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SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPACT OF LAND RESTITUTION IN THE EHLANZENI DISTRICT, MPUMALANGA

By

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This paper is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for a Master's Degree in the Department of Public and development management

PREPARED UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF

Professor Pundy Pillay

March 2015

SIGNATURE……..

ABSTRACT

This research presents an assessment of the socio-economic impact of land restitution on people's livelihoods with specific reference to the Ehlanzeni District. South Africa`s constitution since the advent of democracy, accompanied by the adoption of its post-apartheid legislative framework, provides for restitution of the land as a way of correcting historical imbalances. More specifically, section 25(7) of the South African constitution provides the opportunity for people who were dispossessed of their land after the 19th June 1913 to have their land rights restored by means of restitution.

South Africa's land restitution process is predicated on restorative forms of historical redress, which is counter to retributive forms of historical redress. The lodging of land claims requires historical evidence of dispossession, and in most rural cases claims are lodged collectively by communities rather than individual citizens. This may be problematic due to social differentiation that may have been caused by years of societal breakdown. Land dispossession was one of the most important determinants of the social and economic configurations in South Africa; therefore land restitution constitutes a central aspect of correcting historical injustice and a clear understanding of the restitution processes is necessary in order to understand the impact of restitution programmes. This study adopted qualitative research methods since the issues to be researched are people's experiences, which are dynamic and complex phenomena. An assessment of the claims was done; semi-structured interviews were conducted with the purpose of assessing the implications of the restitution, including interviewing the farming community to understand their experiences after restitution had taken place and their perception of the impact of restitution projects on their livelihoods.

The interviews revealed a great deal of improvement in the ownership, greater access to infrastructure and to an extent, the ability of the beneficiaries to run farms. However, even when participants expressed their commitment and satisfaction, the socio-economic impact on their livelihoods are limited. The study recommends an in depth interrogation of the small-scale farming model and particular emphasis placed on monitoring of projects.

DECLARATION

I declare that this report is my own, unaided work. It is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Management (in the field of Public and Development Management) in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

The work contained in this thesis is original, except as acknowledged in the customary manner, and has not been submitted previously for any degree at any University. To the best of my knowledge and belief, this thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made.

_____

T.W. Nxesi
Wits Graduate School of Business
March 2015

DEDICATION

I dedicate this paper to my soul mate who is equally my intellectual interlocutor, my wife Nombulelo “Sesi” Nxesi; to my son, Lungelo; and to intellectual mates in Government.

This cerebral pursuit is a living testimony of my soul mate’s unparalleled support, which finds expression in the great conventional expression “Behind a powerful man there is a powerful woman!”

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

A number of people have been instrumental in the development of this piece of work. I would like to thank my supervisor Professor Pundy Pillay whom I describe as my principal intellectual interlocutor.

My gratitude goes to my wife whose unconditional support and patience during the course of this study are greatly appreciated.

I would like to thank the Minister of Rural Development and Land Reform, Gugile Nkwinti, MP, for encouraging me to undertake this short study as he saw it as a platform for enriching policy debate and improving implementation of the complex national project of land reform.

Appreciation is also extended to the Honourable Shirley Makhubele-Mashele and the Honourable Jomo Nyambi who are Members of Parliament; the Director-General Mduduzi Shabane; Chief Director Sam Nkosi; Deputy Director Madithapo Shamba; and a number of officials based in the Mpumalanga DRDLR who assisted me in gaining access to the farms through farm owners, their respective offices during the collection of data, and a number of students and interns in the DRDLR and those outside as data collectors.

Finally my thanks goes to all those who have contributed to the completion of the study.

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Philosophical Aphorism

“Land is the basis of all development”

Amartya Sen (1999)

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CHAPTER ONE

ORIENTATION OF THE STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

South Africa's first democratic elections took place in 1994 and paved the way to begin to redress the injustices of the past. Possibly the most emotive injustices of the past relate to the Native Land Act, which became law on 19th June 1913. This Act limited African land ownership to 7% of the total land area of South Africa and was later increased to 13% through the 1936 Native Trust and Land Act of South Africa. The Act restricted black people from buying or occupying land except as employees of a white employer. The impact of the Act on many Africans prompted Solomon Plaatje, a leading black South African intellectual, journalist, linguist and politician of that time to strongly condemn the Act. The outcome of the Act was that it seized the very asset which was central to the livelihoods and identity of African people and rendered them landless and destitute. Immediately after the passing of the Land Act, White farmers began issuing notices of eviction to Black people, thereby forcing them to look for land elsewhere or to occupy the reserves set aside for them. Section 1, sub-section (a) of the 1913 Natives Land Act states,

> … a native shall not enter into any agreement or transaction for the purchase, hire, or other acquisition from a person other than a native, of any such land or of any right thereto, interest therein, or servitude thereover.

However, Africans were permitted to buy and sell land in reserves or scheduled areas whereas Whites were prohibited from owning land in these places. Plaatje (1996) observes that the reserves or scheduled

areas are native locations which were reserved for the exclusive use of certain native clans.

Plaatje wrote, “The section of the law debarring Natives from hiring land is particularly harsh. It has been explained that its major portion is intended to reduce Natives to serfs” (1998, p.74). The same Act was also aimed at dispossessing the black population of their livestock.

The onset of democracy in 1994 signalled an urgent need to change such discriminatory acts and to begin to reverse the injustices of the past. The African National Congress (ANC) land policy documents of 1992 and 1993 argued for the development of a court-based restitution process which would compensate those who were forcibly removed. The 1992 policy paper detailed the criteria to deal with land reform. These included land use and productive potential, traditional and long-standing occupation of a piece of land, birth right as well as legal title deeds, dispossession under apartheid legislation, and the need for land.

The land reform programme comprises land restitution, land redistribution and land tenure. Land restitution seeks to restore land ownership or compensate those forced off land prior to 1994. Under the restitution laws, all those who were forcefully removed or evicted are eligible to reclaim their ancestral land. The White Paper on South African Land Policy (1997) contains the following goals of the restitution policy:

- To restore land;
- To provide other redistributing remedies to people dispossessed by racially discriminatory legislation, in such a way as to provide support to the vital processes of reconciliation, reconstruction and development;

- To promote “restitution as an integral part of the broader land reform programmes that is closely linked to the need for the redistribution of land and tenure reform;
- To see the programme’s purpose as being restitution of land in order to promote justice and reconciliation.

Many had been dispossessed as a result of colonialism. Andrew (2006) argues that Africans lost land rights well before the 1913 cut-off date, as discriminatory land practices were already in effect before they were systematised by the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936. Plaatje (1996) quotes Magistrate Hemming’s contention that one must not lose sight of the point that all land held by Europeans in Africa had been acquired by conquest or diplomacy and that the aboriginal Natives have been ousted by the white man. Andrew (2006) therefore argues that given this situation, land rights in a country partitioned by colonialism cannot be addressed only symbolically, that is through restitution. Restitution is metaphorically considered a symbol, a partial apology for apartheid. The restitution policy cannot treat the wounds of dispossession through palliative measures, much less provide healing.

Land has emotive overtones everywhere in Africa where there have been extensive colonial dispossessions of indigenous people’s land. Land is also a factor of production. It is the original source of all material wealth. The economic prosperity of a country is closely linked with the richness of its natural resources. The quality and quantity of agricultural wealth of a country depends on the nature of the soil, climate, and rainfall. Land is important as it influences the standard of living of the people. Land for agricultural purposes and other economic activities remains important for farmers around the world.

This research acknowledges that progress with land restitution projects has been slow across South Africa (see for example Weideman, 2004;

and Anseeuw and Mathebula, 2008). It attempts to explore the impact of land restitution projects on livelihoods in the Ehlanzeni district. Notwithstanding the complexities that come with land restitution such as the difficulty in determining eligible claimants as members of ethnic communities or chiefdoms, fraudulent claims, inability to access documentation and that some parts of the country could be overlapping with competing claims where pieces of land had been occupied in succession by different groups, there could be some positive elements of restitution within communities where their livelihoods, employment and income levels were affected in some way.

1.2 CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND

The diverse landscape, climate and soil varieties of the Highveld and Lowveld regions within the Mpumalanga province ensure a rich and varied agricultural landscape. The agricultural sector accounts for 4.3% of the gross geographical product (GGP) of the province and for nearly 12% of employment (Department of Public Works, Roads and Transport, 2010).

Mpumalanga is one of South Africa's most productive and important agricultural regions. The drier Highveld region supports crops such as cereals, legumes and nuts. There is extensive irrigation in the Loskop Dam area. Ermelo, in the centre of the province, is one of South Africa's main centres of sheep farming and wool-production. Standerton in the south-west is a dairy centre and Piet Retief in the south-east concentrates on sugar and tropical fruit. Subtropical fruit flourishes in the Lowveld with the town of Nelspruit being a major citrus producer. Mixed farming and potatoes, sweet potatoes and beans are mostly found in the southern and western parts of the province. Commercial forests occur along the province's borders with Swaziland in the south and the Kruger National Park in the northeast. Mpumalanga plays a key role in South Africa's

position as a major exporter of fruit (Department of Public Works, Roads and Transport, 2010).

1.3 SOCIO-ECONOMY OF MPUMALANGA PROVINCE AND EHLANZENI DISTRICT

1.3.1 Mpumalanga Province

The Mpumalanga province is situated mainly on the high plateau grasslands of the escarpment. The province is bordered by Mozambique and Swaziland to the east and by Gauteng to the west. In the north it borders on Limpopo, to the south-west the Free State and to the south KwaZulu-Natal. The capital is Nelspruit (recently renamed Mbombela). Mpumalanga Province is divided into three municipal districts which are further subdivided into 17 local municipalities. The district municipalities are Gert Sibande, Nkangala and Ehlanzeni. The province boasts scenic beauty and an abundance of wildlife, lying in the north-east of South Africa. With a total area of 76 495 square kilometres, Mpumalanga is slightly larger than the Czech Republic. It is the second-smallest province after Gauteng, covering 6.3 per cent of land area in South Africa. The province had a population of 3.5 million people by mid-2006, of which 30 per cent speak siSwati (from neighbouring Swaziland), 26 per cent speak isiZulu and 12 per cent speak isiNdebele (Mpumalanga Provincial Government, 2010). According to the 2011 census, the population has grown to 4 million.

Commercial farming and subsistence farming co-exist in Mpumalanga. Large entities are active in the cultivation of maize, sugar, timber, vegetables, fruit and tea and in the raising of poultry and cattle. Crop farming and rearing of livestock define the subsistence sector although there is a growing trend for bigger concerns (sugar, tea and tobacco) to contract out-growers. In this way, emerging farmers are drawn into the

formal economy. While downstream production facilities exist to add value to many products, much more can be done to beneficiate the province's agricultural produce. The province has fruit-canning enterprises, furniture manufacturers and paper producers but value-addition is definitely an area where investors could make a major impact in terms of economic upliftment and employment opportunities. Excellent returns on investment are anticipated, given the close proximity of the province to Gauteng, the economic heartland of South Africa, and the international port of Maputo in Mozambique to the east.

Figure 1: Mpumalanga Municipal Map

Figure 1 provides a map of Mpumalanga's location and three districts.

1.3.2 Ehlanzeni District Municipality

The Ehlanzeni District Municipality is situated within the scenic Lowveld area of Mpumalanga and is dominated by agriculture, forestry and tourism (Ehlanzeni District Municipality, 2012). The Kruger National Park and the

Maputo Corridor border the district municipality on the eastern side. The district also forms a gateway for many travellers to areas beyond its borders. Furthermore, the district boasts four major perennial rivers: the Crocodile, the Inkomati, the Mlumati and the Sabie. These rivers not only contribute to tourism potential but also present opportunities for agricultural development. The local municipal areas of the district include Mbombela, Nkomazi, Thaba Chweu and Umjindi with Bushbuckridge as a later addition (Komati/Ngwenya Private Sector Forum, 2007).

According to the Komati/Ngwenya Private Sector Forum (2007), the District Municipality has a total population of 518,198 people living in 137 different towns and villages throughout the region with the bulk of the population living in the Mbombela and Nkomazi areas. The most significant socio-economic feature of the Ehlanzeni District Municipality is that only 39 per cent of the population falls within the economically active bracket. Furthermore, income levels in the Ehlanzeni District Municipality are very low with 77 per cent of households earning less than R1 600 per month. It should be noted that a monthly income of R3 200 is considered the realistic cut-off level for payment of services. The majority of the people reside in urban towns (90%), and 3 per cent of the population lives in informal housing (Komati/Ngwenya Private Sector Forum (2007).

The demographics show that the age distribution of the area reflects a young population, which is typical of a developing area. In this regard, 13 per cent of the population is of pre-school age, 27 per cent of primary school age, and 13 per cent of high school age. Nearly 53 per cent of the population is 18 years or younger. About 59 per cent of the population in the district is male and 41 per cent is female. These figures have however increased in 2011 (Census) with females overtaking the male statistics.

Currently the highest provider of employment is the wholesale and retail sectors at 32 per cent, with community and social services following at 24

per cent. Agriculture is the third highest provider of employment at 13 Per cent (Komati/Ngwenya Private Sector Forum, 2007). The agricultural sector accounts for a large proportion of employment. Should there be deterioration in the production of agriculture, all other levels will be impacted in a negative way.

There are two components of agricultural employment, namely commercial and subsistence agriculture. Subsistence farming has become an increasingly important source of employment in the South African economy. People who are engaged in subsistence activity tend to regard themselves as being employed in the informal sector, whereas people who are engaged in commercial agriculture tend to regard themselves as being employed in the formal sector.

