South Africa negotiations as “manipulative” and “intellectually arm twisting”. Weideman believes that the people charged by the ANC with formulating

policies of land reform for the new South Africa were intimidated and overwhelmed by the sleek presentations, models and prescriptions from a variety of quarters such as the World Bank's association and white-controlled farmers' union, consultants and middlemen in South Africa. Most of those ANC officials mandated to negotiate with the National party were ill-equipped intellectually to properly analyse and synthesise the overall implications of the land reform policy of the World Bank predicated on a neoliberal model on the majority of landless and disposed rural Africans (Bernstein 2000).

The premise of the arguments of the World Bank officials was that the ANC government, if it was serious about attracting international banking and financial support for its new government, should adopt a market-based land reform programme to redistribute 30 per cent of white-owned land over a period of five years. The ANC adopted these policies and it was a general election platform (ANC 1994).

Bond (2000 cited in Weideman 2004:224) insisted that as early as 1993, the South African Agricultural Union announced that it had won commitments from the World Bank that "no land would be expropriated or nationalised with a view to establishing small-farmer projects". Binswanger (1994 cited in Weideman 2004:224) echoed these sentiments when he wrote that the officials of the World bank in South Africa lobbied for "economic liberalisation and the abolition of protectionist agricultural policies" and the ANC government subsequently included these proposals in their Reconstruction and Development Programme of 1994 and even embarked on a process of agricultural market liberalisation.

It has to be noted that that the South African government adopted a market-based approach to the redistribution of land against the background of “intellectually arm twisting” (Weideman 2004) of the World Bank officials and other interest groups without proper understanding of its socio-economic impact on the millions of black Africa’s whose life in the rural areas and former Bantustans were reduced to the margins of poverty and deprivation because of lack of access to land. The market-based approach of the South African government was based on the principle of willing buyer-willing seller. There is a level of state support especially to African farmers as the governments makes land acquisitions grants available and is obliged to support and finance the planning process (Thwala cited in Rosset et al 2006:67).

The failure of market-based land reform in South African can better be understood if we internalise the view of Borras (2008:23) who is vehement in arguing that market based land reform is predicated on faulty premises, for example that land is an economic resource that should be allocated in order to maximise the benefits that accrue from its ownership and control. This is in stark contrast to the view of many analysts globally who understand land in its cultural, social, political and ecological dimensions so that land can be seen as deeply involved in a developing country like South Africa’s construction of identity. The false assumption underpinning the market-based land reform is the proposition that in well-functioning markets people meet as equals to mutually and voluntarily agree a price upon which to exchange a commodity, an exchange that is equally beneficial to both if it is based upon comparative advantage and specialisation.

Akram-Lodhi (cited in Borras 2008:25) insists that this is based on a faulty

assumption because the identity of those proposing to undertake a land transfer is essential to the terms and conditions, including the price governing the sale. Borrás (2008) believes that one of the weak spots of this market-based ideology is the fact that the proposed price may fail to give adequate information about the land that is to be transferred to the buyer because of the asymmetrical distribution of information regarding the qualities of and meanings attached to the land. It then follows that since most of the rural poor in developing countries like South Africa do not have the necessary information critical for them to negotiate favourable terms of trade and price for their land they usually end up with the short end of the stick in market-based land reform (Van Niekerk 2005). Such as this scenario, for market-based land reform to be successful it requires a broader set of interventions associated with the governance reforms that are part of neoliberal agrarian restructuring.

Thwala (cited in Rosset et al 2006) highlighted the failure of market-based land reform in South Africa when he noted that by the end of 2001, less than 2 per cent of the land had changed hands from white to black people through the land reform program, and the long-awaited legislation to improve the tenure security of people living in the former Bantustans in terms of the state's section 25(6) obligations had yet to be released. He further elaborated that of the 68,878 land restitution claims received, only 12,678 had been settled, benefiting less than 40,000 predominantly urban households. This is more than 40 per cent of which had received monetary compensation instead of land restoration.

So in the final analysis, the wonderful promise of the World Bank that the ANC government believed and adopted in 1994 is still an illusion years after accepting the

gospel of the market-based land reform policy. The policy gives monetary compensation while this is a type of redress of dispossess people of African origin in South Africa, it is not land reform as it involves no transfer of land rights. The preoccupation of the government with those applicants living in urban areas means that the vast majority of poor and black South Africans living in rural areas has felt no effect of democracy and land redistribution policy of the government.

It is the view of Thwala (cited in Rosset et al 2006: 26) that because of the financial melt-down and budgetary constraints faced by the government, it will take 150 years to complete the restitution process, and 125 years to complete the redistribution of 30 per cent of agricultural land to black people. This illuminates the false assumption on which the market based land reform is built as it will be too expensive for the government and unsustainable in the long run as the frustrations of unfulfilled hopes and ambitions of majority of poor Africans could boil over into rebellion with devastating consequences.

2.7.2 State-based land reform

Few states in the world lend support to critical and revolutionary land reform despite the failure of market based led reform. It is evident in the literature (Borras 2002) that the currently dominant market-based solutions to issues of land reform and access are incapable of resolving centuries of landlessness, excessive land concentration in the hands of a few, poverty and exclusion as the colossal failure of the policy in South Africa and places like Colombia buttress the poignancy of finding alternative methods.

The inability of governments to be committed to state led redistribution of land based

expropriation with or without compensation land reforms or the glaring imperfections of market based land reforms is actually at the root cause of land invasions. This is the critical reason propelling the meteoric rise in land occupations in parts of the developing world. Across the river Limpopo in Zimbabwe, as many as 11 million hectares have been transferred in large part due to land occupations by elements close to war veterans aligned to the ruling ZANU-PF regime of Mugabe after frustrations at the snail speed pace of the market-based land reform foisted on Zimbabwe at the Lancaster House agreement at independence in 1980.

It the view of Borras (2002) that one of the main drawbacks of state-led land reform is that it aggravates the market distortions. This example of the failure of state-led agrarian reform is abundantly illustrated in Zimbabwe where the land invasion orchestrated with active collaboration of the ZANU-PF party apparatus and the war veterans distorted the market for land in the country. Deininger and Binswanger (1999) lamented that in most state-led land reforms centralised government bureaucracies charged with providing technical assistance and other support services to beneficiaries proved to be corrupt, expensive and ineffective in responding to beneficiary demands. The corruption they are writing about is evident in Zimbabwe where the ruling party and their allies under the pretext of helping to effectively implement land reform policy amass the most fertile and productive farms for themselves and their policies. But this evidence of corruption does not in any way eliminate the effectiveness of state-land reform if it is genuinely implemented unlike the exclusionary legacies of market-based land reform.

There are currently more than 500 000 subsistence farmers struggling to make a

living through the land that was redistributed to them and there is an additional 11 million rural poor who have not benefitted from the land reform programme. The South African land reform programme has been criticized for its slow pace whereby according to Aliber and Cousins (2013), only 8 per cent of farm land has been redistributed over 18 years. This is less than the 30 per cent that was targeted over a period of five years. This implies that there has not been mass transferring of land for agricultural production and this has forced many people to migrate to the cities to look for jobs. The beneficiaries of Barolong-Balemirui project are no exception.

They have to share much of their meagre income with their families left behind in the rural areas in order to sustain their families living on the brink of starvation. Ninety per cent of the land that has been redistributed to black farmers is no longer productive. People are struggling to make a living out of the redistributed land. Commercial agriculture is a capital intensive process requiring seed, fertilisers, tools as well as technical assistance and therefore requires technical support. However, this support has not yet been forthcoming for the beneficiaries to start using the land productively.

In the case of Barolong-Balemirui project the above mentioned challenges together with the technical know-how of using the land productively, contributed to the project being put under the Recapitalisation and Development programme. This redistributed farm was categorised as falling under what the government regarded as Distressed Farms. The Recapitalisation and Development Programme was introduced in 2006 for various reasons. The programme provides financial assistance with the capitalisation of projects and the development of infrastructure. It

also provides skills development for emerging farmers. Financial support is given over a period of five years. It involves various intervention strategies that include strategic partnerships and mentorship. The strategic partners and mentors include a panel of private experts. The experts assist the beneficiaries with business plans. They also assist in the identification of distressed projects. The programme also aims to engage with the beneficiaries and to identify and discuss possible interventions needed. Finally the programme assists with the development of entrepreneurial skills and the provision of medium to large scale infrastructure necessary to establish successful business initiatives.

In 2006 the Department of Agriculture introduced the Comprehensive Agricultural Support Programme. The main aim of the programme is to provide support services to the beneficiaries of land reform through food security, increased production, job creation and assisting emerging farmers to develop into commercial farmers. Since its inception, the programme has supported 3 270 projects and 218 000 beneficiaries. In the North-West Province, the main target of the programme is to support 63 projects and 4328 beneficiaries with a budget of R53 million.

Even though the study falls outside the ambit of these support initiatives, the researcher believes that should the government have provided such support when the land reform programme was introduced the first time, the beneficiaries of the Barolong-Balemirui project would have been empowered with the required skills needed in farming which would have enabled them to use their land productively.

2.7.3 Land reform and development

Land reform and redistribution can lead to more sustainable development in the

whole country as opposed to the present urban bias in the development policies of governments worldwide (Barracough, 1999; Ziegler 2002; Rosset et al 2006). There is evidence in the literature (Lappe, Collins, Rosset & Esparza 1998; Sobhan 1993) to provide conclusive facts that whenever there is a genuine land reform and not mere window-dressing, it does have a ripple effect on the socio-economic development in the country concerned. It follows that whenever a significant proportion of quality land was really distributed to a majority of the rural poor, men and women backed up with macroeconomic and sectoral policies favourable to activate the dormant creativity of the rural poor, and when the local elites are deprived of their powers to intimidate and exploit local and illiterate farmers, there are always a massive reduction in poverty alleviation and a quantum leap in the improvements of living conditions of the people concerned (Sobhan 1993).

The phenomenal poverty reduction and economic growth and development witnessed in countries like Japan, South Korea, Taiwan and China since the end of the World War II was as a result of the real land reform policies undertaken by those governments to include the rural poor in land ownership and farming. (Sachs 1987; Ziegler 2002). Lappe et al (1998) and Sachs (1987) have expounded a lot on how the devastation left in Japan and Korea created the necessary conditions for equitable land reforms in those countries. In Japan and South Korea the agrarian reforms broke the stranglehold of the land-holding class over rural economic life. With a concomitant effect of trade protection to keep the prices of farm proceeds high and targeted investment in rural areas, farm families rapidly achieved a high level of purchasing power, which guaranteed domestic markets for fledging industries.

This situation can indeed be replicated in the global South especially in sub-Saharan Africa where most of the citizens are engaged in agricultural and live in rural areas. It explains the untapped potentials and latent economy activity that can be activated in developing countries if radical and equitable land reforms can be implemented by the governments. It has to also be noted that when land reform is mere “window-dressing” or used as a political tool to appease significant voters or power blocks in a country, gives only poor quality farms to poor farmers like in the case of Zimbabwe after independence in 1980, failed to support them with favourable policies like credits, technical know-how and access to markets like that of South Africa, land reform programs fail to achieve the broad based transformation achieved by similar exercises in South Korea and Japan (Sobhan 1993; Lappe et al 1998; Barraclough 1999).

Heredia et al (cited in Rosset et al 2006:277) provides a convincing argument in support of real and meaningful land reform with their illuminating research on the effects of land reform in Brazil. Their research shows that poor settlers in land reform communities earn more than they did before, they eat better, they have greater purchasing power, they have greater access to educational opportunities and they are in most instances more likely to be able to unite their families in one place as a result of a permanent address occasioned by the land reform. This proves that a holistic and broad based land reform has a rippling effect on the socio-economic development of poor families as it gives them the opportunity hitherto deprived of participating in the economic development of the families and communities.

Deininger and May (2000) further illustrates this point when he insists that land

reform holds a promise to stem the rural-urban migration that is a common feature of most developing countries especially those in Sub-Saharan Africa. He based his assumptions on the positive effects of land reform in Zimbabwe (before it was abandoned) where there was conclusive evidence that beneficiaries are substantially better off than their fellow citizens who have not benefitted from land reform.