The land restitution projects in the Ehlanzeni District encompass approximately 18 000 hectares of sugar cane and 6 000 hectares of other crops, of which 4 200 hectares is utilized for banana farming in the Ehlanzeni region. Sugar cane farming delivers sugar cane to two mills out of a total of fourteen sugar mills in the region. The sugar industry is important in South Africa. The farms under discussion have long-term sugar cane delivery agreements to the milling industry in Mpumalanga. The two mills in the Mpumalanga region are owned by TSB Sugar RSA Limited. Twenty per cent of the total cane supply of the country and forty per cent of the total banana crop of the country comes from the Ehlanzeni area. Seventy per cent of the banana crop of the Ehlanzeni Area is in the process of transfer to claimants (Komati/Ngwenya Private Sector Forum, 2007). With this large percentage of banana crop transfer to the claimants, it is worth investigating the impact of these projects on the livelihoods, employment and income levels of the claimants. Furthermore, a study of the socio-economic profile done in the Ehlanzeni District revealed that agriculture is a major provider of primary jobs. It also found that any

deterioration in agriculture will leave close to 121 000 people without any formal income (Komati/Ngwenya Private Sector Forum, 2007).

1.4 PROBLEM STATEMENT

Land reform impacts on economic growth (World Bank, 2004). One of the major objectives of land reforms is poverty alleviation and arguably socio-economic factors affecting land reform beneficiaries need to be considered. Most studies tend to focus largely on the legal merits of the process (Binswanger & Deininger, 1996) and the challenges of implementation (Ntsebeza, 2011). Such scholarly views seem to concentrate on the numbers of claims rather than providing nuanced insight into the impact of land reform programmes on the livelihoods of the people. Despite the slow pace of restitution programmes, there is limited documented qualitative research on the socio-economic benefits of land restitution projects in various areas. For example, Aliber, Maluleke, Thagwana and Manenzhe (2010) states that the central problem in assessing the impact of land reform on livelihoods is the paucity of post-settlement evaluation studies. The Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies (PLAAS, 2006) observes that impact evaluations are hampered by the absence of baseline data.

Since the restitution of land is a relatively young process in South Africa, very little data is available (Aliber, Maluleke, Thagwana and Manenzhe, 2010; PLAAS, 2006). Dikgang and Muchapondwa (2013) observe that empirical studies concerning the impact of land restitution are rare because a reliable estimate requires data from pre- and post-restitution periods. To add value to the already existing literature on land restitution projects, effective data collection will be necessary for this study. With a population of four million and agriculture being the main economic sector and major contributor to job creation, the socio-economic impacts of the land restitution projects in the Ehlanzeni District Municipality have not been explored or widely documented.

1.5 PURPOSE STATEMENT

The purpose of this research is to explore the impact of the restitution projects on the livelihoods, employment and incomes of the communities in the Ehlanzeni district. The research will explore whether inequality in terms of land distribution and ownership impacts on the livelihoods of the broader community, and will provide recommendations for public policy.

The research will provide empirical evidence on the impact of the reforms on livelihoods as well as on the effectiveness of government initiatives that seek to address the land challenges encountered by the black population. This study seeks to add value to the limited literature on land reform, particularly on its socio-economic impact, and to provide nuanced insights for policy makers about other forms of land redress which still remain largely unexplored.

1.6 RESEARCH QUESTION

The research question is the following:

> What is the socio-economic impact of the land restitution projects in the Ehlanzeni District Municipality in terms of improving the lives of those living in that municipality?

1.7 LITERATURE REVIEW

1.7.1 Land Restitution programmes: International context

Kariuki (2009) argues that the history of liberation in southern and eastern Africa was rooted in land struggle as a central political denominator that fuelled the fight against the white settlers. Further, the issue of land cuts across the African continent and the need to redress historical injustices

has increased, particularly in Zimbabwe, South Africa, Namibia and Kenya. Zimbabwe only realised this need from the late 1980s within a context of the impending pressure to liberalise all sectors of the economy and in particular to transform the agricultural sector into one that was internationally competitive.

Jayne, Yamano, Weber, Tschirley, Benfica, Chapoto and Zulu (2003) states that poverty reduction typically depends on agricultural productivity growth, especially in countries where 70–80 per cent of the rural population derives the bulk of their income from agriculture. They note, however, that growth alone is not sufficient for poverty reduction but that the distribution of assets makes a difference. Gadgetry and Timer (1999), who sampled 69 countries, supported this. They found that in countries with an initial good distribution of assets, both agricultural and non-agricultural growth benefitted the poorest households slightly more in percentage terms than in countries with a bad distribution of assets. They further observed that when there is poor distribution, the economic growth was skewed toward wealthier households, causing the gap between rich and poor to widen.

Building on the statement that the economic prosperity of a country is closely linked with the richness of its natural resources, various empirical studies in different countries have identified a positive link between access to land and income (Buoys and Haddad, 1990;, Carter and May, 1999; Jayne, et al., 2002). In many developing countries, case studies on land reforms, particularly among large proportions of poor populations, have documented positive impacts on productivity and generation of income. For example, Beasley and Burgess (1998) found that the land reforms in India had an impact on growth and rural poverty reduction. In some cases, the success rates were limited. This is particularly the case in countries that have experienced wars and political upheaval such as, for example, Japan, Korea and Taiwan (World Development Report, 2006). The paper

also argues that the success of land reforms depends on the driving forces (such as socio-economic and or political) compelling the need to roll out such programmes.

Lahiff (2007) observes that when land reforms form part of a much wider economic change, particularly rapid urbanisation and industrialisation, they tend to create a sustainable demand for labour and commodities. If land reform is driven by political considerations, it may result in more poverty than was the case before. Chimhowu (2006) argues that land reform in Southern Africa has been based on untested assumptions about the positive correlation between land reform and poverty reduction resulting in communities being worse-off.

The case for the Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program or CARP in the Philippines suggests that positive gains such as higher farm income and yield, improved land tenure, access to markets and credit, and reduction of poverty incidence among farmer beneficiaries were achieved. However, despite these gains, it is argued that the programme was plagued by administrative and implementation problems. These included the failure to eliminate the problems of inefficient production facilities, inadequate capital, poor technology and underdeveloped market infrastructure and therefore left the agricultural sector sluggish (Senate of the Philippines, 2008).

1.7.2 Land Restitution programmes: The South African context

In 1913 the apartheid government enacted the Native Land Act which became law and served to limit African land ownership to 7 per cent of the land, subsequently increased to 13 per cent through the 1936 Native Trust and Land Act of South Africa. The Act restricted black people from buying or occupying land except as employees of a white employer. It gave white people ownership of 87 per cent of land, leaving black people to scramble

for the remaining 13 per cent. The land issue has continued to be a topical issue in most social science disciplines including land academics and activists (Department of Rural Development and Land Reform, n.d.). This legislation presented challenges for the black population until the Commission of Restitution was established in 1994 to provide equitable redress to victims of racially motivated land dispossession, in accordance with the provisions of the Restitution of Land Rights Act No. 22 of 1994.

Since 1994, the South African government has been designing and developing a land reform programme that aims to bring about fair and equitable land dispensation in the country in an orderly manner. The 1997 White Paper on Land Policy details the three pillars of the government's land reform programme, all of which are provided for in the Constitution. These are land restitution, land redistribution and land tenure reform. Sibanda (2001) argues that the world's attention turned to land reform issues in Southern Africa in 2000 when the hunger for land intersected with the struggle for political power in Zimbabwe. When the African "war veterans" occupied primarily white-owned commercial farms in Zimbabwe, the South African press, land academics and land activists renewed the focus on South Africa's land reform programme. The main question about land in South Africa centred on whether the slow delivery (real or perceived) of land reform might someday lead to similar land occupations.

Restitution of land rights and redistribution of land are the two main categories of land reform in South Africa. By implication, restitution involves restoring rights of ownership on land dispossessed after 1913 (Van der Walt and Pienaar, 2006). Redistribution, on the other hand, is a less restrictive category in terms of who can obtain land, focusing on meeting, "the general need for land amongst the poor in both rural and urban areas". The process is not based on historical land claims, but is aimed at redressing the racial imbalance in land ownership.

Roux (2006) argues that the political dynamics characterising the transition to democracy ensured that the restitution scheme adopted in 1994 was essentially Nozickian in character. The Nozick's entitlement theory sees humans as ends in themselves and justifies redistribution of goods only on condition of consent. According to Nozick (1974), the theory consists of three principles:

1. Transfer principle: Holdings (actually) freely acquired from others who acquired them in a just way are justly acquired;
2. Acquisition principle: Persons are entitled to holdings initially acquired in a just way (according to the Lockean Proviso);
3. Rectification principle: Rectify violations of 1 or 2 by restoring holdings to their rightful owners, or“one time” redistribution according to the Difference Principle.

Roux (2006) further adds that the South African scheme for land restitution was the product of a constrained policy choice. Four factors are mentioned in particular as contributing to the design of the scheme:

- the nature of the transition to democracy;
- the international context in which the transition took place;
- the prominent role played by lawyers, both in the transition and in the detailed design of land restitution policy; and
- the higher-order policy choice to separate the land restitution process from the truth and reconciliation process.

All four of these factors influenced the design of the land restitution process in a way that favoured a Nozickian conception of property rights rectification.

The land issue in general has been documented extensively (Hendricks & Ntsebeza, 2000; Hall, 2004; Walker, 2004; DRDLR, 2012). Although

restitution has brought justice to some, it can never fully compensate for the suffering caused through dispossession. It should be seen as a step towards healing and reconciliation. As far as overall distribution of land is concerned, it is still grossly unequal and it is likely to remain so for the foreseeable future.

Ntsebeza (2011) explains that while the policy and legislation on land are in place, its distribution has been undeniably slow. Furthermore, while there may be general acceptance that the South African land reform programme is not occurring fast enough; there is no agreement among scholars on the reasons for the lack of implementation. Walker (2004) outlines various perspectives on the importance of land reform in South Africa. Firstly, in political terms it is about the future and the past. At local level it resonates powerfully with those living on the margins, although the narrative of local-level redress regularly involves complications in the form of competing claims on specific pieces of land. He further adds that the socio-economic importance of land reform is more difficult to compute. However, unlike the debate on jobs, it underpins the multiple livelihood strategies of the poor. Walker concludes that it is not that land issues and land reform are not important for the millions who see the land as a means to providing or supplementing a living, but rather it is the successful programmes of restitution, redistribution and enhanced tenure security that will, at best, provide only some of the preconditions for emancipation from oppression and poverty.

Jayne *et al* (2003) studied the smallholder income and land distribution in Africa. Their study relied on the agricultural household survey data sets derived from national statistical agencies. In examining the income distribution, various Gini coefficient estimates from the household data were employed. The findings from this study revealed that improving access to land among the most land-constrained smallholder households would be a seemingly effective way to reduce poverty. For small farms, a

very small incremental addition to land access is associated with a large relative rise in income.

In a similar study, Dikgang and Muchapondwa (2012) conducted household surveys to investigate the effect of the Land Restitution Programme on Poverty Reduction among the Khomani San by running a regression model using restituted land as one of the explanatory variables. The Khomani San living in the acquired land applied this approach to determine the impact on their well-being. In determining income and non-income poverty measures in the Kgalagadi area, their study employed an econometric analysis whose data survey was used to determine factors that influence income, food consumption expenditure and access to natural resources. The study found that the subgroup that uses the land is better off and this confirmed the economic theory that if implemented appropriately and targeting the subgroup that is most likely to use the land, land programmes can have a positive effect on reducing poverty levels (relative to the comparison subgroup that is unlikely to use the land). These findings seem to be consistent with those of Jayne *et al* (2003).

This study follows the Dikgang and Muchapondwa (2012) approach but in a different setting or environment. In this case, the investigation is on the socio-economic impact of the already existing land restitution projects in the Ehlanzeni District Municipality. The income levels data will be drawn from the 2011 census reports and complemented by questionnaires to determine the extent of the impact of the restitution projects on livelihoods.

1.8 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research attempts to explore the impacts of the restitution projects on the livelihoods, employment and incomes of the communities in the Ehlanzeni District. Therefore, the design and approach of the research should be suited to achieve an answer to the proposed research question.

This research follows, like many other studies on land, a mixed approach - quantitative and quantitative design. It is envisaged that such a research method will provide answers to the research question/objectives. Quantitative analysis enables running sensitivity tests to clarify the role of key behavioural assumptions and other important parameters (Sadoulet & de Janvry, 1995). In addition, Cohen and Manion (1980) define quantitative research as a social research that employs empirical methods and empirical statements. They state that an empirical statement is defined as a descriptive statement about what “is” the case in the “real world” rather than what “ought” to be the case. Typically, empirical statements are expressed in numerical terms.

Quantitative modelling studies involving changes in land use assist in policy analysis bridging the gap between pure economic theory which is inadequate when dealing with these issues in an holistic manner in the real world (Dikgang & Muchapondwa, 2013). In an attempt to improve the policy debate for pragmatic answers to the complex problems of optimal and sustainable resource use, quantifications of various variables stated in the underlying theories are needed. Hence, the use of only qualitative insight as well as conceptual models, as is mostly the case, is not sufficient. The use of quantitative modelling can assist in revealing important direct and indirect effects of a policy, which are likely to be lost when only discussing the policy issues.

1.8.1 Research Design

The proposed study will employ an *ex-post-facto* research design. According to Kerlinger (1973), *ex-post-facto* research is a systematic empirical inquiry in which the scientist does not have direct control of variables. Inferences about relationships among variables are made from any determined variations between the studied variables.