Agriculture currently contributes only 4 per cent of GNP in South Africa, and the population of South Africa, at 52 million, is about nine times the population when the 1913 Land Act was passed. The economy is dominated by services, industry and mining but because this economy has failed the poor and because land has been badly used, the researcher concurs with Sobhan (1993) that land reform holds significant potential to address the chronic unemployment and absolute poverty that is affecting most developing countries of the world especially those in sub-Saharan Africa. In fact, it will help to solve the problem of massive poverty and unemployment in South Africa if the land reform program is properly thought through and implemented with a bias to empowering the vast majority of rural poor Africans who are landless in modern South Africa as a result of colonial and apartheid policies.

There is a reason why the studies of development in Africa are focused well on alleviation of poverty which is linked to the provision of food, housing and the position of peasant and subsistence farming. The vast majority of people in Sub-Saharan Africa, specifically in South Africa, live in rural areas and the formal economy cannot offer meaningful employment for the majority of this population. Development can only be achieved through a strategy that includes providing access to land to as many citizens as possible. De Beer (2005:87) insisted that since the

majority of Africa's exports are unprocessed agricultural products, the prices of which have been declining since the seventies, forcing Africa to sell more while earning less, the burden of achieving sustainable development and reducing poverty in the country depends on how well land resources are managed and utilised. Van de Wall (1988 cited in De Beer 2005:88) further elaborates that in the majority of developing countries great emphasis is placed on the need for land reform as an important prerequisite for agricultural development. There is abundant evidence in the literature (Van de Wall 1988:36), that agricultural development is one of the key factors in the achievement of successful economic development, and that agricultural development can be achieved only if the traditional system of land tenure is drastically reformed.

Undoubtedly land is one of the most precious resources, critical for the survival and continued existence of human beings on earth. This assertion is based on the fact that it is an important building block on which the social, economic and political, order of societies are built. According to De Beer (2005), systems of land tenure and utilisation of land play an important part in the development process and have become a survival issue, owing to the high population growth rate with its accompanying demands for increased food production and equity. In a country like South Africa lack of access to land has deprived the majority of the black population opportunity to solve the problem of food security and housing taking into due cognisance the rising population and the fact that the majority of land in the country are in the hands of the White farming elite. Further illumination of the view of De Beer (2005) can be found in the postulation of Weideman (2004) where he alluded to the effects of the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts, The Group Areas Act, the Asiatic Land

Tenure Act and the Black Communities Development Act of 1988 and its debilitating effects to the impoverishment of Africans in South Africa for decades as well as its concomitant effect of those land Acts in producing a middle class Afrikaner population that subsequently dominated the political, educational and economical landscape of South for half a century during apartheid.

According to Rosset et al (2006) fair and just access to land is undoubtedly the most fundamental prerequisite for the transformation of the lives of most of the rural population and creating an inclusive, broad-based development that would allow nations to provide their citizens with a decent standard of living and actualise the dream of a sustainable use of natural resources. Land reform helps development because as more people have access to land it helps to reduce the deleterious effects of poverty in the rural areas as food security is ensured and it subsequently leads to more economic development.

This view is corroborated by Jeppe (1980 cited in De Beer 2005: 88) who was adamant that:

... if the agricultural sector provides food, labour and a portion of the reserves of gradual industrialisation. The part played by land tenure reform in economic development can be to remove all obstructions in the way of agricultural production and to promote a new climate of expectations by laying the foundations for identifying remuneration with effort and for balancing expenditure with yield. The prerequisite for development in developing countries is to organise agriculture in such a way that (a) that agriculture offers incentive for productive labour and investment and, (b) that a combination of production factors is used in agriculture which is compatible with the expense and

availability of these factors at a given time.

De Janvry (1981) and Sachs (cited in Rosset et al 2006:317) in their analysis on the reason for the early development of the United States of America more than its Latin America counterparts just before independence elaborated on the significance of a relatively equitable, small farmer-based rural economy that is anchored on a just agrarian reform. They posited that the United States with its more comprehensive and inclusive land reform policy and agriculture had developed more rapidly than Latin America with its inequitable land distribution characterised by huge haciendas and plantations amidst poverty stricken subsistence farmers or mostly landless Indians uprooted by force from their ancestral lands by the *conquistadors* from Spain.

2.7.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter looked at the land reform debate internationally and nationally. It looked at the similarities between the South African land reform and the two case studies of Brazil and Zimbabwe. The three sub-programmes of land reform (redistribution, restitution and tenure reform) were discussed. The chapter that follows builds on chapter 2 and focuses on the methodology that were used in collecting data for this research.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH DESIGN

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to describe and justify the research design and method of this study. The components of the research strategy and a description of reasoning strategies are specifically articulated. The overview of the study methodology will be followed by a brief descriptive overview of the study's research methodology. Methodology refers to steps, processes or procedures that will be used for data gathering and analysis. Research design, paradigm, approach setting, population, sample and sampling methods, data collection, data analysis, data management, academic rigor, ethical considerations and dissemination of data will be explained in the chapter (Polit & Beck 2004).

3.2 STUDY RESEARCH DESIGN: QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

Gaining insights into the experience of land reform by members of the Barolong-Balemirui project was done by way of qualitative methods of enquiry and to that end, qualitative methodology formed the basis of the study's research design. Qualitative research is person-centred and takes an "emic" perspective (insider's point of view). Thus Creswell (2009: 67) defines qualitative research as

an enquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions of enquiry that explore a social or human problem, a researcher built complex, holistic picture, analyses words, reports detailed views of informants and conducts the study in a natural setting.

Therefore the theoretical frameworks are not predetermined (Holloway & Wheeler 1996; Mouton & Marais 1991). A qualitative approach was used to explore and

describe the relationships between land reform and redistribution with development. The insight gained from the processes which were identified theoretically and empirically, guided the data collection processes engaged in within the current study (Creswell 2009; Burns & Grove 2009).

3.3 RESEARCH APPROACH

The researcher used a qualitative approach in this study. This approach is used to explore the depth and complexity inherent in a phenomenon in a flexible and holistic approach (Polit & Beck 2008). The qualitative approach was used to describe and explore how land reform and redistribution efforts within South Africa translated in terms of developmental outcomes as they related to residents of Barolong-Balemirui.

The researcher interacted with the participants throughout the data collection process that were followed. Unstructured interviews (n=9), self-completed questionnaires (n=45) and unstructured discussion sessions (n=2) were interchangeably utilised to collect data from participants. This combined use of data collection approaches was a pragmatic acceptance of the fact that potential participants had to be accessed in all ways that were ethically appropriate and feasible for the researcher to utilise. The varied range of primarily qualitative approaches were chosen because of their potential of gaining in-depth, personalised subjective views that help to answer the priority questions of the study. Through this mode of data-collection, the researcher was primarily focused on getting as close to the heart and soul (depth) of the issue so as to understand it much better (Speziale & Carpenter 2003). Figure 3.1 below offers a diagrammatic representation of the data-collection processes.

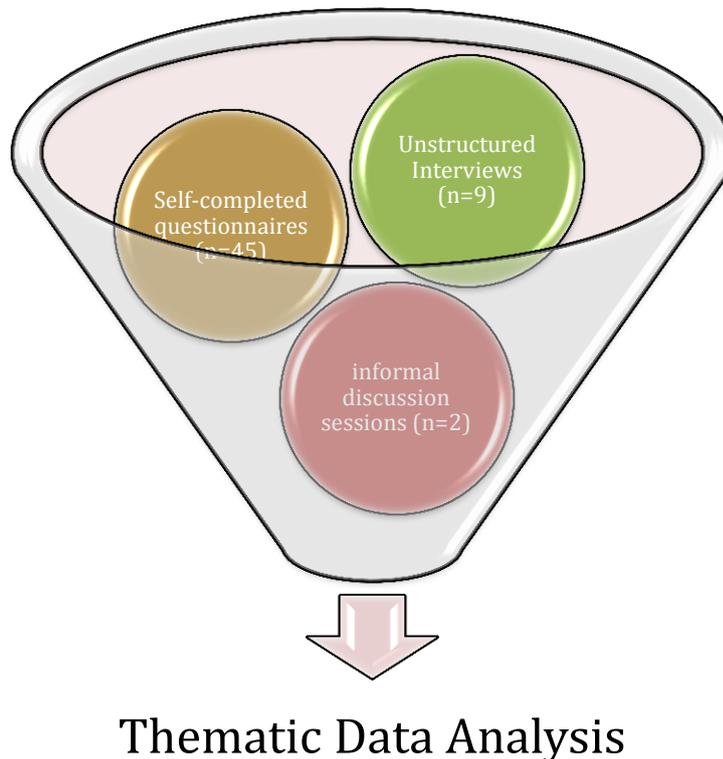


Figure 3.1: Data Collection Processes Summarised

3.4 SETTING: THE EMERGENCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF BAROLONG-BALEMIRUI PROJECT

The study was done in the North-West province. In 2008, the researcher visited members of the Barolong-Balemirui project in their natural settings. The Barolong-Balemirui Communal Property Association is formed by a group of one hundred and fifty-six (156) households. The name Barolong-Balemirui which means “farmers of the Barolong tribe”, represents one of the most disadvantaged communities in the North-West province. These groups of people were squatters in Wards 6 and 8 near Huhudi Township in the Vryburg district of the North-West Province. The Barolong-Balemirui is a project that falls under the SLAG programme.

The main aim of the Barolong-Balemirui project was to acquire land for farming to improve community living standards and to support settlement. On the 8th October

1990, the people of Wards 6 and 8 in Huhudi Township made an application for the land, but the application was unsuccessful. These people could not get land because of the apartheid policies that were discriminating against blacks. This was further compounded by the fact that disproportionately high interest and consideration were given to commercial farmers while small farmers were not considered. It was in 1995 that one of the residents of Wards 6 and 8 came to other residents of that area and told them about the R15,000.00 grant (later increased to R20,000.00) even though he did not have more information about it. In the same year, the Barolong-Balemirui Communal Property Association approached the Department of Land Affairs to confirm the R15 000.00 issue and to ask for assistance to get land that they had already identified.

The Barolong-Balemirui Project belongs to the Barolong-Balemirui Communal Property Association. As a legal entity, the Association is responsible for the operation and management of the project. The Department of Land Affairs in the North-West province undertook to resettle this group of people as part of the implementation of land redistribution programme.

According to Kaya, Anand and Matetchera (1998), the Barolong-Balemirui Communal Property Association was the product of the retrenchment of about four hundred and fifty families from employment on farms in the Vryburg district. These families were previously employed as farm workers who needed to improve their lives and incomes so that they could be able to maintain their standard of living, which they had when they were employed. This was further asserted by Kaya et al (1998) assessment findings that the socio-economic situation of the community was

characterised by the following:

- they were staying in poor socio- economic conditions;
- unemployed; and
- without any regular sources of income.

Therefore, the main aim of the Land Redistribution Programme was to help poor and/or disadvantaged people with the acquisition of land for agricultural and settlement purposes through accessing R15,000 grant per family (DLA 1997). Therefore, this means that the qualifying members of Barolong-Balemirui Communal Property Association were entitled to these grants. These grants are meant to benefit the whole family and not only one person.

The provincial Department of Land Affairs assisted the Association with the acquisition of the identified farm; Rasplaas at an amount of R1.77 million. This was through following the necessary processes and procedures such as formation of a legal entity. The Association was registered under Communal Property Association Act meaning that the land is owned communally and the title deed is registered under the Barolong-Balemirui Communal Property Association.

Other necessary processes such as the valuation of the land to determine the agricultural potential of the soil, market value, climatic conditions, infrastructure needed for the immediate needs of the resettled community and the socio economic activities, which will enable the community to be self-sustained, were undertaken (Kaya et al 1998). Consultants who were commissioned by North-West provincial DLA did this assessment or evaluation. Currently, the project is under administration

due to management challenges. The stakeholders resolved to have the legal entity under administration.

3.5 PARTICIPANTS

The research participants were selected from residents of the Barolong-Balemirui project and had to be 18 years old or older. In total, 45 participants were identified and participated in at least one of the data-collection processes that were centrally utilised within the study. All the 45 identified participants completed the self-completed questionnaire, with nine (n=9) agreeing to take part in unstructured individual interviews. Finally, two open-format discussion groups were facilitated to elicit collective viewpoints. For the identified potential participants, they had to be residents of Barolong-Balemirui and have lived no less than 24 months in the region and therefore had some experience of the processes that were involved in land redistribution. All the participants should at least be able to read and write so as to sign the informed consent. The researcher held several meetings with local residents explaining the criteria for participants and the methods of data collection to be used.

3.6 SAMPLE AND SAMPLING METHODS

A sample is a small portion/segment of the population that form part of the research project, and sampling is a process of selecting participants from the entire population (sampling frame) to take part in the research (Polit & Hungler 1996; Creswell 2006). The population studied was residents of Barolong-Balemirui who were aged 18 years and older.

A non-probability purposive sampling was used and it allowed the researcher to choose local sites where access to participants will not be a problem. From this, a

total of participants (n=45) were selected for inclusion in the study and as noted above, each participant had the option to take part in all the study-proposed data-collection approaches. Corbin and Strauss (1990) further stipulate that a researcher is allowed to look for a person, site and events where he/she purposefully can gather data related to categories, their properties and dimensions. Purposive sampling represents the researcher's commitment to observing and interviewing participants who have the required experience and knowledge of the phenomena central to the study (Speziale & Carpenter 2003).

In purposive sampling the researcher is not primarily motivated by attainment of representation of the participants from the large population, but the main concern is about the concepts, incidents, experiences or phenomenon that will shed more light in the topic being explored, thus assisting in obtaining an appropriate and adequate information from the source within a time frame or until data saturation (Corbin & Strauss 2014). Establishing and maintenance of a good trusting relationship between the researcher and the participants was of utmost importance to promote a mutually beneficial and cooperative alliance throughout the data collection phases to study completion (Burns & Grove 2009).

3.7 DATA COLLECTION

Data collection in qualitative research is done concurrently with data analysis according to Creswell (2009), but for the purpose of this study, these processes are explained separately. This was done in the participants own natural setting, multiple forms of data was gathered by the researcher and it took quite a longer period because it relies on the (processes) evolving nature of events by actors within a

setting (Creswell 2009; Miles & Huberman 1994). Data was collected in June 2010. The process of collecting data was not easy because most of the respondents were most of the time not at home and the researcher had to rely on one contact person in giving information on when they were available. This was because they were spending most of their time at their place of origin, Huhudi Township trying to make a living.

3.8 SELF COMPLETED QUESTIONNAIRES AND INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEWS

The primary data collection instrument that was used within the study was the self-completed questionnaire, which all the study participants (n=45) completed. The questionnaire focused on a range of issues including participants' household background i.e. their activities before being resettled in Rasplaas; the extent to which they were involved in economic activity before and after the relocation; the range of income generating activities they engaged in; details about the income earned. In addition to this, the questionnaire focussed on issues related to the social sustainability of the community resulting from their relocation and the extent to which their relocation impacted factors related to asset creation and household resilience. (see Annexure 1 for sample of Questionnaire). In complementing the data collected from the questionnaires, a sub-group of the participant population (n=9) took part in unstructured interviews.

Conducting individual interviews can be used so as to gain each and every participants side of the story. This is done to understand what real meaning is ascribed to their views and experiences. The researcher used unstructured interviews (n=9) as a central instrument for data-collection within the study (Corbin &

Strauss 1990). Each interview was conducted in neutral settings and /or in the participants' natural settings; the participants were very cooperative, and willing to share their views. To offer an explanatory element, the interviews, were expanded via informal discussion groups (n=2) made up of participants from the core participant group of 45 participants.

3.9 DOCUMENT ANALYSIS

To supplement the data elicited from the unstructured individual interviews, the self-completed questionnaire, data for the study was collected via document analysis and involved the researcher reviewing policy documents, pre and post land acts (1913 Natives Land Act, the Reconstruction and Development Document, 1997 White Paper on Land Reform, the Restitution Land Right Act 22 of 1994) legislative documentation and governmental position papers. This array of supportive documentation was particularly useful in enriching the collated data and was expected to be of particular importance in helping to further inform thematic findings that would emerge during data analysis.

3.10 DATA ANALYSIS

The process of data analysis involves making sense out of textual content from the document analysis and also eliciting key thematic viewpoints from the unstructured individual interviews. Generic thematic analysis as described by Krippendorf (1986) formed the basis of the analysis of data from the document analysis and from the individual participant interviews. In this method, the researcher reviews textual data to elicit emergent themes related to the study's research questions. This format has been described by some, including Creswell (2009) as lacking specific directive

content and to minimise the negative impact arising from this, the researcher utilised the steps of analysis described by Tesch (1990). Data analysis and interpretation were therefore, partially informed by Tesch's method of data analysis for qualitative research in order to understand the meaning of the data and identify themes and sub-themes from the collected data (Creswell, 2009). The steps in analysis used involved the following stages.

The researcher's application of Tesch's method is as indicated below:

- (a) The researcher got a sense of the whole interview by carefully reading through all transcripts of the individual interviews.
- (b) Selected one interview and pursued it again, asking what it is about? Bearing in mind its underlying meaning while writing thoughts in the margin.
- (c) Made a list of topics from all interviews, clustered similar ones together and arranged them into major themes, unique themes, and leftover topics.
- (d) Abbreviated the topics as codes and wrote them next to the relative segment in the text.
- (e) Checked if new categories or themes emerged.
- (f) Changed topics into descriptive categories while reducing the categories by clustering together similar topics.
- (g) Decided on the final codes for categories, placed these codes in a selected order assembled the related data material of each category in one place.

- (h) Recorded existing data where necessary and conducted a preliminary analysis.

Globally, within the study, the researcher adopted Burns and Grove (2007) approach to data analysis, which is characterised by three phases namely: the descriptive, analysis and interpretation.

The descriptive phase is an inductive process in which the available data was arranged in groupings or categories that related to commonly expressed viewpoints. The Analysis phase is involved with the sorting of data into categories, relationships between them are identified and themes are formed that are going to assist in the next interpretive phase. During the interpretive phase, meaning is ascribed to data. This was followed by full report on the study as well as recommendations. The numeric data that emerged from the self-completed questionnaires was analysed via a combination of thematic analysis (for the qualitative results) and content analysis (for the quantitatively expressed qualitative results).

3.11 ACADEMIC RIGOUR

The term academic rigor refers to the logic accurate scientific adequacy or trustworthiness of a research outcome with respect to openness and adherence to philosophical ideologies throughout (Burns & Grove 2005). Qualitative studies should be evaluated using the criteria that were developed to fit the concept of “trustworthiness”. Speziale and Carpenter (2003) states that trustworthiness in qualitative studies is when the findings of the study represent the experiences of the population being studied. This was one of the key aims of this study.

Trustworthiness refers to the quality of the research findings. It exists if the findings

of qualitative study represent reality (Speziale & Carpenter 2003). There are four strategies that are used to ensure trustworthiness of qualitative studies: credibility, transferability, dependability and conformability.

3.11.1 Credibility

Speziale and Carpenter (2003) affirm that credibility ensures that the participants recognise the research report as their own activities or experiences, whereas Polit and Beck (2008:539) states that credibility is the confidence in the truth of the data and its interpretation. It is demonstrated when participants recognise the reported research findings as articulating their own experiences and expressed viewpoints. Credibility also refers to the authentic quality of data, that is, whether it reveals or gives what one is directly looking for (Miles & Huberman 1994). It is of utmost importance for the credibility of data to ensure that the participants understand what the study is about and in pursuit of this element of trustworthiness, the instrument for data collection and the information sheet were translated into Tswana to make them accessible to those participants who were uncomfortable or unable to converse in English during the data collection phase.

3.11.2 Transferability

This term is used in qualitative research to demonstrate the probability that the research findings have meaning to others in a similar situation (Speziale & Carpenter 2003). This is sometimes called "fitness". This refers to the applicability of the study to one's context or different contexts. It must be appreciated that it is not the intention or goal of the qualitative studies to generalise, but there are times where one can opt to generalise using the qualitative studies (Miles & Huberman 1994). Thick description of the content, data base, methodology, sample and sampling

technique used are made available for the reader so that they can assess the potential appropriateness for one's setting so as to make informed decision re-generalisation or not (Miles & Huberman 1994). Transferability of the study is not the responsibility of the researcher, but only the potential user can make an informed decision regarding applicability of findings in her context (Polit & Beck 2008). Understanding research outcomes can usefully illustrate why and how events and processes occur. Polit and Beck (2008) further acknowledge that as, results of qualitative enquiry are often specific to a small number of environments and people, it may be difficult to show that the conclusions and findings can be applied to other situations and populations. Even so, any ability to transfer any aspect of the current study to the South African experience helped to highlight challenges and best practices in the topic area.

In the context of the current study, the simultaneous exploration of globally and regionally relevant Land Resettlement and Reform experiences and processes (in the case analyses of Zimbabwe and Brazil) provided noteworthy scope for transferability to the researcher's own context in South Africa. Zimbabwe's regional proximity and its recent deliberations with land reform, particularly in land redistribution issues offers meaningful prospective insights that South Africa can be informed by. Similarly, Brazil, as a result of its BRICS similarities with South Africa, offers a rich experiential example of the management of land reform in a diverse, multi-cultural context. Both the above realisations illustrate the potential for transferability offered by the current study.

3.11.3 Dependability

Dependability refers to the stability of data over a longer period and over conditions (Polit & Beck 2008). The study must provide its audience with evidence that even if it can be repeated over a long time under the same conditions/circumstances, it can still give/yield the same results. Speziale and Carpenter (2003) described this term as the criterion used to measure trustworthiness in qualitative research, where it is met through securing credibility of the findings. Dependability also refers to the process of detailing the consistency, reasonable stability over time and convergence of accounts across methods for example observation, interviews, focus group, informants, context, and connectedness to theory, data quality checks or audits and peer review of coding. In this study the data collection phase will be an ongoing thing over a long time or until no new raw data is obtained (saturation). Coding of some transcripts was done with the help of an academic colleague with expertise in qualitative research. Similar action was taken to ensure that transcripts were consistent.

3.11.4 Confirmability

Confirmability is concerned with the degree to which the findings of the study are as the result of participant's responses and conditions of the research only. It measures quality of data in terms of objectivity or neutrality (Polit & Beck 2008). This was ensured by keeping records of the data collection aspects so that an experienced research peer would be able to go over and check for accuracy in transcribing and analysis of data. Participants were given a chance to verify data before dissemination.

3.12 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Ethical consideration should underpin all qualitative research processes. Neumann (2006) emphasises the issues of morality and professional behavior towards our client and participants. The main focus of qualitative research is real/live individuals who are in real-life situations and are sharing their views and experiences with the researcher. Most of ethical issue arises during data collection stage, where respect of participants should be observed. For the purpose of this study, the researcher identified ethical management strategies suggested by Emmanuel (2009), as the basis for the implementation of the research. These included ensuring

1. Collaborative partnership.
2. Appreciating the social value of the participant's lives and the need to respect that.
3. Ensuring scientific validity.
4. Fair selection of participants.
5. Favorable risk benefit ratio.
6. Independent review.
7. Informed consent.
8. Respect for recruited participants.
9. Dissemination of findings.

3.13 CONCLUSION

Chapter 3 gave an insight into the way in which the researcher collected information to ascertain how the redistribution programme was implemented in the Rasplaas Farm. The chapter outlines how and from whom data were collected and the sampling method and the ethical considerations when collecting data. Chapter 4

below presents data analysis and interpretation.

CHAPTER FOUR : DATA PRESENTATION, DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In the preceding section methodological issues related to the study of the Barolong-Balemirui community were dealt with. The current chapter deals with management of field data. The data was generated from the feedback elicited from members of the Barolong-Balemirui community and also from the document analysis that was carried out as part of the empirical part of the study. Coding of raw data preceded data reduction, organisation, presentation, analysis and interpretation. This data was transcribed and collated as documentary evidence. In this study, participants took part in in-depth interviews.