Therefore, this study will involve the gathering of information about the impact of restitution projects on the livelihoods of the Ehlanzeni community which has a varied socio-economic setting. Such a study design does not allow for the manipulation of variables by the researcher. Instead, any determined differences will be *ex-post-facto* in nature in that they will stem from differences in results in the measurement efforts according to the survey instruments questionnaire, as explained in the following section.

1.8.2 Data collection

The study will employ two forms of data collection, namely structured Questionnaires and Follow-up interviews. The geographical profile including personal information, income and consumption patterns and infrastructural settings will be taken from the 2011 Census report for Mpumalanga Province. However, this report does not detail the extent of the impact of the restitution projects on the livelihoods, employment and incomes of the communities in the Ehlanzeni district. Therefore, the study will employ questionnaires that will draw information about the restitution projects since implementation to establish the impact they have had on the community of Ehlanzeni district.

1.8.2.1 Primary Data

A group of five university students (also in the area of land studies) assisted the participants to complete the questionnaires. Prior to the process of data collection, letters introducing the researcher and the respective administrators was sent to the Komati/Ngwenya Trust, the District municipality, the chief of the area and the local authorities requesting their co-operation. The letters described the nature of the research and its importance and requested the support of the administrator. About a week later, the letters were followed by a phone call

to confirm receipt and request approval to administer the questionnaires and interviews.

The procedure and the questionnaires were pilot-tested with at least nine (three from each Department) volunteers identified by the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform, the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Labour, Forestry and Fisheries, and the Economic Development Department in order to refine the data gathering plans. Once the pilot-testing procedures had been completed, any required changes in the administration plans were carried out. The administrators were then coached on how to carry out this process. Contact details of the location's administrative assistants would be provided when clarity was needed. To speed up the process and provide feedback to the subjects, the administrative assistants were stationed at the site for the duration of the process. The administrative assistants filled in the questionnaires on behalf of the participants. The reason for doing this is informed by the literacy levels in the District. Apart from literacy considerations, it also improved the quality of data collected as the administrative assistants were trained. It was anticipated that all data collection efforts would be completed within one month (that is, completing of questionnaires and interviews).

1.8.2.2 Secondary Data

South Africa has had three censuses since 1994. The first was in 1996, then 2001 and in 2011. The census data is widely published and accessible to business, all levels of government, media, students and teachers, charities and researchers and any interested parties from Statistics South Africa. Census data offer a unique insight into small areas and small demographic groups which sample data would be unable to capture with precision. The study will use the 2011 Census report for the Mpumalanga Province as a secondary source of data. The census report

provides data on demographics, migration, education, general health and functioning, labour force, mortality and households.

1.8.3 Population/Sample

The study focused on a sample of the adult population, 18 years and older, and identified a minimum of 20 farms as its sample size. A random sample was drawn from the list of farmers obtained from the District municipality. Using a table of random numbers, the names of individuals were selected from each setting until a minimum of 20 farms was obtained. It was anticipated that if fewer than 20 farms per setting initially responded to the instruments described below, names could continue to be drawn from the remaining list of farmers until at least 20 farms completed the questionnaires. Although the number of households in the district is 445 087 (Statistics South Africa, 2012) it was expected that obtaining a minimum of 20 farms will result in a good cross-section of participants in terms of impact of land restitution programmes.

The questionnaire includes questions, *inter alia,* on the following:

- Black farmers (male/female) on restituted land;
- Specific area of farming and type of crop farming – banana and sugar cane;
- Number of years farming – assessing relevant skills and job opportunities that prevailed;
- Consumption patterns;
- Rural economic activities – to judge the levels of incomes generated;
- Access to basic needs and infrastructure;
- Levels of education;
- Type of non-financial technical support.

The following exclusion criteria were made. In other words, the following participants would not be included in the study as they would not provide a true reflection of the impact of the restitution projects on the livelihoods of the communities involved in the study. These criteria included the following:

- Farmers that are outside the Komati/Ngwenya Private Sector Forum;
- Additional source of income (dependants from outside the district/province);
- Availability of grants.

The research concentrated on the socio-economic impacts of restitution. In a meeting held in December 2006 between the Komati/Ngwenya Private Sector Forum and the Commission on Restitution of Land Rights of Mpumalanga, it was agreed that several challenges needed to be addressed to ensure sustainable agricultural development in areas of the Ehlanzeni District Municipality. The research therefore seeks to explore the impact of the restitution projects on livelihoods, employment, and incomes.

1.9. DATA ANALYSIS AND TECHNIQUES

The data collected from the interviews and questionnaires was processed in various ways. This study used an Excel spreadsheet to analyse the data and translate it into useful research evidence and information. Calculation of the averages (average function) from the Excel spreadsheet and other statistical analysis such as correlations were determined. The average function measures the central tendency, which is the location of the centre of a group of numbers in a statistical distribution. The three most common measures of central tendency are:

- ***Average:*** The arithmetic mean, calculated by adding a group of numbers and then dividing by the count of those numbers.
- ***Median:*** The middle number of a group of numbers; that is, half the numbers have values that are greater than the median, and half the numbers have values that are less than the median.
- ***Mode:*** The most frequently occurring number in a group of numbers.

Since the study attempts to explore the impact of the restitution projects on the livelihoods of the Ehlanzeni district community, the measures of central tendency were used to test average levels of incomes, consumption and access to basic needs (including electricity, water and sanitation). A simple Keynesian model was employed to determine any relationship between incomes, consumption and savings. The levels of education, and access to basic services were used as contributory factors to non-monetary poverty measures. The size of the farm, level of education and wages paid were used to determine the extent of job creation in the District. This also tests whether having access to land (in terms of size) necessarily means that incomes of farmers will be higher. The levels of incomes were tested against the number of dependants/people in a household. It is expected that the statistical descriptions will also reveal other important findings.

1.10 STUDY LIMITATIONS

The study relied mostly on open source data and questionnaires. Due to the sensitivity of the matter, some information may not be readily available or responded to in a manner that will yield the relevant data to answer the research question. Also, due to political commitments, the study's target dates and timeframes may be affected resulting in delays and a prolonged period to completion.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In 1913, the apartheid government enacted the Native Land Act which became law on the 19th June 1913 and served to limit African land ownership to 7 per cent which later increased to 13 per cent of the total available land through the 1936 Native Trust and Land Act of South Africa. The Act restricted black people from buying or occupying land except as employees of a white employer. It left white people with ownership of 87 per cent of the land. The land issue has continued to be a topical issue in most social science disciplines (Department of Rural Development and Land Reform, n.d). The legislation presented challenges for the black population until the Commission of Restitution was established in 1994 to provide equitable redress to victims of racially motivated land dispossession, in line with the provisions of the Restitution of Land Rights Act No. 22 of 1994

Since 1994, the South African government has been designing and developing a land reform programme that aims to bring about fair and equitable land dispensation in the country in an orderly manner. The 1997 White Paper on Land Policy details the three pillars of the government's land reform programme, all of which are provided for in the Constitution. These are land restitution, land redistribution, and land tenure reform. Sibanda (2001) argues that the world's attention turned to land reform issues in Southern Africa in 2000 when the hunger for land intersected with the struggle for political power in Zimbabwe. When the African "war veterans" occupied primarily white owned commercial farms in Zimbabwe, the South African press, land academics and land activists focused on

South Africa's land reform programme. The main question about land in South Africa cantered on whether the slow delivery (real or perceived) of land reform might someday lead to similar land occupations. Restitution of land rights and the redistribution of land are the two main categories of land reform in South Africa. By implication, restitution involves restoring rights of ownership on land dispossessed after 1913 (Van der Walt and Pienaar, 2006). Redistribution, on the other hand, is a less restrictive category in terms of who can obtain land, and is focused on meeting, “the general need for land amongst the poor in both rural and urban areas”. The process is not based on historical land claims, but aims to redress the racial imbalance in land ownership.

This chapter first describes a theoretical framework of land restitution in South Africa. This provides the background on the nature of the land problems and a perspective of some of the land debates and initiatives. The chapter then presents empirical evidence on selected restitution projects. The empirical evidence is intended to demonstrate the impact of these restitution projects on the livelihoods of a particular community.

2.2 LAND RESTITUTION

In relation to land, the Freedom Charter of 1955 states that, “Restriction on land ownership shall be ended, and all the land re-divided among those who work it, to banish famine and hunger... All shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose… (Steytler, 1991). The ANC (1994) through the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), undertook to carry out land reform under three major strategies: restitution to restore land rights to those who were dispossessed of them under discriminatory laws, redistribution to make land more accessible to those who had previously been denied access, and tenure reform to give security of tenure to labour tenants, farm workers and other rural dwellers who lived on land without secure rights. Further, the Constitution (1993)

provides that persons or communities who were dispossessed of property after 19 June 1913 as a result of past racially discriminatory laws or practices are entitled in terms of an Act of Parliament to restoration of that property or to equitable redress. Dikgang and Muchapondwa (2013) argues that the structure of the land restitution process was influenced by the international context in which the transition to democracy took place, during a time when socialism in Eastern Europe collapsed and neo-liberal approaches to economic development rose, and was thus designed with the help of the World Bank. Roux (2006) adds that the negotiating parties at the time agreed upon the restitution programme as being legally and conceptually subordinated to the protection of private property rights. This meant that in a case where it was not possible to award land to those dispossessed, the government had an option to award the successful claimants either alternative land or cash compensation.

The main objective of the land restitution programme was to restore justice and reconciliation. The element of focusing on rural South Africa included the recognition of the restitution programme within the broader rural development strategy. The 1994 Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) of the African National Congress (ANC) identified restitution and redistribution as the central and driving force of a programme of rural development requiring in equal measure the support of agricultural development (ANC, 1994). The Reconstruction and Development Programme is a socio-economic policy framework implemented by the African National Congress government in 1994 after extensive consultation and negotiation between the ANC, its alliance partners, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the South African Communist Party (SACP) and mass organisations in the wider civil society. The RDP articulated the main aspirations, that is, growth, development, reconstruction and redistribution, in a consistent macroeconomic framework. Factors leading to the implementation of the RDP include:

- A history of South Africa that was dominated by colonialism, racism, apartheid, sexism and repressive labour policies.
- An economy that was built on systematically enforced racial division. For instance, rural areas were divided into underdeveloped “Bantustans” and well-developed, white-owned commercial farming areas. Towns and cities were divided into townships without basic infrastructure for blacks and well-resourced suburbs for whites.
- The segregation in education, health, welfare, transport and employment left deep scars of inequality and economic inefficiency.

Land has emotive overtones everywhere in Africa where there have been extensive colonial dispossessions of the lands of indigenous people. Land as a factor of production and an asset is the original source of all material wealth. The economic prosperity of a country is closely linked with the richness of her natural resources. The quality and quantity of agricultural wealth in a country depends on the nature of soil, climate and rainfall. Land is important as it influences the standard of living of the people. Land for agricultural purposes and other economic activities are important for farmers around the world.

2.3 THE IMPORTANCE OF LAND AND ECONOMIC EFFICIENCY

Land as a factor of production is, in some instances, an asset to other communities. Such an asset is important for sustained livelihoods. However, given the history of South Africa, land is one asset that is distributed unequally. Inequality in the distribution of land may result in economic costs. This results in a situation where the equity-efficiency trade-off might not exist. Deininger, Hoogeveen and Kinsey (2002) observes that in the presence of malfunctioning labour and capital markets and in the presence of fixed set-up costs, farmers might not be able to access more highly productive activities. Furthermore, access to credit

could allow farmers to enter the high return activity but if credit constraints are linked to collateral requirements and if land can be used as collateral, then households with relatively low land endowments may not be able to access credit. This may lead to a situation where farmers do not cultivate all their land and instead will rent out some of their labour to households with larger land holdings (Eswaran & Kotwal, 1986). Therefore, one may argue that land restitution, apart from political stability, may promote economic growth and the protection of property rights in South Africa.

2.4 BRIEF HISTORY OF LAND DISPOSSESSION

The inequitable distribution of land in South Africa along racial lines is a direct result of an aggressive process of land annexation over some centuries by the white settler community from indigenous African communities. The present government's desire to reverse this inequitable distribution of land is expressed through its land reform programme. The restitution programme, however, restricts those who can claim their land back only to those who were dispossessed after the promulgation of the Natives Land Act of 1913, and this limits the degree to which the programme can adequately address the legacy of dispossession. The rationale behind limiting restitution claims to those that happened after the enactment of the 1913 Land Act is that the period prior to 1913 is considered too complex to manage through a restitution programme (Walker, 2004:3).

Walker (2004:3) argues that if restitution were not to be limited to dispossession that happened after 1913, the restitution programme would have to take into account the history of "conquest, collusion, alliance, dispossession and migration, as well as of tribal, ethnic, class and national identity formation and of changes in tenure regimes". This will be too dense to be managed through the land reform programme and Walker suggests that the victims of removals prior to 1913, who constitute the

majority of Africans, should be compensated using means other than the land restitution methods.

There is extensive literature detailing the extent of land dispossession from the period that commenced with the arrival of the first white settlers in 1652 up to the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910, followed by the introduction of the Natives Land Act in 1913. Many scholars (see Platzky and Walker, 1985; Mbeki, 1992; Daniels, 1989; Bundy, 1979; Letsoalo, 1987) provide a detailed picture of dispossession prior to 1913. Most of the literature, however, focuses on dispossession that was triggered by the 1913 Act and the successive waves of discriminatory legislation. Platzky and Walker (1985) trace the origins of the Bantustan policy of the apartheid government back to the creation of African reserves in the 19th century. They note that before the discovery of gold and minerals, land was the primary economic resource available, so stringent control over access to land meant control over access to wealth. Mbeki (1992:28) speaks about 'Wars of Dispossession' that were waged by whites in their quest to annex as much land as possible, more especially in the aftermath of the discovery of precious minerals.