Data presented in this section emanates from two sources namely members of the Barolong-Balemirui community and relevant policy and legislative documents.

4.1.1 Outline: The Experience of Barolong-Balemirui Project at Rasplaas Farm

The objective of this chapter is to document the experience of Barolong-Balemirui Project to develop informed insights into the influence that land reform can have in assisting development within the impoverished communities in South Africa. However, in order to produce a clear picture on the nature of the relationship between the availability of productive land and its development, it is essential to first outline the context in which this project originated.

4.2 GENDER

The study population comprised 45 members, all of whom completed the self-completed questionnaires. Out of this core group of participants (n=45), 9 of the

participants engaged in unstructured interviews. Informal discussions (n=2) were also held to accommodate any participants who wanted to take part in group discussions with peers about issues identified within the questionnaire data instrument. As noted earlier, the questionnaire focused on a range of issues including participants' household background i.e. their activities before being resettled in Rasplaas; the extent to which they were involved in economic activity before and after the relocation; the range of income generating activities they engaged in and details about the income earned. In addition to this, the questionnaire focussed on issues related to the social sustainability of the community resulting from their relocation and the extent to which their relocation impacted factors related to asset creation and household resilience. (see Annexure 1 for sample of Questionnaire).

With respect to gender, it was found that the majority of respondents were female, with 91 per cent (n=41) and 9 per cent (n=4) male. Figure 4.1 shows the female predominance over male. This pattern was reflective of the fact that many of the households were female-led while by contrast; their male counterparts often migrated to urban areas to seek employment and economic opportunities. In addition, a large number of females are also involved in agricultural activities as a result of poverty, as this appears to be the only way in which they can make a living.

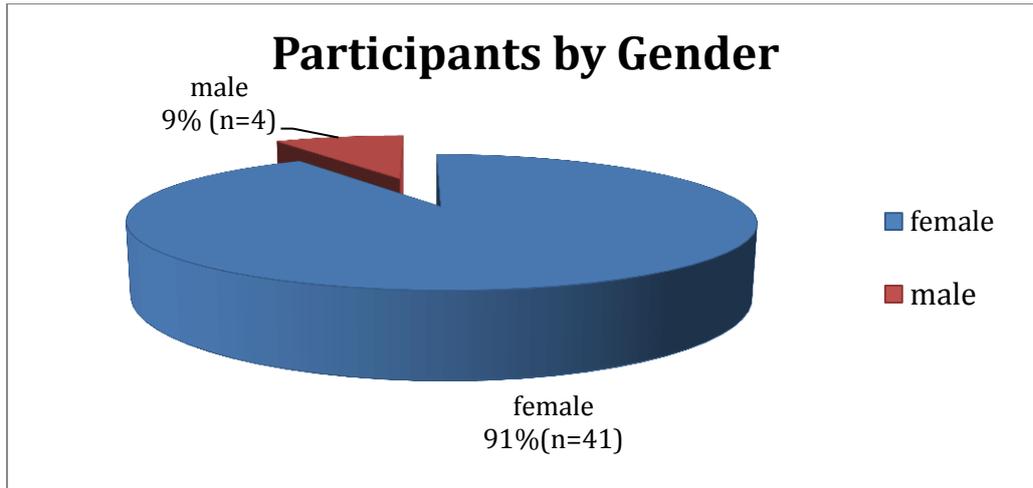


Figure 4.1: Participant Representation by Gender

4.3 PROJECT SUSTAINABILITY AND MANAGEMENT

The Constitution of the Association makes provision for each member to be allocated a piece of land on which to build his or her dwelling. According to the interviews and visits made to the site each family member is allocated a piece of land for personal use besides building houses. The other piece of land is to be used for cultivation and the third one for individual activities. Even though the control and management of the allocated land is on an individual basis, the ultimate ownership is vested within the community. The community management committee controls the type of activities practiced by individuals engage in, with regard to livestock and others.

The Community Management Committee is democratically elected by members of the Association that manages the project. This was done to ensure fairness and an inclusive decision-making processes amongst the members of the Association. All members are treated equally during elections and in other activities. The Community Management Committee works closely with the project manager through regular meetings to address problems and ensure solutions. The Committee also supervises the election of sub-committee members like security, housing, recreation, finance

and others. Meetings are held at the end of every month to inform all the beneficiaries on the progress of issues related to land.

The project manager, in close consultation with the community, is responsible for the monitoring and evaluation of the project. In this regard there is a need for the establishment of a Project Monitoring and Evaluation committee to provide the necessary information for project management. It is therefore recommended in this regard that the officials in the provincial Department of Land Affairs (DLA), who are responsible for the project in consultation with the Community Management Committee, initiate the establishment of the proposed Project Monitoring and Evaluation committee. The main task will be to collect and disseminate information in the community. The Project Monitoring and Evaluation committee reports to the stakeholders to ensure that its findings have a positive impact on the performance of the project.

4.4 RESEARCH FINDINGS

4.4.1 Economic activities

The results show that 80 per cent (n=36) of the sampled households were involved in income generating activities whilst they were still residing in Huhudi Township and 20 per cent (n=9) were not involved in any income generating activities. Out of this 80 per cent who were involved in income generating activities, reports from the survey questionnaire indicates that 50 per cent (n=21) of women were involved in informal economic activities such as selling *amageu* to the local communities as compared to 31 per cent (n=12) who were involved in domestic work and 9 per cent (n=4) who worked in nearby farms. Notably, up to 9 per cent (n=4) of the participant

population were unemployed. In the new farm, Rasplaas, 69 per cent (n=31) of the sampled households were currently not involved in farm activities primarily because they did not have the necessary machinery to work. Similarly, participants described having a generalised lack of agricultural experience to work the land for agricultural produce. The results show that 30 per cent of the sampled households are involved in farm activities, most of which were dependent on their ownership of livestock.

When asked to indicate the resulting purpose of their farmland, 93 per cent (n=3) indicated that they used most of the farm land solely for residential purposes. 83 Per cent (n=35) of the sampled households indicated that their main source of income is from off-farm activities for example selling, pensions, social grants and remittance from their relatives. 68.5 per cent (n=31) indicated that gaining access to land did not contribute towards household incomes because now the job opportunities were positioned far away from where participants were resettled. There are additional pressures that were identified and these included issues such as “unmanageable and inadequate” transport provision.

The off-farm activities that households were involved in appeared not to have been negatively impacted by the relocation to a new habitat—a fact intimated by the lack of a decrease in activity as shown by the above results. By contrast, the reported findings suggest an increase in off-farm activities and engagement in money earning activities. Despite a reported increase in the engagement in money-creating activities, a decrease in income from the farm was reported and the primary sources of financial support were grants and pensions.

Participants were asked about their patterns of engagement in agricultural activity.

Notably, minimal increase in agricultural activity was reported and the resettled community members attributed much of this to a generalised lack of access to the necessary equipment and skills. The generalised feedback received from participants was not always positive about the impact of land reform measures and in some respects, the processes resulting from land reform could be seen as promoting an economically disempowering process. This concern and unintended consequence is identified by Wilson and Ramphela (1989: 210) who argue that

uprooting poverty implies not only a transformation of agriculture including redistribution of land, but also a restructuring of relations between capital and labour.

Members from differing households did not routinely state agriculture as their main source of income but instead they mentioned other sources of income such as selling, grants, pensions, off-farm activities and financial support from their relatives. The impression was that being resettled to the Rasplaas Farm meant more income for the household but self-reporting attributed this increase in income generation to non-agricultural activities that they participated in to increase their incomes.

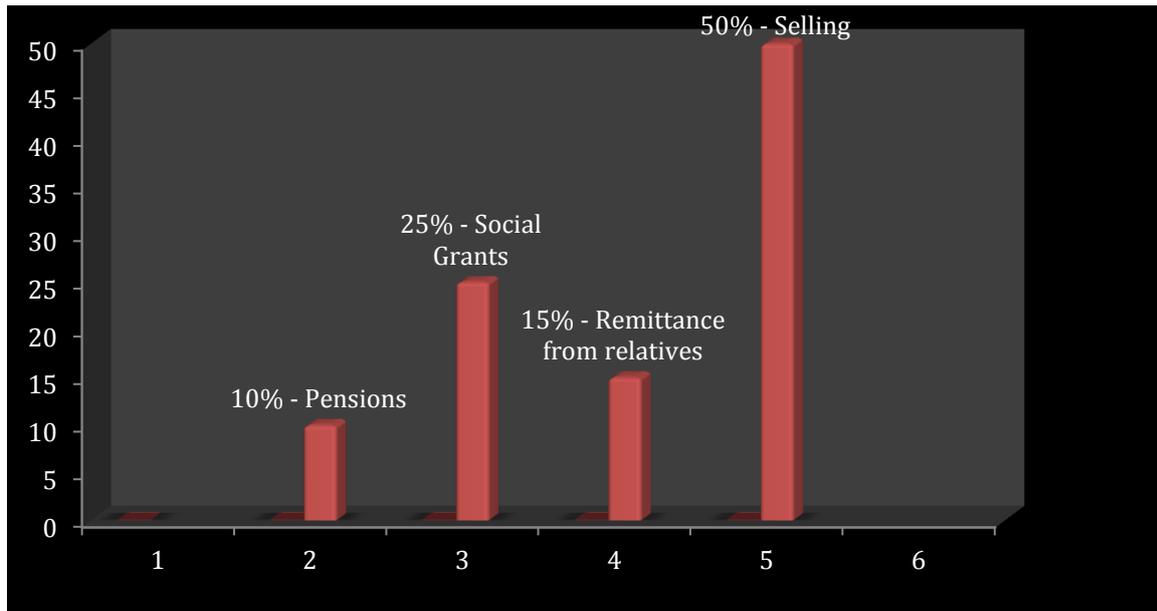


Figure 4.2: Sources of Income

4.4.2 Social Sustainability

The results show that prior to being resettled in the Rasplaas Farm, 64 per cent (n= 29) of the participants (from different households) had access to amenities and services because they were residing in the well-established township of Huhudi as compared to 33 per cent (n=15) who were staying 15km from the township. The results further show that 80 per cent (n=36) of the participants from different households were less than 10km away from the schools and clinics as compared to 20 per cent (n=9) who were 15km away from the schools and clinics. By and large, participants within the farm had access to electricity, clean water and sanitation. Prior to moving to the Rasplaas Farm, 60 per cent (n=24) of household participants who completed the survey indicated that they were relying on public transport that was easily accessible to transport children to school and some children were also walking to school. Outside of the reliance on public transport, nearly half of the participants, i.e. 40 per cent (n=18) of the participants from each of the represented

households were relying on families and neighbours, bicycles and donkey carts for transport in emergency situations.

Transport facilities connecting the Rasplaas Farm to the outside world or to a nearby town is very poor. There is no clinic on the farm or in the neighbourhood either. The only available shop near the farm is a tuck shop at Thakwaneng village. This village is about 5 km from the farm. This tuck shop does not cater for all the daily needs of the people. There is no infrastructure such as community halls, playgrounds and others. Again there are no educational facilities at the farm. The nearest school is a primary school at Thakwaneng village.

The survey element contained within the self-complete questionnaire indicated that 62 per cent (n=28) of the households live within close proximity of their neighbours whilst 26 per cent (n=3) of the households were separated by noteworthy distances from their neighbours. This geographical separation was seen as a potential contributing factor to the isolation that may have existed between participants and household members. Of this, 69 per cent (n=31) of participants reported very active participation and leadership roles in community gatherings. This sub-group of participants reported making contributions at local meetings especially on issues affecting their lives and the farm in general. By contrast, 31 per cent (n=14) indicated that they were never invited.

The above statistics imply that social sustainability is maintained because the households were in contact with their neighbours indicating that at grassroots level, community members are organised according to their social groupings and this helps them to act as a source of social support to one another in times of hardship. The

findings indicated 26 per cent (n=12) of households were isolated from others but that did not exclude them from the social services. Chambers (1983) highlights in his deprivation trap that isolated families can be deprived of certain services and they are unable to be involved in the decision making process and this further perpetuates their poverty situation. The involvement of women in decision-making processes also suggests that gender equality issues were taken into account in some way. This is a commendable community attribute and it is suggestive of the fact that, as food producers, women have taken the leading role on issues related to food security. It is in this context that some of the feedback drew attention to the fact that the attainment of land alone was not equitable to food security. Furthermore, the redistribution of land should not be seen as a private issue whereby land is allocated to individuals. Land should be seen as a community or public issue whose distribution is intended to ensure that everyone benefits and takes part in the running of agricultural projects that will benefit the community.

4.4.3 Asset Creation

Within a village environment, the ownership of a means of transport represents an important asset. In assessing the possibility of asset creation, participants were specifically asked to comment on transport provision. Notably, there was an increase in the ownership of bicycles by the households. Study results show that 45 per cent (n= 20) of the community use bicycles for their transport needs. The use of bicycles seemed to have been necessitated by the distance community members had to travel to get services and the distance between schools and the farm. The results show that there was no change in the ownership of farming equipment such as tractors, ploughs and seedlings. There was an increase in the ownership of livestock

because there was now enough space for them to graze. 32 Per cent (n=15) of the community participants own livestock. The ownership of livestock fluctuated because it was reported that “now and then” the households have to sell their livestock to cater for other basic needs such as food and school fees. They were also able to sustain their basic needs through selling milk from the cows to supplement their income. Based on the results it is evident that there was no surplus of income in the households as they could not even buy the necessary equipment that were needed to help them increase their income through agricultural produce, only 2.2 per cent (n=1) use tractors and 2.2 per cent (n=1) use ploughs. With such a small percentage of ownership of the necessary equipment to work the land, it means that there was little produce and that had a bearing on their income and food security. The acquisition is rejected as a sign of wealth but it should be regarded as a necessity that the households cannot survive without. The ownership of a bicycle was regarded as a means of transport to get them to schools and health centres. It is likely that the pricing of the bicycle suits the income of the rural poor and therefore use bicycles as a means of transport.

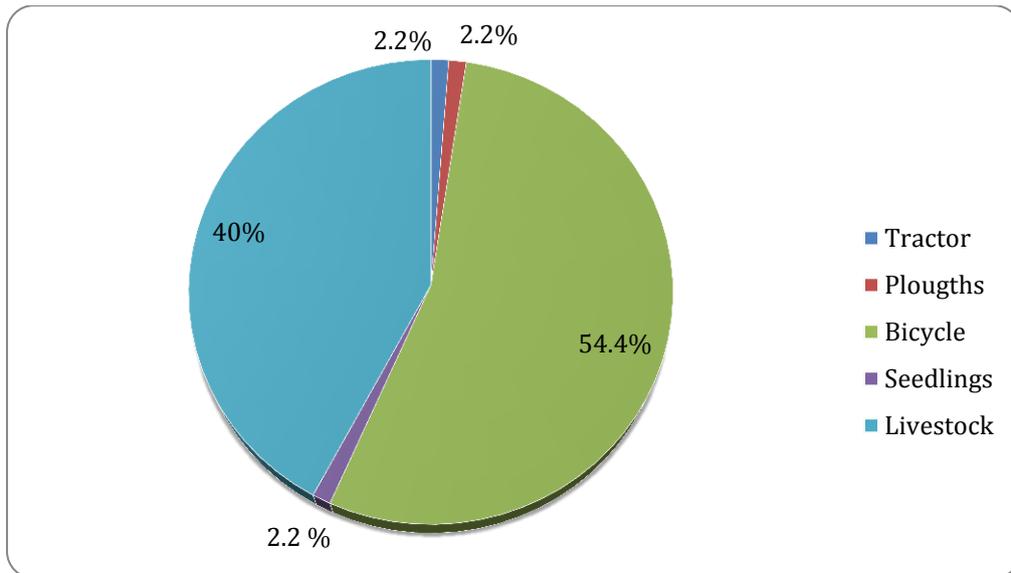


Figure 4.3: Ownership of Equipment

4.4.4 Land related issues

There were many problems facing Rasplaas Farm inhabitants. The survey revealed that the problems that they face included lack of access to amenities and services such as health, school, and electricity and clean running water as well as infrastructures in general and specifically land issues. In terms of land issues after moving to Rasplaas Farm, the overwhelming majority of respondents 25 per cent (n=11) revealed that land access is still a serious dilemma; this is clear from figure 4.4 below which demonstrates different problems associated with land reform. It can also be seen from the graph that 18 per cent (n=4) of respondents revealed that gender discrimination between men and women was also an issue; 18 per cent (n=4) of respondents demonstrated that they did not have any relevant skills and tools to use their land and hence they still remain poor; 20 per cent (n=9) demonstrate that they do not have credit to start investing in their land and this constitutes a serious challenge. Few of the sample, 7 per cent (n=3) do not have access to the information pertaining to land issues in South Africa and very few of them 7 per cent (n=3) still

experienced a problem with discrimination. All of this could be the result of a lack of a proper implementation programme by the government's land reform policy in South Africa.

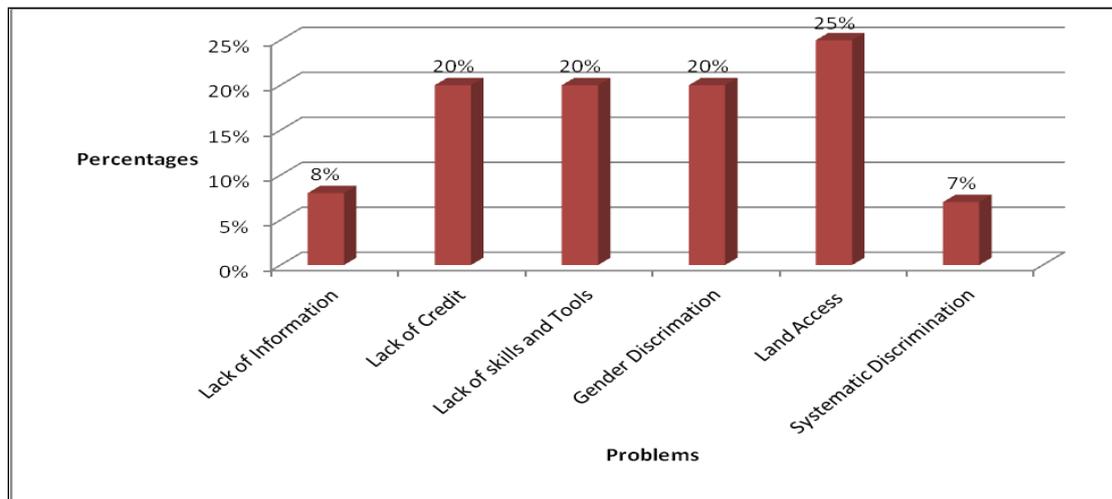


Figure 4.4: Challenges in Land Reform

4.4.5 Access to services

With regard to services access, respondents revealed different opinions. More than half of them utilise a nearby state clinic because it appears to be cheaper and more easily accessible than a private hospital even though it does not provide all the necessary services, 18.8 per cent (n=15) of them use a hospital plan and 10 per cent of them use comprehensive medical care or limited medical care and none of them has a medical doctor. This also shows that the poor level of income of this population does not allow them to afford private medical doctors.

4.4.6 Household Resilience

All the households in the survey experienced an increase in the field size as compared to the pieces of land they owned at their previous residence. Despite the increase in the size of the land they were now owning, all the households indicated

that they did not gain a lot from the new farm as they thought that acquiring land was going to improve their living standards through farming and agricultural production. They use the land minimally for ploughing and it does not bring them enough capital and that is why they had to rely on other income generating activities to sustain them. When they were given the land, they were expected to divide their pieces of land into two and to use it for residential and farming. In some of the interviews the households indicated that they were happier because they have land to build their own homes, which is something that they were grateful for. This shows that it is not always good to assume that you know what people need.

The households interviewed clearly indicated that they needed land primarily for residential purposes because they were no longer able to afford rent in the township. The other issue that they raised was that the lack of support from the government department and their lack of agricultural skills have made the situation worse. This kind of issues makes land reform to lose its focus of eradicating poverty by assisting people to be able to afford life through agricultural production. 68 Per cent (n=31) of the households interviewed for the survey indicated that they had to sell some of their furniture to afford food, clothing and school fees. Furthermore, the interviewed households indicated that even though some of their expectations were not met, they were happy that they no longer had to pay for rent. They have their land and houses, are happy on the farm and have support of their families. The main issue is the prevalence of HIV/AIDS in some families and this they indicated is consumes most of their money because they have to pay for transport if the infected person becomes ill unexpectedly and they also spend lots of money on special nutritional requirements for the sick.

4.5 GENERAL OPINIONS

There were some general opinions expressed by the interviewed households. Amongst the issues raised, were concerns over the lack of schools, health facilities, lack of support from the government departments and the absence of services and transport in the farm. The following were the opinions of the household interviews based on their experiences before and after the acquisition of the farm.

4.5.1 Problems and dynamics of the Barolong-Balemirui Project

The discussion is based on the information that was collected during fieldwork, interviews with the beneficiaries, consultation with the beneficiaries and through relevant information from the projects files. The discussion will highlight the problems that were encountered by the association before and after the acquisition of Rasplaas Farm.

4.5.2 Problems encountered before the acquisition of land

As already stated in the previous chapters, four hundred and fifty men and women formed the Balemirui Communal Property Association, but from the information gathered, the number of beneficiaries is now only one hundred and sixty five. This is the number of people who have signed the affidavits, some passed away while others decided to withdraw because of the delays.

The following are the problems that were encountered by the beneficiaries before the Department of Land Affairs could buy them land.

4.5.3 Development of new policies

The Department of Land Affairs delayed to attend to the plight of the Barolong-Balemirui Communal Association because the government was waiting for new

policies that were being developed, for example the Extension of Security of Tenure Act (ESTA) (1997) and the Labour Tenants Act of 1995 to address the needs of poor people and their acquisition for land. As it is known, the policies were being developed because South Africa was moving from an apartheid regime to a new democratic country.

After the introduction of the new land policies, Barolong-Balemirui Communal Association's application was considered under the Redistribution Programme. The delay in the development of new policies had a detrimental impact on members of the Association because some decided to quit while other passed away.

4.5.4 Procedures and processes followed

One of the criteria used in the processes and procedures for the implementation of the redistribution programme for the subsidy is to determine the income levels of the beneficiaries. A person who qualifies for the subsidy must earn less than R1,500.00 per month. This criteria favoured the Barolong-Balemirui Project because the group consisted mostly of people who were totally not working or working part-time. Furthermore, the Department of Land Affairs offered a R20,000.00 grants to disadvantaged or poor people. The Department of Housing also offered a R20,000.00 grant but one was only allowed to benefit once, either from the Department of Land Affairs or Department of Housing. The R20,000.00 offers is of importance to the Association because they will use it to buy machinery like tractors. They are delighted to know that this subsidy will be given to each individual member because in the first place they thought it was going to be given to the whole Association and not individually.

The Department of Land Affairs evaluated the land that the Association intended to buy in order to evaluate whether the farm was suitable for farming, determine the agricultural capacity in terms of the fertility of the land and its market value. Further, there were consultants appointed to draw up a business plan for the project. It should be noted that this evaluation and planning was done for the farm as a single unit and enterprise, not tailored to the economic projects of resettled households. The Rasplaas Farm was bought in 1997 for an amount of R1.77 million. The above discussion proves that the Association has been through many problems during and after the acquisition of the farm. Therefore, since the Barolong-Balemirui Project was one of the first projects designed by the Department of Land Affairs in North-West Province, one can argue that this can be a lesson for the Department to improve on other upcoming projects.