The discovery of gold was followed by high demand for cheap labour for the mining sector; this was followed by increased demand for food which catalysed the development of the commercial agricultural sector, which itself required a supply of cheap labour (Platzky & Walker, 1985:80). The authors argue that to this end, the government and white farmers in particular put measures in place to limit the growth of the independent African farmer, from demanding exorbitant rents to the passing of the Glen Grey Act in 1894 which sought to restrict Africans to their designated reserves.

The various forms of dispossession forced Africans to be squatters on their own land and in the land of their birth, which were now white-owned

farms (Plaatje, 1916). Mbeki (1992) categorizes African squatters during this time into four categories:

- Those who paid cash as rent;
- Those who owned livestock and were granted pasturage on condition that the farmer used such livestock together with his own for all farming activities;
- Sharecroppers; and
- Labour tenants.

These categories of landholding were biased against Africans. However, they still presented competition for the white agricultural sector and this concerned both white farmers and the government of the day (Platzky & Walker, 1985; Mbeki, 1992; Plaatje, 1916; Daniels, 1989). The formation of the Union of South Africa after the Anglo-Boer war, as well as the need for more cheap African labour to work in the mines and on commercial farms, had a significant influence on the adoption of arguably one of the most negative Acts in South African history, the Natives Land Act of 1913 (Platzky & Walker, 1985). Mbeki (1992) argues that the Land Act was the culmination of a concerted effort by insecure white farmers to eliminate competitive black farmers and to amass as much land as possible to themselves. Some of their concerns as presented at the time are explained below:

- According to whites, squatting on farms aggravated the already severe shortage of labour;
- The presence of settled Africans who led independent lives on the farms they occupied would result in social contact with whites who occupied adjoining farms, and this to them was not acceptable;
- Strong opposition was expressed to the practice of “farming Kaffirs” by absentee landlords and speculators who rented their farms to

Africans in preference to whites, because it was easy to terminate agreements with Africans at short notice;

- There was a claim that the growing number of Africans on white farms encouraged African syndicates that bought up land, creating land scarcity for white farmers, which resulted in rising land values; and
- It was claimed that Africans did not use land properly.

Levin (1997:234) argues that the key objective of the 1913 Land Act was the obliteration of independent black farmers. This meant that they could only occupy “white owned land” if they were prepared to provide their labour in return. In order to survive, Africans had no other way of sustaining themselves other than through seeking wage employment, most of the time from white farmers. This was to some extent the rationale behind the passing of the Natives Land Act of 1913 which formed the foundation of other land Acts which were discriminatory in nature. These Acts eventually contributed to Africans being exposed to poverty and underdevelopment.

The current structure of the South African economy, class formations, capital and resource concentration and the political economy at large is indivisible from, and has direct roots in, the dispossession of land from the black majority of the country (Greenberg, 2003). Greenberg (2003:48) argues that the impacts of the process of dispossession, which were legitimised in the eyes of the white minority government and the white population in the country by the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts respectively, were twofold. The first impact was that the laws constrained black farmers in competing against their white counterparts in the agricultural sector. Secondly, by depriving people of land, which was their primary source of livelihood, the laws stimulated the growth of the migrant labour system, forcing the black population to seek wage labour in white-owned farms and industries.

Hall and Ntsebeza (2007:110) states that through the 1913 Natives Land Act, in particular, whites appropriated more than 90 per cent of the land in the country, leaving the black indigenous communities in marginal reserves which were often overcrowded and therefore unproductive. This dispossession helped create an agrarian and economic structure that was dualistic in nature and racially defined in content. As Greenberg (2003:52) argues, it protected the white commercial sector and neglected the black subsistence sector.

Plaatje (1916) observed, after the passing of the Native Land Act of 1913: “Awaking on Friday morning, June 20, 1913, the South African Native found himself, not actually a slave, but a pariah in the land of his birth” The adverse impact the Act had on the African community was enormous. The Act not only sought to abolish the squatter system of land occupation by Africans, but it confined the African majority to only 7 per cent of the land in South Africa, comprising only about 9 million hectares of land (Walker, 2005; Platzky & Walker, 1985; Mbeki, 1992; Xulu & Maharaj, 2004; Daniels, 1989; Bundy, 1979).

The Act effectively banned Africans from buying and owning land anywhere other than in their designated reserves which over time became degraded as a result of overcrowding. It banned squatting thereby undermining the capacity of the African peasantry to sustain itself. The Act removed from the Africans their most valued livelihood resource, the land. Mbeki argues that the Act not only dispossessed Africans of their land, but in addition, those Africans who were squatting on white farms were evicted and their livestock was confiscated (Mbeki, 1992:36).

The Act was followed by a series of other legislative measures aimed at controlling access of Africans to land, such as the Urban Areas Act of 1923, the Native Administration Act of 1927, the Development Trust and

Land Act of 1936, and under apartheid, the Group Areas Act of 1950. According to Platzky and Walker (1985:92), these land Acts had both immediate and far-reaching impacts for the African community. The 7 per cent of land allocated to Africans was grossly insufficient, and the government had acknowledged as much already in 1913, but it was only in 1936 that more land was added to the native reserves (Levin, 1997:235). The 1936 Land Act added another 6 per cent to the land in the reserves, leaving about 13 per cent of the land for Africans, although this concession was traded against the voting rights of Africans in the Cape (Platzky & Walker, 1985:89). This Act provided for the establishment of the South African Native Trust. This Trust was tasked with acquiring and administering land in the reserves (Platzky & Walker, 1985:89). The Trust also became a highly repressive mechanism for Africans in that it restricted even further the conditions under which Africans were allowed to occupy white farms. This was followed by the apartheid-era Group Areas Act which prohibited different races from living in the same area, whereby black people would be removed from the areas they inhabited, which according to the Act were supposed to be exclusive white enclaves. Platzky and Walker (1985:9) estimates that over 3.5 million people were dispossessed of their land due to the application of these Acts between 1960 and the mid-1980s.

Levin, Solomon and Weiner (1997:98) argue that the land Acts of the colonial and apartheid era were designed to disempower and impoverish black South Africans, and to establish a sustainable supply of black labour to white industries. They were aimed at altering the racial geography of the country in a way that would locate white people in areas in close proximity to productive resources, while locating black people far from productive resources. Levin et .al. (1997) argues that the application of these Acts and the forced removals took no account of the meaning that people assigned to the land, which meant that apart from depriving the victims of forced removals of their right to land, the process of dispossession left

deep psychological scars on the victims. To most African communities, land forms part of a treasured history, visible in the graves of the ancestors and enshrined in memories of –previous times of prosperity and abundance.

In a study carried out in the Central Lowveld of Mpumalanga, Levin *et al*. (1997:102-108) found that dispossession occurred for a multiplicity of reasons, ranging from the creation of game and nature reserves, to the expansion of exotic forest plantations, and the establishment of intensive commercial agricultural industry. As Levin *et al.* (1997:104) notes, at least from the perspectives of the community they studied, dispossession was only part of an historical process of resource expropriation from Africans and their removal to areas with less rainfall and water. The community studied provides details of how Africans were exploited as labour tenants while at the same time managing to secure their livelihoods through agricultural production. As soon as the labour requirements of the farms ended, the communities would be removed as well.

Levin *et al.* (1997:101) believe that the estimate of the Surplus People Project (SPP) of 3.5 million people as victims of forced removals is an underestimate of the actual number of the victims of removals. Removals that were as a result of 'betterment' planning, for instance, as well as those that took place prior to 1960, are not accounted for in the SPP data. Levin *et al*. (1997) argues that the nature of the forced removals was historical and generational, and therefore will be difficult to quantify. Many black Africans were direct or indirect victims of removals. Forced removals were carried through using a variety of forms and were named differently, but all entailed removing communities from their land, against their wishes, to areas they were not familiar with. These forms of removal included "black spot" removals, "betterment planning" removals in the reserves, Bantustan consolidation removals, farm worker and labour tenant retrenchments and evictions, and privatization of state land (Levin, 1997:235). Of these

categories of forced removals, “black spot” removals, Bantustan consolidation and urban relocation combined, account for the largest number of removals under apartheid (Platzky & Walker, 1985:9).

Black spot removals are particularly interesting because they are in some aspects a delayed implementation of the 1913 Natives Land Act. According to Levin (1997:235), ‘black spots’ refer to “African freehold farming communities that acquired deeds prior to the 1913 Land Act in areas later scheduled for white occupation”. The ‘black spot’ removals only occurred during apartheid. Unterhalter (1987:110) estimates that the black spot removals were responsible for the removal of about 614 000 people, and that a further 1 million people were directly threatened by black spot removals up until 1987. The hardships that African communities faced and the psychological damage they suffered were enormous, the legacy of which any future democratic government would have to address to ensure its legitimacy. Against this background of dispossession, the democratic government elected in 1994 sought means to reverse the damages that were done by successive white minority governments and restore rights to land of those who were dispossessed. As Platzky and Walker (1985:65) argue, forced removals were a deliberate attempt to destroy the dignity of the African people. In the process, houses were destroyed, people were removed from their places of work, families were prevented from staying together, and long-established communities were destroyed.

2.4.1 The land reform programme as a post-apartheid response to land dispossession

The liberation movements in South Africa prior to the attainment of the democratic order spoke of the need for the state to play a significant role in restructuring the economy to equitably redistribute the productive resources in the country so that the structural make-up of the economy reflects the demographics of the country. The common liberation

movement rhetoric at the time was that the state should nationalize productive resources like the mines and the land in order for any effective transformation to take place. However, the ANC as the leading liberation movement emerged from the negotiations with the apartheid government with a more neutralized stance. While there was no contest about the need to redress historical injustices, and that the majority of black South Africans expected no less from a democratic government, there were quite significant compromises made during the negotiation process. The Constitution of the Republic protects the property rights of those who took ownership of vast tracts of land during apartheid. Within the same document, however, the Constitution mandates the state to take measures to ensure that the African majority obtains access to land through the land reform programme.

Within the limits of the constitution, the ANC government since 1994 has embarked on an ambitious land reform programme that seeks to address the injustices of the past and achieve an equitable distribution of land between the diverse racial groups that comprise the South African population. The government's land reform programme has three tiers: Land Redistribution, Land Tenure Reform, and Land Restitution. The 1996 constitution of the Republic makes provision for these three tiers of land reform through the following clauses:

- The state must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to foster conditions which enable citizens to gain access to land on an equitable basis (Section 25(5)).
- A person or community whose tenure of land is legally insecure as a result of racially discriminatory laws or practices is entitled, to the extent provided by an Act of Parliament, either to tenure which is legally secure or to comparable redress (Section 25(6)).

- A person or community dispossessed of property after 19 June 1913 as a result of past racially discriminatory laws or practices is entitled, to the extent provided by an Act of Parliament, either to restitution of that property or to equitable redress (Section 25(7)). (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996).

Section 25(5) of the Constitution deals with the need for land redistribution, section 25(6) focuses on land tenure reform, and section 25(7) highlights the need for land restitution.

Subsequent to the adoption of the Constitution, a White Paper on South African land policy to articulate the government's approach to the land reform programme was developed in 1997. This White Paper presents the objectives that the land reform programme should achieve, which are listed as being:

- To address the injustices of racially-based land dispossession of the past;
- To cater for the need for a more equitable distribution of land ownership;
- To use land reform as a tool to reduce poverty and contribute to economic growth;
- To ensure security of tenure for all; and
- To facilitate the creation of a system of land management which will support sustainable land use patterns and rapid land release for development (DLA, 1997).

The department tasked with carrying out land reform is the Department of Land Affairs (DLA), located within the ministry of agriculture and land affairs. This department is tasked with the challenge of redistributing 30 per cent of agricultural land to black South Africans as stated in the 1994 Reconstruction and Development Programme. The RDP aimed to achieve

the 30 per cent redistribution of land within the first five years of democracy.

Reality has proven to be somewhat different to the expectations of the ANC government. As Hall and Ntsebeza (2007:18) notes, by the end of the first five years of democracy in South Africa, only one per cent of agricultural land had been transferred to Africans through the land reform programme, and this figure only rose to 3.1 per cent after ten years of democracy. There have been challenges both in policy and in the implementation capacity of the Department of Land Affairs. There is also what Hall (2004:219) calls, 'big policy and the shrinking state'. This phenomenon, Hall argues, is as a result of the state's own inability to implement the policies and programmes that have been developed, and that budget allocation, institutional structures, as well as the political willingness to effect reforms fall far below the requirements necessary to implement land reform policy. All the components of land reform are confronted by the same underlying problems with regard implementation.

2.4.2 Land Redistribution

The land redistribution component of the land reform programme in the country focuses on redistributing land to black South Africans who need access to land but are left out of the restitution programme. Provision for this programme is made in section 25(5) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa and further refined by the Provision of Land and Assistance Act No. 126 of 1993, which was amended in 1998. This provides for assistance to be given to people, 'who have no land or who have limited access to land, and who wish to gain access to land or to additional land'. The Act also provides assistance to those who wish to upgrade their land tenure rights, and those who are the victims of land dispossession but who cannot benefit from the land restitution programme.

The purpose of land redistribution, as stated in the 1997 White Paper on South African Land Policy, is as follows:

> The purpose of the land redistribution programme is to provide the poor with access to land for residential and productive uses, in order to improve their income and quality of life. The programme aims to assist the poor, labour tenants, farm workers, women, as well as emergent farmers. Redistributive land reform will be largely based on willing-buyer willing-seller arrangements. Government will assist in the purchase of land, but will in general not be the buyer or owner. Rather, it will make land acquisition grants available and will support and finance the required planning process. In many cases, communities are expected to pool their resources to negotiate, buy and jointly hold land under a formal title deed. Opportunities are also offered for individuals to access the grant for land acquisition (Department of Land Affairs, 1997:38).

From 1995 to 1999, the redistribution policy of the government was premised on the Settlement/Land Acquisition Grant (SLAG), which provided a small grant of R16 000 to poor people to purchase land on the open market (Jacobs, Lahiff & Hall, 2003:1; Hall, 2003:215). Due to the small size of the grant, households had to pool their resources in order to have enough funds to buy land (Hall, 2003:215). Hall (2003) further notes that this arrangement often led to complex group dynamics because it resulted in overcrowding and more often, the grant and land acquisition was not linked to other resources that would enable people to generate livelihoods.

In 1999, a new policy direction was introduced by the new Minister of Agriculture, and the emphasis moved away from the subsistence-based SLAG to a programme whose aim was to create a class of black

commercial farmers (Hall, 2003:216). According to Hall (2003), the new programme, Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development (LRAD), was designed for people who would be able to invest their capital on the land, preferably those who are equipped with technical agricultural skills. To access this grant, beneficiaries need to contribute to the cost of land an amount of between R5000 and R400,000, or contribute in kind with "sweat equity". The Department of Land Affairs would then match the beneficiaries' contribution with a grant of between R20,000 and R100,000 on a sliding scale (Hall, 2003:216; Jacobs et.al., 2003:4). Referring to the LRAD programme, Jacobs *et al.* (2003:4) notes that there are four types of projects that the LRAD programme can fund:

- Food safety net projects, agricultural production primarily for subsistence farming;
- Share equity schemes, the purchase of shares in established commercial agricultural enterprises;
- Commercial agricultural production; and
- Agriculture in communal areas.

The main difference between LRAD and SLAG is that the former makes grants available to individuals rather than to households as is the case for the latter, and secondly, responsibility for approval and implementation of projects for the LRAD has been devolved to provincial and district municipality level, aimed at enhancing the roles of district municipalities in land-based developmental projects.

The underlying challenges facing the LRAD programme are, however, similar to those facing the land reform programme in general. The programme is still very much within the ambit of the willing-buyer willing-seller arrangement and the markets are almost sanctified by the land reform policy in South Africa. As Hall (2003) noted, it is sometimes exclusively the well-off who benefit from the programme because they are

able to contribute substantial amounts of cash and can operate in an open market with ease. This means that as much as the grant for LRAD has been increased from the grant that SLAG offered, this grant is accessible to fewer people who can afford to make the contributions needed.

As with other land reform programmes, the LRAD is not linked to other infrastructural and developmental imperatives in the country. Adams (2000:41) argues that if land reform is to be successful, it has to be part of a broader political, social and economic change, rather than a narrow intervention to redistribute land that was taken by European settlers. The pace of a successful land reform should be indivisible from other government programmes, especially those that aim at providing infrastructure, and technical support services to emerging farmers, as well as other services like credit facilities, support with input costs, marketing and extension services. The main shortcoming of this programme is the inability to co-ordinate or form part of bigger developmental imperatives in the country.

2.4.3 Aims of Land Restitution

Of the three land reform components in South Africa, the land restitution programme is the most symbolic in both political and social terms. Its land restoration purpose can be measured directly against the claims made.

Section 25(7) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa reads: “A person or community dispossessed of property after 19 June 1913 as a result of past racially discriminatory laws and practices is entitled, to the extent provided by an act of parliament, either to restitution of that property or to equitable redress” (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996).

The Act that provides for such restitution is the Restitution of Land Rights Act No. 22 of 1994, which was provided for already by the Interim Constitution of 1993. The purpose of the Act is to ensure the restitution/restoration of land rights of those individuals or communities dispossessed of their land or rights to land after the enactment of the 1913 Land Act.

The purpose of the Act is stipulated as follows:

> "to provide for the restitution of right to land in respect of which persons or communities were dispossessed under or for the purpose of furthering the objects of any racially based discriminatory law, to establish a commission on restitution of land rights and a land claims court, and to provide for matters connected therewith" (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1994).

According to the 1997 White Paper on South African Land Policy, land restitution is aimed at achieving the following outcomes:

- Substantial numbers of claimants who fulfil the criteria in the Act receive restitution in the form of land or other appropriate and acceptable remedies;
- The restitution process does not lead to major disputes or conflict'
- Public confidence in the market is maintained; and
- A framework is developed for claims and demands that fall outside of the Act.

An in-depth analysis of the restitution programme will follow in the next chapter.

2.4.4 Land Tenure Reform

As the provision in the constitution states, land tenure reform is focused on securing the tenure rights of those whose right to land is insecure due to the discriminatory nature of land rights under successive colonial regimes. The focus is on affirming the rights of those in communal areas, as well as the rights of farm dwellers.

Cousins and Claassens (2004) note the complexity of land rights in communal areas and the historical process by which those rights have been affirmed. Atkinson (2007:25) and Walker (2006:71) also note the challenges of reforming and securing the tenure of farm dwellers. Reforming the tenure of farm dwellers focuses on affirming the basic right of workers, their entitlement to government services and subsidies, and the prevention of the problem of unfair dismissals and illegal evictions. Land tenure laws were developed in line with the provisions of the constitution, and the following are the laws guiding tenure reform in South Africa:

- The Land Reform or Labour Tenants Act of 1996;
- The Interim Protection of Informal Land Rights Act of 1996;
- Extension of Security of Tenure Act 1997; and
- Communal Property Association Act of 1996.

These Acts seek to protect farm dwellers from unfair evictions, to provide labour tenants an opportunity to purchase land and enable community groups to hold and manage property. There have been serious challenges, however. Lahiff (2001:2), for example, points to the failure of ESTA to prevent illegal evictions on farms, and he attributes this to the incapacity of the DLA to enforce legislation, as well as the complicity of magistrates and the police who are based in farming areas. Lahiff also points to problems with reforming tenure security in communal areas, in that existing forms of reform seek to reinforce the power of tribal authorities in administering land. This falls short of achieving the objectives

of land reform and does not address the need for individual security of tenure and accountable forms of land administration (Lahiff, 2001).

2.4.5 Land Restitution

As noted in the previous chapter, land restitution is a constitutionally enshrined component of land reform. The Restitution of Land Rights Act No. 22 of 1994 was one of the first pieces of legislation to be passed by the democratically elected Government of National Unity led by the African National Congress. The Act provides the opportunity to people who were deprived of their rights to land after 19 June 1913 as a result of racially discriminatory laws to claim back their land or rights to land. The purpose of the Act is stipulated as follows:

> … to provide for the restitution of rights to land in respect of which persons or communities were dispossessed under or for the purpose of furthering the objects of any racially based discriminatory law, to establish a commission on restitution of land rights and a land claims court, and to provide for matters connected therewith (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1994).

Acceptance of claims for restitution purposes is subject to meeting three conditions, namely,

1. The claimant was dispossessed of a right in land after 19 June 1913 as a result of past racially discriminatory laws;
2. The claimant was not paid just and equitable compensation; and
3. the claim was lodged on or before the 31st of December 1998 (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1994).

The Act also provides for three means by which claims can be settled:

a. restoration of the land under claim;
b. granting claimants alternative land if it is not possible to restore the original land claimed; or
c. granting claimants financial compensation.

For most settled urban claims, settlement of claims has been through financial compensation (Lahiff, 2001). Lahiff (2001) also notes that the claims made are not against the current landowners, but against the state. This puts the state at the centre of the restitution programme, but the success of the restitution programme does depend to a large extent on the willingness of the landowners to participate. Andrew (2006:4) argues that this gives more power and resources to the farmers who hold the land unjustly and in unfair proportions as the state has to pay market value for the land to the white farmers before the land can be given to the victims of racial dispossession. Even though the state has the power to expropriate land for the purposes of land reform, this provision has not been used, and there has been an over-reliance on the preparedness of landowners to accept restitution and sell their land to the state which buys it on behalf of the claimants (Ntsebeza, 2007:113).

Restitution was given a timeline of eighteen years. The first three years were for the lodgement of claims; five years were set aside to finalize the claims, and then ten years to implement all court orders (Hall, 2003; Lahiff, 2001; DLA, 1997). Establishment of institutional structures is provided for in the Act to contribute to the attainment of the restitution outcomes which the 1997 White Paper on Land Policy stipulates as follows:

A. Substantial numbers of claimants who fulfil the criteria in the act receive restitution in the form of land or other appropriate and acceptable remedies.
B. The restitution process does not lead to major disputes and conflicts.

C. Public confidence in the land market is maintained.
D. Frameworks are developed for claims and demands that fall outside the jurisdiction of the act (DLA, 1997).

To drive this process, the Act provided for the establishment of a Commission for the Restitution of Land Rights (CRLR), to be led by a Chief Land Claims Commissioner, and Regional Land Claims Commissions managed by Regional Land Claims Commissioners in the various provinces of the country. The establishment of a Land Claims Court with the same status as the High Court was also provided for to deal with claims and other matters related to land (Hall, 2003; Lahiff, 2001).

Hall (2003) explains the life-cycle of the restitution process, where it starts with the lodgement of the claim, followed by screening and prioritization, after which the claims are validated in accordance with the requirements of the Act. If the claim satisfies the above requirements, then the monetary value of the claim should be determined before the claim can be negotiated and settled; where the land is to be restored, land use and developmental plans are needed. Claims are considered to be settled only when a settlement agreement is signed. Much has been written about obstacles to the restitution process. Scholars have argued about the policy framework and the fact that the 'willing-buyer willing-seller principle', the property clause in the Constitution and the reluctance to enforce the expropriation clause are some of the major obstacles to land reform in general and land restitution in particular (Ntsebeza, 2007:107-131).

Other scholars have noted the slow pace of delivery, attributing this to policy failures or to lack of capacity within the implementing agency, the Department of Land Affairs (Ntsebeza, 2007; Hall, 2003; Walker, 2005; Lahiff 2001; Du Toit, 2000). The matter of delivery of land to the claimants is important, but does not fall within the remit of this particular research. The focus of this research is on the other aspect of restitution which is

often relegated in importance by the DLA and CRLR, that of restitution as a catalyst for development.

As noted earlier, restitution is but one sub-programme of a bigger land reform programme which has broader objectives that are potentially far-reaching. The White Paper on South African Land policy lists these objectives as:

- the need to deal effectively with the injustices of the past;
- the need for a more equitable distribution of land;
- poverty reduction and the stimulation of economic growth;
- security of tenure for all, and
- to create a system of land management that will support sustainable land use patterns and rapid land release for development (DLA, 1997).

The restitution programme has, however, been faced with many challenges, as evidenced by the slow pace in settling claims, particularly large rural claims at the initial stages of the restitution programme. By the cut-off date for lodging claims of 31 December 1998, 63,455 restitution claims had been lodged throughout South Africa, but through the process of validating claims, the commissions had to increase the recorded number of claims lodged because some of the claim forms submitted represented more than one claim (Hall, 2003:20-21). As a result of the splits in these claim forms, the total number of restitution claims that the CRLR had to deal with rose to 79,696 (Walker, 2008:204).

Settlement of the claims was painstakingly slow at the beginning of the restitution programme. Only 50 claims were settled within the first five years of democracy, but the number rose after 1999 when a new Minister of Land Affairs took office (Hall, 2003:21). This increase cannot be solely attributed to the Minister since a number of claims had been researched

by that time and the move towards a stronger administrative process was proving to be effective.

While there has been a significant rise in the number of claims settled, Hall (2003) further argues that the number of households benefiting and the size of land being restored has not increased dramatically at all. This, Hall (2003:22) argues, is as a result of the small size of the claims that have been settled. The number of settled claims continued to rise, such that by March 2007 the CRLR had settled a creditable 93 per cent of all claims lodged. This equates to 74,417 of all claims lodged by the cut-off date of 31 December 1998; this figure was 74,613 by the beginning of 2008 (Walker, 2008:21, 205). Of these figures, Walker (2008:21) notes that 88 per cent of the settled claims were urban claims and 70 per cent of all land claimants in the settled cases had opted for financial compensation.

As much as the numbers are important, land reform as a developmental programme can be a powerful rural development tool to address the legacy of squandered assets, and open up market opportunities for those to whom access was denied under apartheid. The creation of these opportunities through the redistribution of land and other market reforms can be key components of a poverty reduction and rural development strategy (May, 2000:41). The success or failure of restitution therefore cannot only be measured against the number of hectares restored to black people but needs to go beyond that. Lahiff (2001) argues that restitution should restore land in such a way that it supports national reconciliation, as well as the reconstruction and development of the country, and argues that although ensuring historical justice and healing the wounds of racial discrimination are worthy goals, it is equally important for restitution to address the poverty and underdevelopment of the beneficiaries of the programme.

The central problem seems to reside in the quest to reach equilibrium

between addressing the legacy of racial discrimination and present-day economic development and poverty reduction. Hall (2004:221) observes that the former is a symbolic function in that it should provide tangible evidence of redressing the injustices of the past while also promoting nation-building, whereas the latter should be the centrepiece of a broader programme of rural restructuring, transforming social and economic relations to provide a structural basis for a wide-ranging pro-poor development programme. Restitution can therefore be judged by its results, by the realization of the vision of restoring land and paying compensation as part of the broader land reform programme, redistribution of land, tenure security and rural development (Du Toit, 2000:79). Du Toit (2000) further argues that restitution that only entails resettlement of communities on claimed lands is a costly exercise and is counter-productive to the broader aims of the land reform programme, but that the process of resettlement should be linked to the process of significant investment and developmental programmes, and restitution should be done in such a way that it assists and enhances the livelihood strategies of claimant communities, and lifts them out of, instead of confining them to, poverty. This seems to be the main challenge of the restitution programme, namely to link past injustices to the present era of redress, and to link the present to the immediate and future prospects of growth and development.