4.5.5 Lack of commitment from the government officials

The implementers of the land redistribution programme are faced with a problem of converting policies into practice. Some of these policies were difficult to implement and their lack of commitment made things worse, for example, the implementers from the DLA of the Barolong-Balemirui Association do not show interest in the serious matters of the Association. In the interviews, it was clearly stated that the implementers did not give the Association feedback on what they discussed in the past and do not give a report on issues that they considered delicate.

The problem was made worse by the fact that there were always new faces in the Association and then they had to start from scratch. Furthermore, the government implementers will take their time to make follow up visits. This created a negative

impression on the Association because they thought the implementers were not honest and upfront with them and this made them despondent towards the whole project. This problem led to a division amongst the members because some people felt that the existing committee was bribed to allow this unsatisfactory manner of communication.

The problems of the Association were made worse by the lack of support that the Association received from government departments other than the DLA. The Department of Agriculture for example did not show an interest in offering an extension of services and the Department of Housing did not show any budgetary commitments.

The unemployed women who were involved in the project felt marginalised. They were more interested in working on the farm and therefore the problems encountered affected them more than the men because most they had families to look after (being either widowed or unmarried). At the time of the interviews the farm was not being used productively. Since the acquisition of the farm, no agricultural production has taken place on the farm therefore, no profit has been made and this led to members losing interest. The other major problem is that the farm was to be used for both agricultural and settlement purposes and these activities are not taking place because there has been no physical planning and the Department of Housing has not yet allocated a budget for the building of houses on the farm.

4.5.6 Lack of commercial farming skills

Another problem faced by the households interviewed is lack of commercial farming skills and knowledge because the previous farmer was involved in commercial

farming. The members of the Association lack skills such as farm management, extension services, financial management and subsistence farming therefore, these people needed extensive training to work the farm. Some of the members had carpentry, sewing, building, knitting, gardening, welding and mechanical skills.

4.5.7 Lack of farming equipment, services and planning

The other major problem that the Association experienced was lack of equipment that could be used on the farm. The Association did not have transport to ferry people to and from the farm. There were no houses on the farm. Apart from equipment, there was no clinic, school or post-office.

Through frequent visits to the households, it was clear that some of the members have lost interest and the meetings were poorly attended in comparison to the past meetings. Firstly, this might be perpetuated by the high expectations that the members have. Another reason might be that land was acquired and not properly used; therefore there has been no profit. The beneficiaries felt that their lives have not changed; it is still the same as before the acquisition of the farm. Furthermore, no proper planning was done for the building of houses on the farm.

4.5.8 Summary

As already stated in the previous chapters, the purpose of this study is to look at the impact of land redistribution programme on development. The Barolong-Balemirui Communal Property Association was used as a case study. The above are findings that the researcher managed to obtain through fieldwork. The methods that were used as mentioned in the methodology section helped the researcher to understand the land-redistribution programme in the development of the Barolong-Balemirui

Communal Property Association.

The problem statement was to determine the impact of land redistribution on the lives of the people of Rasplaas. From what the researcher studied in the fieldwork, the project experienced serious problems right after the redistribution process had taken place. This implies that even though they acquired land, it was not important to them because their expectations of using it to make a living were not met. Furthermore, the lack of activities and progress on the farm left the beneficiaries in the same position as before. They are still as poor as when they lived in Huhudi Township. This finding gives a general answer to the objective of the study concerning the problems that the beneficiaries experience after the acquisition of land.

It is clear from the findings that there was a lack of participation by the affected people. The people who were involved, that is the beneficiaries, did not have a say in what they want to do and whatever they try to say was not taken into consideration. The implementers did not allow the beneficiaries to state what they needed and to articulate their problems. Lack of participation at grassroots level is a very serious problem particularly if development is to take place. This is further backed by an argument that people must bring development to themselves, meaning they should participate in whatever decision is taken on development. Therefore, participation at grassroots level, particularly in rural areas, should be emphasised because the people in the rural areas know their needs and problems better than an outsider.

From the findings of this study, the gender issue was given significant attention. There is equality between men and women. There was an equal number of men and

women who were serving on the executive committee of this Association. From the background of this Association, it shows that out of four hundred and fifty members, there was a total number of two hundred and thirty women. This statistics confirm the high status and crucial role that women play in the decision making process of the Association.

Through the interviews that were conducted with the beneficiaries, it is evident that the women who were part of the project felt happy about the f gender equality in the acquiring of land. On the other hand, men who were interviewed feel the same way as men and they mentioned that they did not know that a female person can acquire land.

4.6 CONCLUSION

Chapter 4 gave an insight on the experience of the beneficiaries of the Rasplaas in the redistribution process and also the factors affecting land redistribution. This chapter brought out the link between productive land and development and also the context under which the project came into being. The areas that require redress by the relevant stakeholders have also been revealed. Chapter 4 further revealed the need to involve the beneficiaries in the resettlement process. Chapter 5 will focus on the synthesised conclusion and recommendations for future action.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION, SYNTHESIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The objective of this chapter is to present a synthesised conclusion of the dissertations and recommendations for future action. The main aim of the chapter is to relate the findings of the case study on land reform and development at the Rasplaas Farm to the literature review examined in the dissertation.

5.2 THE FAILURE TO ADDRESS HISTORICAL INJUSTICE

With regard to the similarities between South Africa, Brazil and Zimbabwe, it is evident that all these countries experienced the colonial invasion characterised by atrocious oppression, the appropriation of land, preying on natural resources and marginalisation of native communities as well as slavery of the black population by the whites who invaded those countries. Consequently, these threats led to the dislocation of local communities who eventually lost their land. Another vital resemblance between these nations is the fact that the land reform strategies appear to be contested between subjugated blacks and white elites. The difference between these three countries is that Brazil was colonised by the Portuguese coming from Portugal and South Africa and Zimbabwe by British emanating from the United Kingdom. This implies that the current issue of land reform in developing countries in general and South Africa in particular cannot be understood outside of the historical contexts that inform these current dilemmas in policy making and implementation and consequently leading to the deprivation of land access and the creation of poverty amongst black communities.

Fanon (1963) found that colonisation created a world alienated into partitions and

Locke (1947) emphasised that because of colonisation, native lands were taken and native people were displaced to different places. The process of displacement during the formal juridical-administrative colonialism and apartheid aided the foundation for a post-apartheid structural order of coloniality that functions as a Manichean structure thereby making it transcend relations of inequality between those who exist on the dominant side of the colonial power difference with plenty of land and those who are languishing on the dominated side of the power difference. Thus even though impoverished communities are resettled in spaces such as the Rasplaas Farm, they essentially remain impoverished both in absolute terms and in comparison to the rich farmers; hence this empowerment program does not lead to the eradication of poverty. There is, however, a soothing of the colonial wound that makes the perpetuation of coloniality under the stewardship of both white agency and the black subjects who constitute the government of post-apartheid South Africa less painful. Thus, for instance, the later like the former have alienated the impoverished communities in such a way that it makes it difficult to equate the de-racialisation of institutions to their decolonisation.

5.3 THE DEVELOPMENT IMPACT OF LAND REFORM ON THE LIVES OF PEOPLE IN THE PROJECT

It has been pointed out that, in terms of the age and gender profiles of Rasplaas Farm residents, more females were involved in farming activities than males. This could be because more women appear to be responsible and are the breadwinners within their households and contribute immensely to food security and household stability. This is also evident from various scholars that emphasise the role of women in the modern age, where women are taking on more responsibilities than in past

generations. This is specifically true in the agricultural sector where loans and education are provided in order to empower women (Borode 2011).

With regard to land reform and development processes, scholars (Barraclough 1999; Ziegler 2002; Rosset et al 2006; Dengu & Lyne 2007) emphasised that land reform and redistribution can be conducive to sustainable development. However, in the matter of the case study of Rasplaas Farm after conducting research it was revealed that despite the fact that residents are in possession of land, they continue to experience serious problems directly and indirectly affecting their livelihood. This is evident through their source of income which revealed that half of all farm residents (50 per cent) gain their income by selling different products (hair salon products, food and many other items), a quarter from social grants and a few rely on remittance from relatives and a small percentage of (10 per cent) rely on their pension. Another factor that corroborates this underdevelopment of Rasplaas Farm, is that residents for prior to moving to the Rasplaas Farm, sourced their main income activities from informal/casual jobs (selling *amageu*, domestic workers, working within restaurants, gardening, working in local farms as well as selling livestock) in which the vast majority (97 per cent) of respondents were engaged and only a negligible percentage of them (3 per cent) were without such jobs before they moved to Rasplaas Farm.

With regard to the land related issues facing the Rasplaas Farm residents after moving to their new location, they experienced the following issues: lack of proper information concerning their land, lack of credit to start their own agricultural related activities and lack of both skill and necessary tools that can help enhance their

agricultural yield. Land access also become a serious problem with Rasplaas residents where at this stage as indicated by the survey only (25 per cent) have access to the land. This is also evident through previous research conducted by Bradstock (2005) and Kariuki (2004) who highlighted that the majority of those who received land through the land reform policy have limited experience of managing natural resources as they do not possess the skills, knowledge and necessary tools; thus they need support in developing skills and knowledge to develop the land themselves. Other concerns comprise gender discrimination where less than a quarter of them (25 per cent) revealed that they have been discriminated against.

There are currently more than 500 000 subsistence farmers struggling to make a living through the land that was redistributed to them and there is an additional 11 million rural poor who have not benefitted from the land reform programme. This is only 7 per cent of land redistributed as opposed to the 30 per cent that was promised and the figures has been like this since 1996. This implies that there has not been mass transferring of land for agricultural production and this has forced many people to migrate to the cities to look for jobs and the beneficiaries of Barolong-Balemirui project are no exception. They had to share much of their meagre income with their families left in the rural areas in order to sustain those living on the brink of starvation. Of the land that has been redistributed to black farmers, 90 per cent of these farms are no longer productive. The people cannot make a living out of the redistributed land. The other problem is that since agriculture is a capital intensive process requiring seed, fertilizers, tools as well as technical assistance, the land reform support has not been forthcoming for the beneficiaries to start using the land productively.

In the case of Barolong-Balemirui project the above mentioned challenges, together with the technical know-how of using the land productively, contributed to the project being put under the Recapitalization and Development Programme. Their redistributed farm was categorised as falling under what the government regarded as Distressed Farms. The Recapitalization and Development Programme was introduced in 2006. It was introduced for various reasons. Firstly, the Recapitalization and Development Programme has two elements, namely, financial assistance with capitalization projects and the development of infrastructure and skills of emerging farmers. In the programme, financial support is provided in a five year cycle. It involves various intervention strategies that include strategic partnership and mentorship. The strategic partners and mentors include a panel of experts who are not accountable to the government. They assist the beneficiaries with business plans. They also assist in the identification of distressed projects. The other main aim of the programme is to engage with the beneficiaries and also identify and discuss the possible interventions needed by the beneficiaries. They also assisted with the development of entrepreneurial skills and medium to large-scale infrastructure necessary to establish successful business initiatives.

In the 2004/2005 budget, the Ministry of Agriculture and Land Affairs the introduced the Comprehensive Agricultural Support Programme with a budget of R750 million. The main aims of the programme is to provide support services to the beneficiaries of land through the land and agrarian reform with food security, increased production, creation of jobs and assisting emerging farmers in becoming commercial farmers. Since its inception, the programme has supported 3,270 projects and 218,000 beneficiaries. In the North-West Province, the main target of the programme

is to support 63 projects and 4328 beneficiaries with a budget of R53 million. Even though the study falls outside the introduction of these initiatives, the researcher believes that if the government should have provided such support when the land reform programme was introduced, this would have assisted the beneficiaries of the Barolong-Balemirui project and empowered them with all the required skills needed in farming and used their land productively.

Jacobs et al (2003) further alluded that the general failure of post-settlement support stems from a failure to conceptualise land reform beyond the land transfer stage and poor communication between the National Department of Land Affairs and the provinces; Department of Agriculture which is responsible for state service to famers. Prior to the introduction of the Comprehensive Agricultural Support Programme, there was no policy in place that stipulated the kind of support that the beneficiaries were going to receive from the government. There was lack of communication between the departments of Agriculture and Land Affairs and other departments such as Housing and Water Affairs and Forestry.

In terms of access to different services, the survey showed that Rasplaas Farm residents did not have many options as they did not have financial support to choose options that they might deserve. Consequently, the overwhelming (70 per cent) utilised the nearby state clinic; despite its poor quality in providing services. In addition, it was also found that none of these residents utilised private doctors. This could be because of the cost associated with a private consultation and limited access to medical insurance. The main cause of poor service delivery is not only noticeable at the Rasplaas Farm but it has become a serious problem facing the

whole country. This could be because of lack of implementation of policies in place, nepotism amongst official authorities and lack of skills labour to implement said policies.

With regard to environmental challenges facing Rasplaas Farm residents, the survey revealed that the environmental problems encompass the nonexistence of clean water, lack of infrastructures, lack of electricity and hygienic toilets as well as other means to protect themselves against infectious diseases.

5.4 THE COSTS AND BENEFITS OF THE GOVERNMENT'S MARKET-LED APPROACHES TO LAND REFORM

From what has been discussed above with regard to land reform and particularly to Rasplaas Farm residents, several scholars elsewhere have shown that proper land reform contribute tremendously to local economy development and specifically to the sustainability issues as well as to the eradication of extreme rural poverty and issues of service delivery. These sustainability issues include environmental, social and economic sustainability issues. However, after a decade in South Africa in general and the study of Rasplaas Farm in particular , it is not yet the case as the government persists to implement policies and failed to provide both training and the necessary tools that can help rural communities improve their yield. Thus, there is an urgent need for the government to be fully involved and revisit the gap that exist between policy making on land restitution, tenure and redistribution the practice on the ground as at this stage local community continue to be the victim of the same policy and hence, these policies do not solve the interest of local and poor communities. In addition, these policies of land restitution, tenure and redistribution have failed to handle the key issue of land ownership that should be prioritised as

this will create avenues for the poor to become independent and self-employed and ultimately sustain their livelihood. Devolving control of land ownership to the local community and household level should be the primary focus of the government rather than investing in providing skill and tools to particular minorities that will not contribute efficiently to resolve land predicament and its associated impacts. Land ownership is crucial as it provides local community sovereignty and free choice to utilise their land that establishes their identity, value and culture.

The willing-buyer/willing-seller approach has been criticised by many because it does not allow the government to purchase land freely because the owners sell when they want to. The government needs to look at other means of acquiring land. The government can acquire land through negotiated purchase or where necessary through expropriation. The government can negotiate for a just and equitable compensation for land in line with the Constitution rather than market prices (Lahiff 2008).

5.5 RECOMMENDATIONS

- Due to the failure of the current willing-buyer/willing seller strategy, the researcher recommends an enhanced willing-buyer/willing seller strategy that involves the beneficiaries earlier in the negotiations and planning of the land transfer. The enhanced willing-buyer/ willing-seller approach will incorporate a few issues that go beyond the government just buying and disposing off land.
- Issues such as post-redistribution support and skills audit for the beneficiaries also be looked into.
- The beneficiaries should also be involved in setting up institutional

arrangements to hold and manage the land and related activities.

- Due to the challenges experienced by the beneficiaries after the redistribution of land, the government should involve all the other stakeholders such as agriculture, water affairs, municipalities, extension services and even institutions of higher learning to provide support and advice to the beneficiaries.

5.6 CONCLUSION

The study attempted to interrogate the impact of the land redistribution on the lives of the beneficiaries, their experiences and challenges in acquiring land. It was particularly important for the researcher to listen to the voice of the rural poor and to bring out their views so that the implementation of the land reform programme could be informed of issues and challenges that the rural poor experience. With land reform and land redistribution in particular, the study has brought the rural perspective, as emphasised by the beneficiaries, to the development discourse on how important it is to have skills empowerment for the beneficiaries and clear communication between all the departments involved in agriculture and land reform, for example Department of Agriculture and Land Reform, Extension Services, Local Municipalities and so on. However such cooperation is shown, by this dissertation, to be unlikely while the government continues with market-led land reform. Even though current land reform has given some benefits to resettled people, historical injustices endures in communities such as those involved in the Balemirui project.

REFERENCES

- African National Congress. 1992. *Ready to Govern: ANC Policy Guidelines for a Democratic South Africa*, Johannesburg (adopted at the National Conference 28-31 May).Umanyano Publications.
- African National Congress.1994. Reconstruction and Development Programme. Johannesburg.
- Alexander, J. 2003. "Squatters", Veterans and the State in Zimbabwe, in *Zimbabwe's Unfinished Business: Rethinking land, state and nation in the context of crisis* edited by A. Hammar, B. Raftopoulos & S. Jensen. Harare: Weaver Press.
- Aliber, M & Cousins, B. 2013. Livelihoods after land Reform in South Africa. *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 13(1): 140-156.
- ANC, see African National Congress.
- Antwi, M A & Oladele, O I. 2013. Impact of the Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development (LRAD) Projects on Livelihoods of Beneficiaries in Ngaka Modiri Molema District. *Journal of Human Ecology*, 42(3), 273-281.
- Arksey, H. & O'Malley, L. 2005. Scoping studies: towards a methodological framework. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 8(1):19-32.
- Arneil, B. 1996. *John Locke and America: The defence of English colonialism*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Barraclough, L.1999. *Land reform in developing countries: The role of state and other actors*. Discussion paper no. 101. United Nations Research Institute for Social Development. Geneva.
- Bernstein, H. 2000. *Social Change in the South African Countryside? Land and Production, Poverty and Power. Occasional Paper*. PLAAS, University of the

Western Cape.

- Binswanger, H. 1994. *Agriculture and Rural Development: Painful Lessons*. Address to: Agricultural Economics Association of South Africa, Pretoria.
- Bond, P. 2000. *The Elite Transition: From Apartheid to Neoliberalism in South Africa*. London: Pluto Press.
- Borode, M. 2011. Higher Education and Poverty Reduction among youth in the Sub-Saharan Africa. *European Journal of Educational Studies* 3(1).
- Borras, M S. 2002. State-Society Relations in Land Reform Implementation in the Philippines. *Development and Change* 32(3):545-575.
- Borras, M S. 2008. La Viá Campesina and its Global Campaign for Agrarian Reform. *Journal of Agrarian Change* 8(3):258-289.
- Boswell, C & Cannon, S. 2010. *Introduction to Nursing Research: Incorporating Evidence Based Practice*. Burlington, MA: Jones & Bartlett Learning.
- Bradstock, A. 2005. *Key Experiences of Land Reform in the Northern Cape Province of South Africa*. London: FARM-Africa.
- Buckle, S. 1991. *Natural law and theory of property, Grotius to Hume*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Burns, N & Grove, S K. 2005. *Study Guide for the Practice of Nursing Research: Conduct, Critique, and Utilization*. 5th edition. St. Louis, MO: Saunders/Elsevier.
- Burns, N & Grove, S K. 2007. *Understanding Nursing Research: Building an Evidence Based Practice*. 4th edition. St. Louis, MO: Saunders/Elsevier.
- Burns, N & Grove, S K. 2009. *The Practice of Nursing Research: Appraisal, Synthesis and Generation of Evidence*. 6th edition. St. Louis, MO: Saunders/Elsevier.

- Camargo, L. 2003. 'O Banco da Terra em Santa Catarina: da crítica a` s possibilidades'. Master's thesis, Centro de Ciências Agrárias/Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina.
- Chambers, R. 1983. *Rural Development: Uprooting Poverty*. London: Longman.
- Cheru, P. 2009. *Development in Africa: The Empirical Project Versus the National Project and the Need for Policy Space*. *Review of African Political Economy* 120: 275-278.
- Chiagara, B. 2004. *Land reform policy; the challenge of human rights law*. Farham: Ashgate Publishing Company.
- Cliffe, L. 2000. Land reform in South Africa. *Review of African Political Economy*. 21(84):273-286.
- Comaroff, J & Comaroff, J L. 1991. *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, colonialism, and consciousness in South Africa*. London: University of Chicago Press.
- Corbin, J & Strauss, A L. 1990. *Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded theory procedures and techniques*. London: Sage.
- Corbin, J & Strauss, A L. 2014. *Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded theory procedures and techniques*. London: Sage.
- Cousins, B. 2011. *Formalisation of Land Rights in the South: An Overview Land use Policy*. St. Louis, MO: Elsevier.
- Cousins, B. 2013. *Women's land rights and social change in rural South Africa: The case of Msinga, Kwa Zulu-Natal*. ActaJundica: Marriage, land and custom. Juta Law.
- Creswell, J W. 2009. *Research Design: qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. Third edition. Lincoln: Sage Publications.
- De Beer, J. 2005. *Mentoring Skills: Course material*, CE@UP, University of Pretoria.

- De Janvry, A. 1981. *The Agrarian Question and Reformism in Latin America*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Degeorges, A & Reilly, B. 2007. Politicization of Land Reform in Zimbabwe: Impacts on Wildlife, Food Production, and the Economy. *International Journal of Environmental Studies* 64(5):571-586.
- Deininger, K & Binswanger, H. 1999. The evolution of the World Bank's land policy: Principles, experience and future challenges. *The World Bank Research Observer* 14(2):247-276.
- Deininger, K & May J. 2000, Can there be growth with equity? An initial assessment of land reform in South Africa. *Policy Research Working paper 2451*. World Bank, Washington DC.
- Dengu T & Lyne, M C. 2007. Secure land rental contracts and agricultural investment in two communal areas of KwaZulu-Natal. *Agrekon* 46(3):398-409.
- Department of Land Affairs. 1994. *White Paper on South African Land Policy*. Pretoria, Government Printers.
- Department of Land Affairs. 1997. *White Paper on South African Land Policy*. Pretoria, Government Printers.
- Department of Land Affairs. 1998. *White Paper on South African Land Policy*. Pretoria, Government Printers.
- Department of Land Affairs. 1999. *White Paper on South African Land Policy*. Pretoria, Government Printers.
- DLA, see Department of Land Affairs.
- Elich, G. 2002. *Zimbabwe Under Siege*. www.swan.com/library/art8/elich004.html.
- Elphick, R & Malherbe, V C. 1989. The Khoisan to 1828, in *The shaping of South African society 1652-1840* edited by R. Elphick and S. Giliomee. New

Haven: Yale University Press.

- Emmanuel, L. 2009. 'Quatre siècles et demi de New Law and Economics: du pragmatisme juridique dans le régime consulaire de contrôle social des marchés', *Revue Française de Socio-Economie*3:97-120.
- Escobar, A. 1992. *Imagining a Post-development Era? Critical Thought, Development and Social Movements Social Context*. Durham, NC: Duke University.
- Escobar, A. 2007. *Worlds and Knowledge's Otherwise: Modernity Colonial Research*. Cultural Studies: Routledge.
- Fanon, F. 1963. *The wretched of the earth*. Originally published as "Les damne's de la terre". Paris: F. Maspero, 1961. New York: Grove Press.
- Goebel, A. 2005. Is Zimbabwe the Future of South Africa? The Implications for Land Reform in Southern Africa. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*3(23).
- Government of Brazil. 2005. Ministry of Agrarian Development. 2005.*Programma Nacional de Credito fundiario*.Operations Manual. Brasilia: Government Printers.
- Hall, R. 1998. Design for equality: Linking policy with objectives in South Africa's land reform. *Review of African Political Economy* 25(7).
- Hall, R. 2009. Land Reform for What? Land Use, Production and Livelihoods, in *Another Countryside. Policy Options for Land and Agrarian Reform in South Africa*, edited by R. Hall. Cape Town: Institute for Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies, School of Government, University of the Western Cape: 23–61.
- Hamilton, C. 1998. *Terrific Majesty: The Powers of Shaka Zulu and the limits of Historical Invention*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Hanlon, J, Manjengwa, J & Smart, T. 2013. *Zimbabwe takes back its land*. Sterling,

VI: Kumarian Press.

Haraway, D. 1988. Situated knowledges: The science question in feminism as a site of discourse on the privilege of partial perspective. *Feminist Studies* 14(3):575–599.