Walker (2005:660) argues, however, that the realization of the goals of social justice, redress and rebuilding communities that were destroyed by apartheid is proving to be an elusive ideal, primarily because it is dealing with a complex web of factors, the histories of dispossession and now reconstruction, the intersection of the symbolic process of dispossession and the material era of restitution and development, the rights that claimants have to reclaim their long-lost land and the developmental agenda of the country, the conceptualization of the national restitution agenda and the complexity and dynamism of local communities. Walker

(2008:16) further strengthens her argument by labelling the discourse and thinking around land restitution in South Africa as a 'master narrative', a narrative of loss and restoration. This narrative, she argues, may be a politically powerful narrative and arouse the emotions of the majority whose life was disturbed by land dispossession, but as a pragmatic programme of developmental action, the narrative is less useful as it focuses on the difficulties of the past and not sufficiently on the challenges of the present. Central to her critique of this narrative is that the numbers are not important as a measure of the success or failure of the restitution programme as far as redress and development are concerned, but rather how those whose land has been 'restored' manage to extricate themselves from poverty or the extent to which they have managed to improve their socio-economic status (Walker, 2008:209). Land restitution, she argues, cannot be taken out of group experiences of redress, but rather on the individual experiences under the restitution projects.

The Department of Land Affairs has been experimenting with various interventions to achieve this equilibrium. There has been an emphasis on entrepreneurship as a core area of developing a class of black farmers with little involvement in the economy by the state but rather over-reliance on the private sector (Hall, 2004:218). This has also seen the department dictating terms of resettlement to the beneficiaries, like the promotion of joint ventures with the private sector and rental arrangements by which black people can own land but rent it to white farmers to farm it, such a process satisfying the need for both racial transformation and the demand for maintaining existing modes of production (Hall *et.al.,* 2003).

As Walker (2005:655) notes, however, it is important to take into account local dynamics and preferences when negotiating restitution options. This may mitigate adverse impacts that will see beneficiaries being marginalized all over again, by giving land back to beneficiaries without a clear plan of development and service provision (Du Toit, 2000:83).

It is precisely this point that compels an investigation into the conduciveness of strategic partners as developmental catalysts in land reform projects, and the need to examine how local dynamics may play out in reconfiguring power relations between the beneficiaries of land reform and the private sector.

2.5 RESTITUTION AS A RESTORATIVE JUSTICE AND DEVELOPMENTAL PROGRAMME

Walker (2008:16) speaks of the master narrative, the narrative of loss and restoration, as a notion on which the whole restitution programme is premised. She argues that this narrative has as its guiding light the need to get productive land back to the people who were unceremoniously removed under racially discriminatory laws. The narrative, according to Walker (2008) works well as political rhetoric, but if it becomes divorced from the present struggles of the very people it seeks to return the land to, it loses the significance in light of the present demands of growth and development of the dispossessed masses. Walker (2008:16-17) observes that a lot happened during the intervening years between dispossession and the time of the application of restitution as a means for restorative justice and that the 'master narrative' does not take this into account. She argues that the intervening years have brought about significant social and livelihood differentiations within the dispossessed communities, and simply restoring land to the dispossessed will not achieve any significant results if the use of the 'master narrative' ignores marrying the national project of land restitution to other developmental programmes that the post-apartheid government has embarked on, such as the provision of housing, infrastructural development, justice, socio-economic development, and equality.

Lahiff (2001:4) echoes this sentiment when he argues that in order for restitution to have any impact on livelihoods, it has to be supplemented by adequate infrastructural development, excellent service provision and sound business planning. He also laments the poor integration of restitution with other governmental programmes. Du Toit (2000:80-81) also argues in terms not dissimilar to Walker when he speaks about the discourses of loss and redemption, that restitution is in effect designed, packaged and understood by its links to specific events in the country's apartheid past. But unlike Walker, Du Toit (2000) acknowledges the significance and emotional and political power of this discourse, and recognizes that the broader developmental discourse in South Africa after 1994 is premised on the felt emotional and political experiences of the past, and that by simply lodging a claim in the restitution programme, people are once again entering into a relationship with the past. He however recognizes the dangerous limitations of only constructing the restitution claimants as essentially victims, people who are only related by their powerlessness and experience of loss, a loss that was always more than just land, and which has multiplier effects beyond just the claimants. The discourse of loss or redemption, or the narrative of loss and restoration as Walker (2008) puts it, can sometimes be filtered through romanticism and be patronizing towards the very people it is meant to serve, according to Du Toit (2000:82). These narratives or discourses about loss and redemption inevitably construct assumptions and expectations that are difficult to engage with in an effective manner in light of the demands and limitations facing the democratic government in South Africa (Du Toit, 2000; Walker, 2008).

Solutions to the challenges of development are more often undermined by the sentimental conceptions that are derived from the discourses on loss and redemption that underestimate the levels of fragmentation and division that characterize many restitution settlements (Du Toit; 2000:82). Du Toit (2000) further argues that these sentiments lead to disappointment

and anti-climax when claimant communities finally realize that the return to their long-lost land cannot live up to their expectations and hopes. The disjuncture between expectation and reality, between the ideal of redeeming long-lost rights to productive resources and pushing forward a developmental agenda, between romanticism and pragmatism; is what seems to be the central problem of the land restitution programme, as the authors argue above.

The Centre for Developmental Enterprise (CDE), in their 2005 report on land reform in South Africa, argues that: “South Africa needs a land reform programme that is both developmentally and politically successful. Its outcomes must make land reform beneficiaries better-off and create an increasing degree of confidence, domestically and internationally, that land issues are firmly under control, and that historic wrongs are being righted at a steady pace” (CDE, 2005:6).

Government might have come to this realization as well, as the latter-day land policy in South Africa is now aimed at creating a class of successful black farmers, though this will not be inclusive of the majority of the people (CDE, 2005:8; Hall, 2003; Hall *et.al*, 2003). In order to do this, emphasis has now been placed on the centrality of the market in championing the imperative of developing this class of yeoman farmers. To do this, in recent times strategic partners have been sought to mentor and facilitate the entry into commercial agriculture of the beneficiaries of land reform, and land restitution in particular. It therefore helps to look at the strategic partnership model in detail.

2.6 SUMMARY

The 1913 Land Act resulted in a number of dispossessions, particularly amongst black African communities. This meant that the land they occupied was not productive and did not yield the economic result that the

white minority enjoyed from their fertile land. With such arid and unproductive land, the economic situation declined for most black Africans. This chapter explored the reasons for dispossession and the enactment of the 1913 Land Act right through to the land reforms in 1994. These land reforms sought to redress the injustices of the past and bring back economic prosperity to black Africans. Empirical evidence has shown the implications of forced removals and how best to address the situation. Furthermore, a number of scholars (see Du Toit, 2000; Lahiff, 2001; Hall, 2004; Walker, 2005) have document that restitution projects should not be based on the number of claims but should focus attention on enhancing the livelihood strategies of claimant communities and lift them out of poverty rather than confining them to it. Scholars advocate that restitution projects should be supplemented by adequate infrastructural development, excellent service provision and sound business planning.

The next chapter focuses on the Ehlanzeni District Municipality Restitution projects and the socio-economic attributes of the district.

CHAPTER THREE

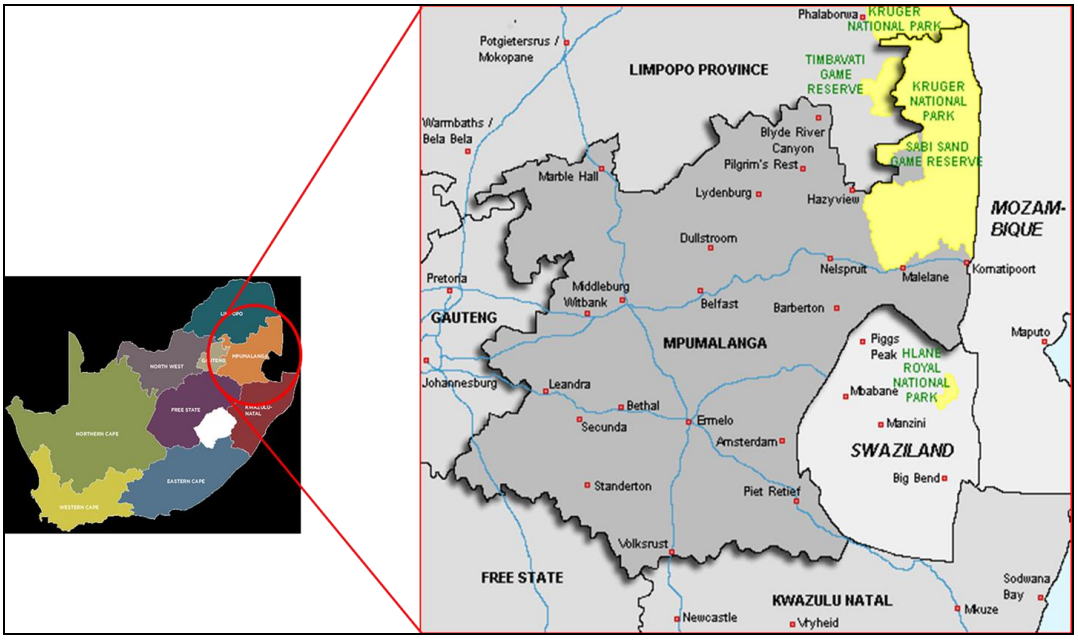
OVERVIEW OF THE EHLANZENI DISTRICT MUNICIPALITY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a broad overview of the Mpumalanga Province and then discusses the Ehlanzeni District. For the District's assessment, the focus then shifts to detailed analysis of each municipality within the district. Most of the information is drawn from the 2011 Census report as the most relevant and up-to-date information.

3.2 MPUMALANGA PROVINCE

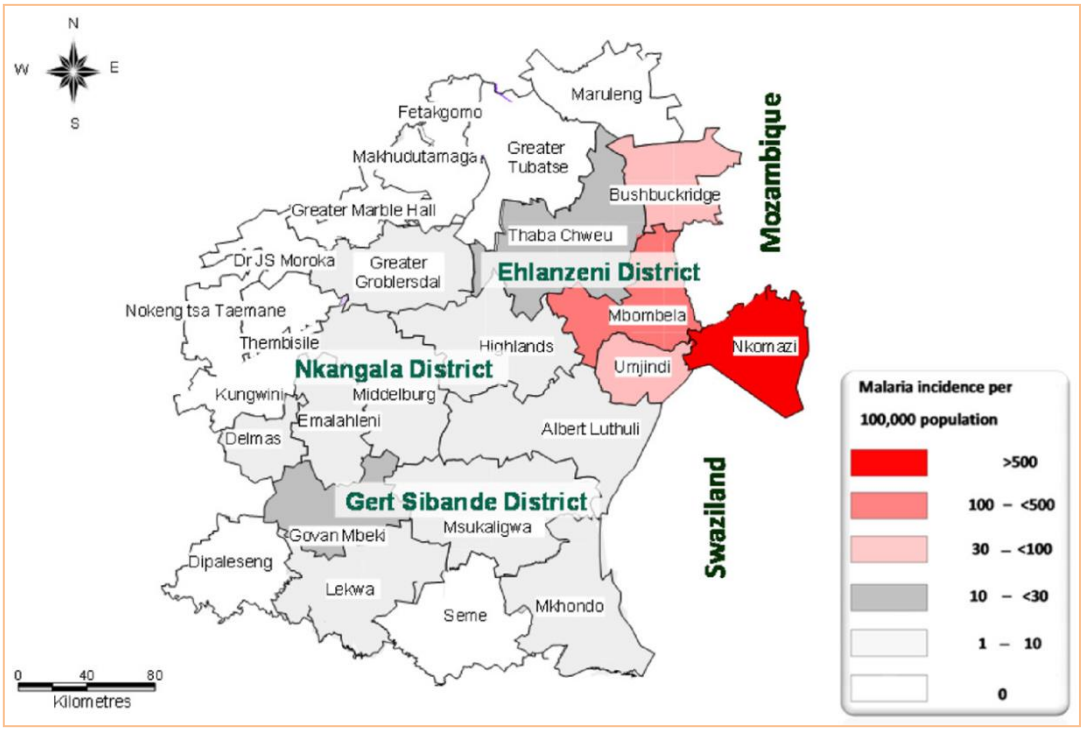
Figure 3.1: Location of Mpumalanga Province within South Africa



The Mpumalanga Province is situated mainly on the high plateau grasslands of the Middelveld. The province is bordered by Mozambique and Swaziland to the east and by Gauteng to the west. In the north it borders on Limpopo, to the south-west the Free State and to the south

KwaZulu-Natal. The capital is Mbombela (formerly Nelspruit). Mpumalanga Province is divided into three municipal districts, which are further subdivided into 17 local municipalities. The district municipalities are Gert Sibande, Nkangala and Ehlanzeni. The province boasts spectacular scenic beauty and an abundance of wildlife. With a total area of 76,495 square kilometres, Mpumalanga is slightly larger than the Czech Republic. It is the second-smallest province after Gauteng covering 6.3 per cent of land area in South Africa. The province had a population of 3.5 million people by mid-2006, of which 30 per cent speak siSwati (from neighbouring Swaziland), 26 per cent speak isiZulu and 12 per cent speak isiNdebele (Mpumalanga Provincial Government, 2010). According to the 2011 census, the population has grown to 4 million.

Figure 3.2: Location of EDM within Mpumalanga



3.3 EHLANZENI DISTRICT MUNICIPALITY (EDM)

The Ehlanzeni District Municipality is one of the three district municipalities in Mpumalanga. The other two District Municipalities are Nkangala and Gert Sibande. The District offers a lot in terms of agricultural products such as citrus fruit and other subtropical fruits like mangoes, avocados, guavas, paw-paws, litchis, bananas and granadillas. There is abundance of sugar cane, pecan and macadamia nuts. There are various types of vegetables cultivated in the district. Mbombela is the second largest citrus-producing area of South Africa and is responsible for a third of the country's export of oranges (South African LED Network, 2010).

The EDM is situated within the scenic Lowveld area of Mpumalanga and is dominated by agriculture, forestry and tourism (Ehlanzeni District Municipality, 2012). The Kruger National Park and the Maputo Corridor are situated on the eastern side bordering the district. The EDM also forms a gateway for many travellers to areas beyond its borders. Further, the district boasts four major perennial rivers: the Crocodile, Inkomati, Mlumati and Sabie. These rivers not only contribute to tourism potential but also present opportunities for agricultural development. The local municipal areas of the district include Mbombela, Nkomazi, Thaba Chweu and Umjindi with Bushbuckridge as a later addition (Komati/Ngwenya Private Sector Forum, 2007). This resulted in total area coverage of the district of approximately 27,895.47 Km^2 (Ehlanzeni District Municipality, 2012/13).

The majority of the EDM's population lives in formal urban areas, or in villages in the tribal areas. The District has the highest population density in Mpumalanga, as presented in Table 3.1 below. The estimated population density varies substantially between the five municipalities with Mbombela and Bushbuckridge having the highest densities and Umjindi and Thaba Chweu the lowest (South African LED Network, 2010).

3.4. EDM DEMOGRAPHICS

The high level summary of the EDM demographic profile is presented in Table 3.1 below. This summary is further analysed per local municipality in section 3.4.1.

Table 3.1: Summary of the EDM Demographic Profile

Population	1 688 615
Age Structure	
Population under 15	33.10%
Population 15 to 64	62.40%
Population over 65	4.60%
Dependency Ratio	
Per 100 (15-64)	60.40
Sex Ratio	
Males per 100 females	90.80
Population Growth	
Per annum	1.54%
Labour Market	
Unemployment rate (official)	34.40%
Youth unemployment rate (official) 15-34	44.20%
Education (aged 20 +)	
No schooling	16.60%
Higher education	9.50%
Matric	29.00%
Household Dynamics	
Households	445 087

Average household size	3.70
Female headed households	44.10%
Formal dwellings	91.80%
Housing owned	65.40%
Household Services	
Flush toilet connected to sewerage	21.50%
Weekly refuse removal	24.70%
Piped water inside dwelling	26.40%
Electricity for lighting	88.90%

Source: Census 2011 Municipal Fact Sheet, published by Statistics South Africa.

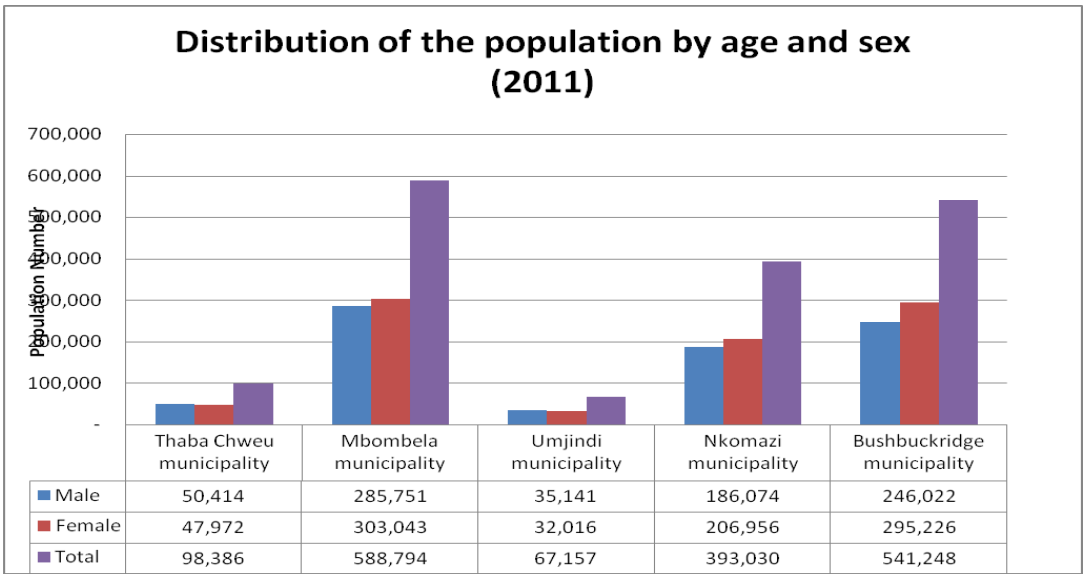
3.4.1 Demographic Local Municipality Comparisons

- **Population**

The total population of the Ehlanzeni District Municipality (2011 Census data) is 1.68 million. The majority of the people are found in the Mbombela Municipality (35% of the total population or 588,794 people). The Mbombela Municipality is the capital of the Province. This is followed by the Bushbuckridge municipality (32%) and Nkomazi municipality (23%). The lowest numbers of people are found in the remaining municipalities namely Thaba Chweu (98,386 or 5.8%) and Umjindi (67,157 or 4%). In terms of gender, the three most dense municipalities are dominated by females.

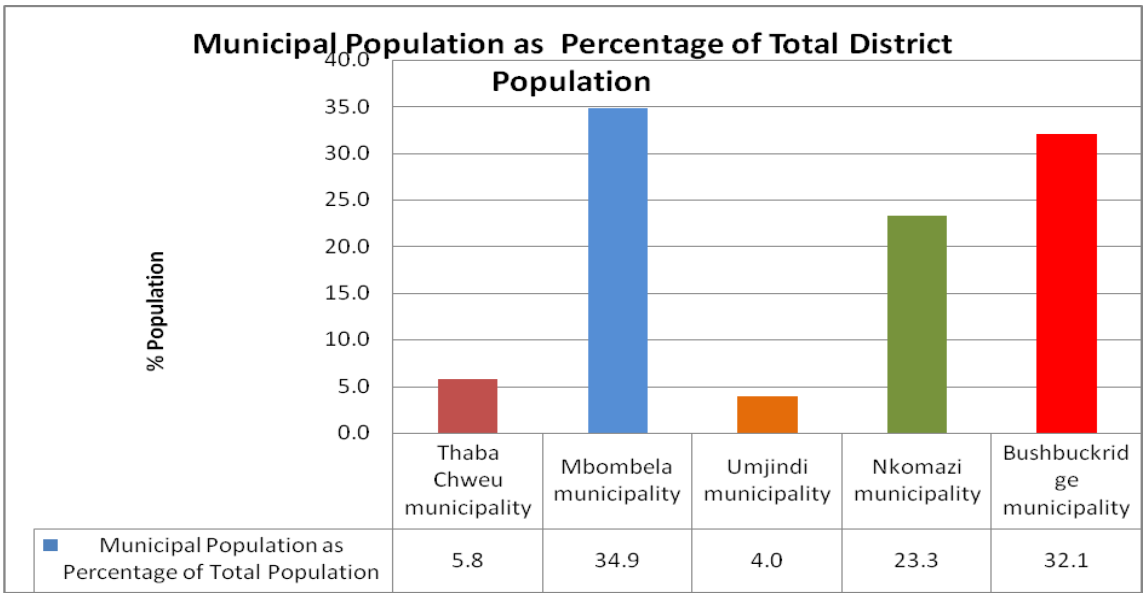
Figure 3.3: Distribution of the population by age and sex (Using 2011 Census figures)

Calculation from 2011 census information



	Thaba Chweu municipality	Mbombela municipality	Umjindi municipality	Nkomazi municipality	Bushbuckridge municipality
Male	50,414	285,751	35,141	186,074	246,022
Female	47,972	303,043	32,016	206,956	295,226
Total	98,386	588,794	67,157	393,030	541,248

Figure 3.4: Municipal population as a percentage of the District's Total Population

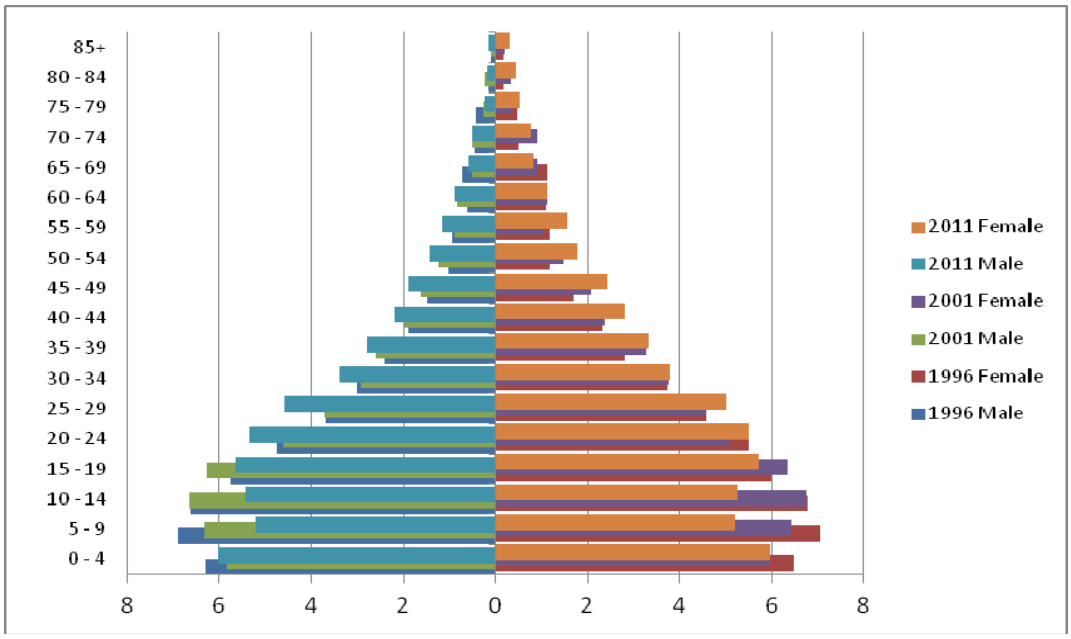


	Thaba Chweu municipality	Mbombela municipality	Umjindi municipality	Nkomazi municipality	Bushbuckridge municipality
Municipal Population as Percentage of Total Population	5.8	34.9	4.0	23.3	32.1

Calculation from 2011 census information

As mentioned earlier, Mbombela, Bushbuckridge and Nkomazi municipalities dominate the district and comprise 90.3 per cent of the population.

Figure 3.5: Distribution of population by age and sex, Ehlanzeni – 1996, 2001 and 2011



Statistics South Africa, Census 2011

The demography of the EDM shows that the majority (approximately 60% in 2011) fall within the youth category, aged between 14 to 35 years.

- **Education**

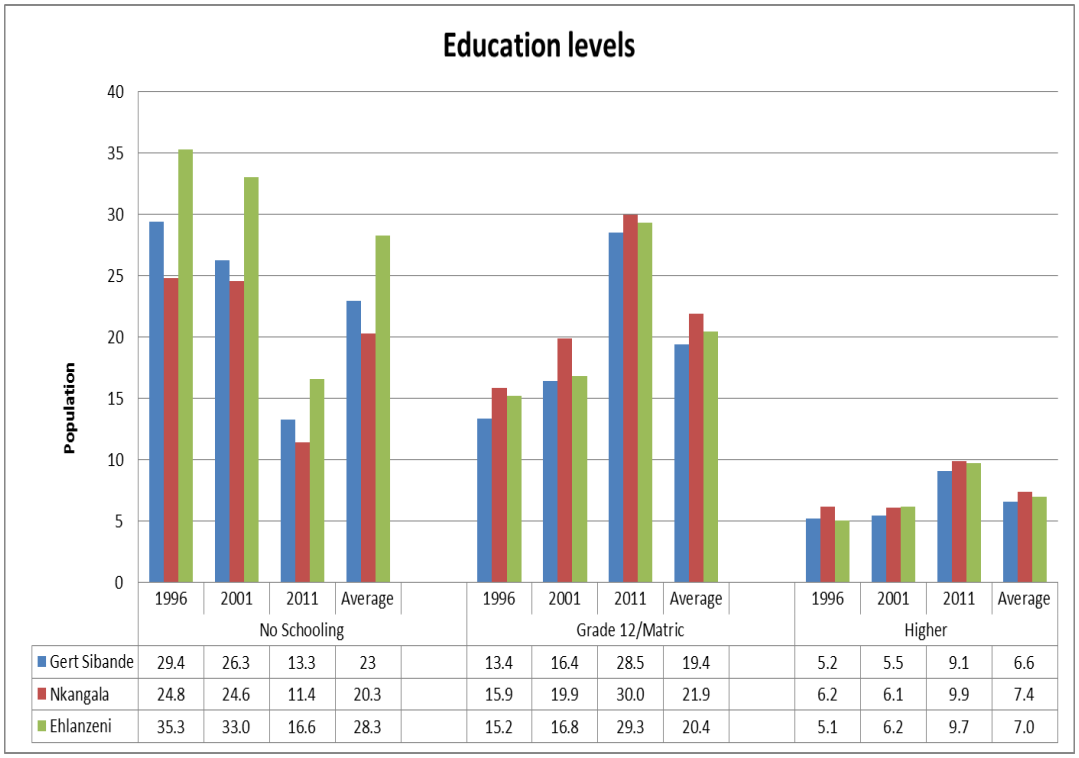
Table 3.2: Education Levels

	1996			2001			2011		
DC32: Ehlanzeni	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
No schooling	85 427	134 253	**219 680**	90 670	145 746	**236 415**	57 001	96 889	**153 890**
Some primary	40 339	44 660	**84 999**	52 246	56 248	**108 494**	47 515	55 261	**102 775**
Complete primary	17 787	19 809	**37 597**	18 885	20 108	**38 993**	17 471	19 711	**37 182**
Some secondary	74 748	79 441	**154 189**	79 398	87 798	**167 196**	131 993	140 575	**272 567**
Std 10/ Grade 12	43 967	50 381	**94 349**	56 312	63 949	**120 262**	124 220	144 148	**268 369**
Higher	15 765	15911	**31 677**	19 778	24 588	**44 366**	39 244	48 335	**87 579**
Total	**278 034**	**344 456**	**622 489**	**317 288**	**398 436**	**715 725**	**417 444**	**504 919**	**922 363**

Statistics South Africa, Census 2011

The level of education in the EDM is divided into three categories, namely no schooling (those who have not attended school), grade 12/matric, and higher education. These levels are also compared from 1996 through to the 2011 census. This comparison assists in determining the level of education over time and the implications thereof on the employment and economy of EDM. A decrease in the no schooling level from 219,680 to 153,890 was seen over the period 1996 through 2011. This shows an increase in the population now attending school and this may be attributed to the increase in the number of schools and improved access to school. The increase in schooling has had a domino effect on the grade 12 matric level, increasing from 94,349 in 1996 to 268,369 in 2011. For higher education, an increase is also shown from 31,671 in 1996 to 87,579 in 2011. In total, the EDM shows an increase in the level of education from 622,489 in 1996 to 922,363 in 2011.