Harris, C. 2002. *Making native space: Colonialism, resistance, and reserves in British Columbia*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

Hobsbawn, E J & Ranger, T. 1983. *The Invention Of Tradition*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Holloway, I & Wheeler, S 1996. *Qualitative Research for Nurses*. Oxford: Blackwell Science.

Hulme, P & Jordanova, L. 1990. *The Enlightenment and its shadows*. New York: Routledge.

Jacobs, P, Lahiff, E & Hall R. 2003. *Evaluating Land and Agrarian Reform: Land Redistribution*. Occasional Paper Series No. 1. Cape Town: Institute of Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies, University of the Western Cape.

Kariuki, S M. 2004. *Failing to Learn From Failed Programmes? South Africa's Communal Land Rights Act*. Leiden: African Studies Centre.

Kaya, H, Anand, V & Matechera, S. 1998. Business plan for the resettlement of a squatter community from Huhudi Township (Vryburg) to Rasplaas Farm, North-West Province. Unpublished.

Krippendorff, K. 1980. *Qualitative content analysis: An introduction to its method*. London: Sage Publishers Ltd.

Lahiff, E. 2008. Land Reform in South Africa: A Status Report 2008. Cape Town: Institute of Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies, University of the Western Cape.

Lappe, F M, Collins, J, Rosset, P & Esparza, L. 1998. *World Hunger: Twelve Myths*.

2nd edition. New York: Grove Press.

Lee, MC & Colvard, C. (eds.) 2003. *Unfinished Business: The Land Crisis in Southern Africa*. Pretoria: Africa institute of South Africa.

Levin, R & Weiner, D. 1993. The Agrarian Question and Politics in the New South Africa. *Review of African Political Economy* 20(57): 29-45.

Lipton, M. 2009. *Land Reform in Developing Countries: Property rights and property wrongs*. London: Routledge.

Locke, J. 1947. An essay concerning the true original extent and end of civil government, in *Social Contract: Essays by Locke, Hume, and Rousseau* Edited by Sir E. Barker. London: Oxford University Press:1–206.

Maharaj, B. 2008. Land Reform Policy in Post-Apartheid South Africa: The Elusive Quest for Social Justice? In *Geographies and Moralities: International Perspectives on Development, Justice and Place* edited by R. Lee & DM Smith. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

Marais, H. 2011. *South Africa Pushed to the Limit: The Political Economy of Change*. Cape Town: UCT Press.

Marcus, T, Eales, K & Wildschut, A.1996. *Down to earth: Land demand in the new South Africa*. Durban: Indicator Press.

Mbeki, G.1984. *South Africa: The Peasants Revolt*. London: International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa (first published 1964).

Medeiros, L S. 2007. Social movements and the experience of market-led agrarian reform in Brazil. *Third World Quarterly* 28(8): 1501-1518.

Mhongo, C & Budlender, D. 2009. Declining Rates of Marriage in South Africa: What Do the Numbers and Analysts Say? *Acta Juridica*.

Miles, MB. & Huberman, AM. 1994. *Qualitative Data Analysis*. California: Sage.

- Mouton, J. & Marais, H. 1991. *Basic concepts in the methodology of the Social Sciences*. Human Science Research Council, Pretoria.
- Moyana, H V. 2003. *The Political Economy of Land in Zimbabwe*. Gweru: Mambo Press.
- Moyo, S. 2001. The Political Economy of Land Acquisition and Redistribution in Zimbabwe, 1990-1999. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 26-1.
- Neumann, P J. 2006. Emerging lessons from the Drug Effectiveness Review Project. *Health Affairs* 25(4):262-271.
- Neves, D, Samson, M, Van Niekerk, I, Hlatshwayo, S & Du Toit, A. 2009. *The Use and Effectiveness of Social Grants in South Africa*. Research Report. Johannesburg: FinMark Trust.
- Nkwinti, G. 2012. Speech by the Minister of Rural Development and Land Reform, 2012 Policy Speech.
- O’Laughlin, B, Bernstein, H, Cousins, B & Peters, P E. 2013. Introduction: Agrarian Change, Rural Poverty and Land Reform in South Africa since 1994. *Journal of Agrarian Change* 13(1): 1-15.
- Ortiz, F. 2011. *A process of “agrarian counter-reform” is taking place in Brazil, according to activist João Pedro Stédile, a leader of the Landless Rural Workers Movement (MST)*. April 27 2011.
<http://www.ipsnews.net/2011/04/brazil-at-risk-of-agrarian-counter-reform/>
 [Accessed 6 December].
- Parahoo, K. 2006. *Nursing Research: Principles, Process and Issues*. 2nd edition. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Paton, A. 1948. *Cry the Beloved Country*. London: Jonathan Cape.
- Polit, D F & Beck, C T. 2004. *Nursing Research: Principles and Methods*. 7th edition. Lippincott: Williams & Wilkins.

- Polit, D F & Beck, C T. 2008. *Nursing research: Generating and Assessing evidence for nursing practice*. 8th edition. Lippincott: Williams & Wilkins.
- Polit, D F & Hungler, B P. 1996. *Nursing Research: Methods*. Lippincott: Williams & Wilkins.
- Quijano, A. 2007. Coloniality and Modernity/Rationality. *Cultural Studies* 21(2):168-178.
- Reilly, B. 2000. Democratic Levers for Conflict Management, in *Democracy and Deep-Rooted Conflict: Options for Negotiators*, edited by P. Harris & B. Reilly. Stockholm: IDEA.
- Rosset, P, Patel, R & Courville, M. 2006. *Promised Land: Competing visions of agrarian reform*. Oakland California: Food First Books.
- Sachikonye, L M. 2003. From Growth with Equity to Fast Track Reform: Zimbabwe's Land Question. *Review of African Political Economy* 30(96):227-240.
- Sachs, J D. 1987. Trade and Exchange Rate Policies in Growth Oriented Adjustment Programs, in *Growth-Oriented Adjustment Programs*, edited by V. Corbo, M. Khan & G. Goldstein. Washington, DC: International Monetary Fund and the World Bank: 291-325.
- Sadomba, W Z. & Andrew, N. 2006. *Challenging the Limits of The States Market-Based Land Resettlement Programme in Zimbabwe: The War Veterans as Catalyst of the Land Movement*. Institute of Social Justice and Development.
- SAIRR 1993. Race relations Survey, 1992/1993. Johannesburg.
- Sauer, S. 2004. A terra por uma cedul;estudo sobre a reforma agraria` de Mercado. In *O Banco Mundial e a terra:offensiva e Resistencia na America latina, Asia e Africa*, . Monica Dias Martins,101-20.Sao Paulo,Brazil:Viramundo.
- Scoones, I, Marongwe, N, Mavedzenge, B, Mahenehene, J, Murimbarimba, F. & Chrispen, S. 2010. *Zimbabwe's Land Reform: Myths and Realities*. African

- Issues. Cape Town: Weaver Press.
- Seed, P. 1995. *Ceremonies of possession in Europe's conquest of the New World, 1492–1640*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sobhan, R. 1993. *Agrarian reform and social transformation: Preconditions for development*. London: Zed Books.
- Speziale, H J & Carpenter, D R. 2003. *Qualitative research in nursing advancing the humanistic imperative*. 3rd edition. Philadelphia. PA: Lippincott Williams & Wilkins.
- Spivak, G C. 1994. Can the subaltern speak? in *Colonial Discourse and Postcolonial Theory* edited by P. Williams & L. Chrisman, L. New York: Columbia.
- Statistics South Africa 2011. Census 2011. Pretoria.
- Taylor, D. 2006. *The Literature Review: A few tips on conducting it*. Toronto: University of Toronto Writing Support Centre.
- Tesch, R. 1990. *Qualitative Research. Analysis Types and Software Tool*. Bristol: Falmer Press.
- Thomas, N H. 2003. Land Reform in Zimbabwe. *The World Quarterly* 24(4):91-712.
- Todaro, M. 1997. *Economic development*. London: Longman.
- UNDP, 1992. *The concept and measurement of human development*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- UNDP, 1995. *Valuing women's work*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Van Niekerk, A. 2005. *Ethics in Agriculture: An African Perspective*. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Van Zyl, J & Binswanger, H. (eds) 1996. *Agricultural land reform in South Africa: Policies, Markets and mechanisms*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

- Vink, N. & Kirsten, J. 2002. Agriculture in the national economy, in *The Challenge of Change: Agriculture, land and South African economy* edited by L. Nieuwoudt & J. Groenwald. Scottville: University of Natal Press.
- Weideman, M. 2004. Who shaped South Africa's land policy. *Politikon*. 31(2):219-238.
- White Paper On Land Policy. 1997, see Department of Land Affairs.
- Wilson, F & Ramphele, M. 1989. *Uprooting Poverty*. New York: HungerProject.
- Wolford, W. 2005. Agrarian moral economies and neo liberalism in Brazil: Competing World-Views and the State in the Struggle for Land. *Environment and Planning, A*, 37: 241-261
- World Bank. 1975. *The assault on world poverty: Problems of rural development, education and health*. London: The John Hopkins University Press.
- World Bank. 2000. Project Appraisal Document to Brazil for land-Based Poverty Alleviation Project. *Report 19585-BR*. Washington D.C.: World Bank.
- Ziegler, J. 2002. *Report of the special rapporteur of the Commission on Human rights on the Right to Food*. A/57/150, 27 United Nations General Assembly, New York, August.

ANNEXURE 1: QUESTIONNAIRE

HOUSEHOLD PROFILE

This section to be completed for each household visited

Household name

Name of respondent

Gender of respondent [Male] [Female]

Position in Family

Number of people in family Males..... Females.....

Date of interview

Do you agree to be interviewed? [YES] [NO]

If no, provide reason/s

1. HOUSEHOLD BACKGROUND

1.1 Before being resettled to Rasplaas Farm, where were you staying?

1.2 Were you involved in any economic activity or activities?

2. ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

2.1 Prior to moving to the new farm, were you involved in off-farm activities?

YES

NO

Elaborate on your answer above

2.2 Are you currently involved in any income generating activity or activities?

YES

NO

2.3 Do women have time for income generating activities on the farm?

YES

NO

Elaborate on your answer above

2.4 Where does your family obtain its highest income in a year?

Farming

Other non-agricultural activities

If not farming, what activities are those?

2.5 To what extent did gaining access to land contributed towards raising your household incomes?

2.6 What is your other source/s of income?

2.7 Has there been a decline in your income since moving to Rasplaas Farm?

YES

NO

2.8 Based on your answer in 2.7, what were the reasons?

3. SOCIAL SUSTAINABILITY

3.1 Do you have access to amenities e.g. schools, clinics, sanitation, clean water, etc.?

3.2 How far are they from the farm?

Below 10km

10-20km

Over 20km

3.3 How do you deal with emergencies and making sure that children have access to education?

3.4 How do you access these services e.g. mode of transport?

3.5 If you pay for transport, what is the cost thereof?

3.6 Are you sometimes invited to local social gatherings/ meetings in the area where you are asked to make contributions?

YES

NO

Comments

4. ASSET CREATION

4.1 What quantity of the following assets did your family acquire since being re-settled?

Tractor	Ploughs	Bicycle	Seedlings	Livestock

5. HOUSEHOLD RESILIENCE

This section needs to be answered by household head or any other responsible family member.

5.1 Did the family obtain a larger field on the new farm than your previous place?

YES

NO

Comments

5.2 Did you realize an increase in income from the farm such that you were able to meet most of your basic needs all year round?

YES

NO

Comments

5.3 Since moving to the new farm, did your family sell some of your belongings to buy household necessities such as food and why?

YES

NO

5.4 Are there any factors contributing to you being able to sustain life in this farm?

5.5 Did female members of the family obtain their own portions on the new farm?

YES

NO

Comments

6. GENERAL QUESTIONS

This section seeks for the community's opinion on the new farm

6.1 What is your opinion about life on the farm as compared to where you were living before?

6.2 Since being resettled to Rasplaas Farm, have you received any kind of support from the government

6.3 Are there problems that prevent you as the community from exploiting the new resource to its full potential e.g. credit market failures?

Thank you for your time.