Figure 3.6 below shows the levels of education by district municipality. Throughout the periods 1996, 2001 and 2011, the EDM had the highest level of no schooling amongst the three district municipalities, at 35.3 per cent, 33.0 per cent and 16.6 per cent respectively. On average, in no schooling, EDM ranks the highest (28.3%) and second highest after Nkangala in grade 12/matric (20.4%) and higher education (7.0%).



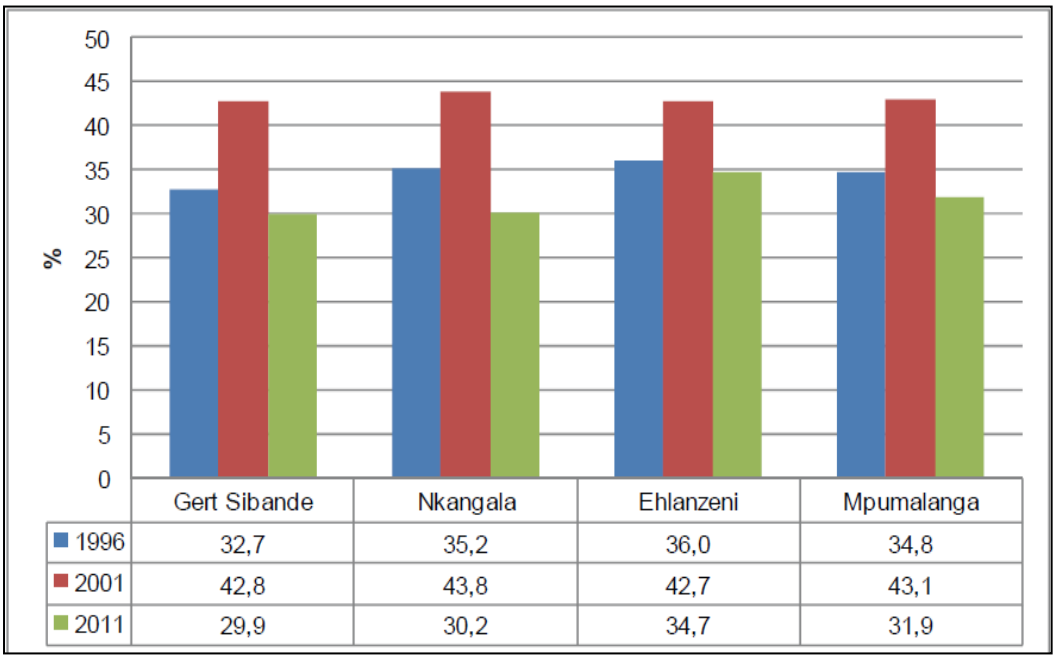
	No Schooling				Grade 12/Matric				Higher			
	1996	2001	2011	Average	1996	2001	2011	Average	1996	2001	2011	Average
Gert Sibande	29.4	26.3	13.3	23	13.4	16.4	28.5	19.4	5.2	5.5	9.1	6.6
Nkangala	24.8	24.6	11.4	20.3	15.9	19.9	30.0	21.9	6.2	6.1	9.9	7.4
Ehlanzeni	35.3	33.0	16.6	28.3	15.2	16.8	29.3	20.4	5.1	6.2	9.7	7.0

Figure 3.6: Level of Education (comparison by District Municipalities)

Statistics South Africa, Census 2011

- **Unemployment Rates**

Figure 3.7: Unemployment rate (official definition) by district municipality – 1996, 2001 and 2011.

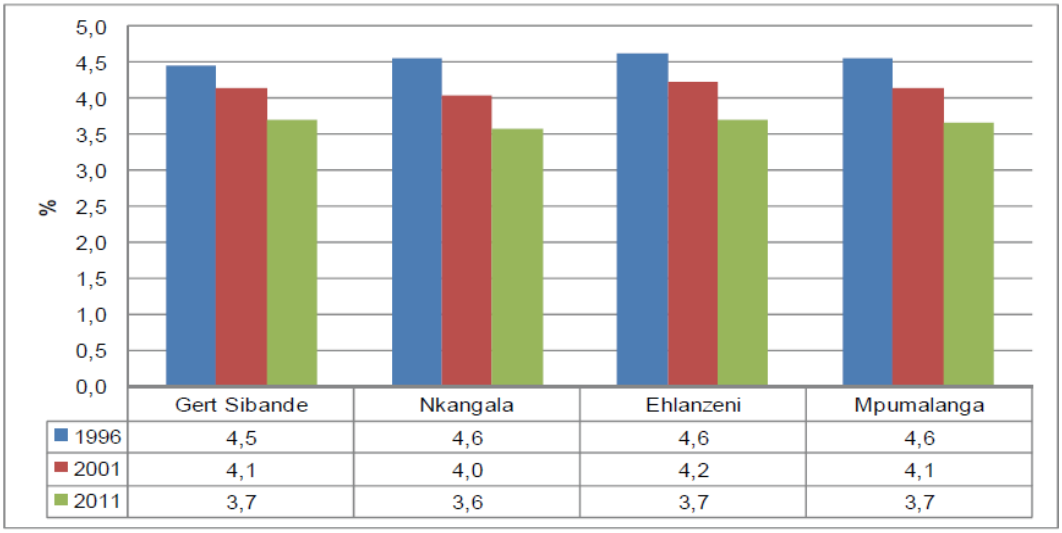


	Gert Sibande	Nkangala	Ehlanzeni	Mpumalanga
1996	32,7	35,2	36,0	34,8
2001	42,8	43,8	42,7	43,1
2011	29,9	30,2	34,7	31,9

Unemployment in the province remains high despite the decrease from 43.1 per cent in 2001 to 31.9 per cent in 2011. This figure is higher than the official country unemployment rate of 24.5 per cent. All three district municipalities experienced high levels of unemployment (above 40%) in 2001 and these figures have since dropped to an average of 31.6%. This average rate is still high compared to the national unemployment rate of 24.5 per cent. These figures signify high levels of unemployment in the province. EDM experienced the highest level of unemployment in 2011. Part of the reason for the high unemployment rate may be ascribed to the decline in the mining and agricultural sectors, particularly in Umjindi and Thaba Chweu Local Municipalities (EDM Annual Report, 2012/13).

- **Household size and type of dwelling**

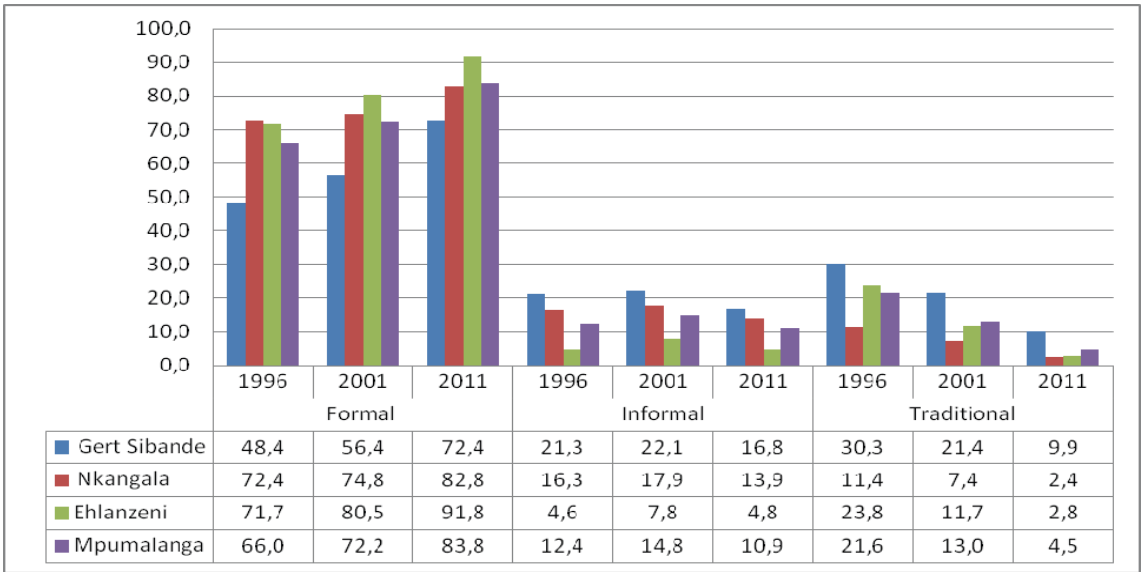
Figure 3.8: Average household size by district municipality – 1996, 2001 and 2011



	Gert Sibande	Nkangala	Ehlanzeni	Mpumalanga
1996	4,5	4,6	4,6	4,6
2001	4,1	4,0	4,2	4,1
2011	3,7	3,6	3,7	3,7

The average household size for the three district municipalities is recorded at 3.7. Over time, the average household size has been declining and some variations are shown between the districts.

Figure 3.9: Distribution of households by type of main dwelling and

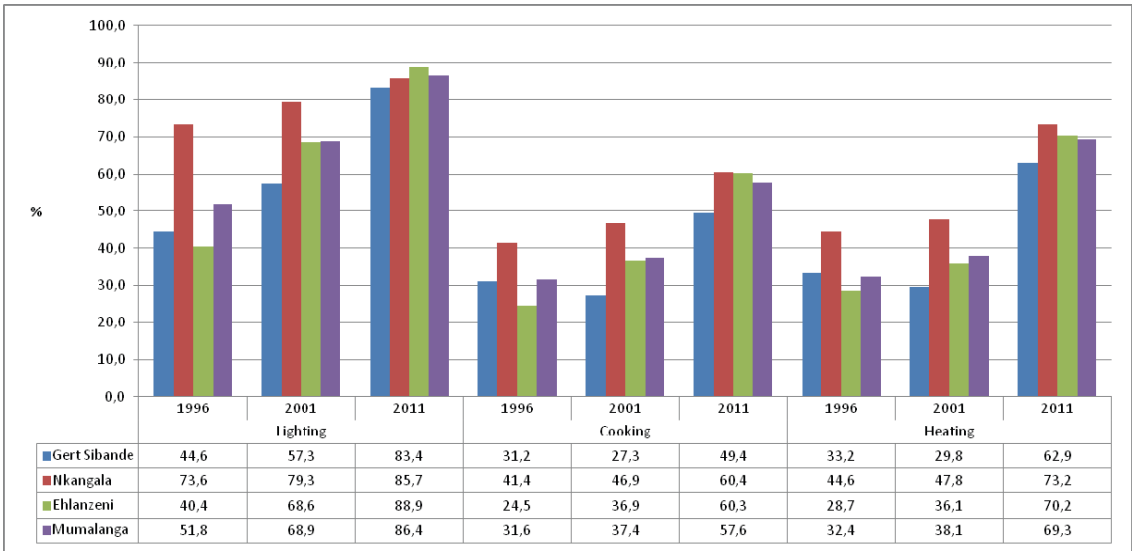


	1996	2001	2011	1996	2001	2011	1996	2001	2011
	Formal			Informal			Traditional		
Gert Sibande	48,4	56,4	72,4	21,3	22,1	16,8	30,3	21,4	9,9
Nkangala	72,4	74,8	82,8	16,3	17,9	13,9	11,4	7,4	2,4
Ehlanzeni	71,7	80,5	91,8	4,6	7,8	4,8	23,8	11,7	2,8
Mpumalanga	66,0	72,2	83,8	12,4	14,8	10,9	21,6	13,0	4,5

district municipality – 1996, 2001 and 2011

- **Access to Electricity**

Figure 3.10: Distribution of households using electricity for lighting,



	1996	2001	2011	1996	2001	2011	1996	2001	2011
	Lighting			Cooking			Heating		
Gert Sibande	44,6	57,3	83,4	31,2	27,3	49,4	33,2	29,8	62,9
Nkangala	73,6	79,3	85,7	41,4	46,9	60,4	44,6	47,8	73,2
Ehlanzeni	40,4	68,6	88,9	24,5	36,9	60,3	28,7	36,1	70,2
Mumalanga	51,8	68,9	86,4	31,6	37,4	57,6	32,4	38,1	69,3

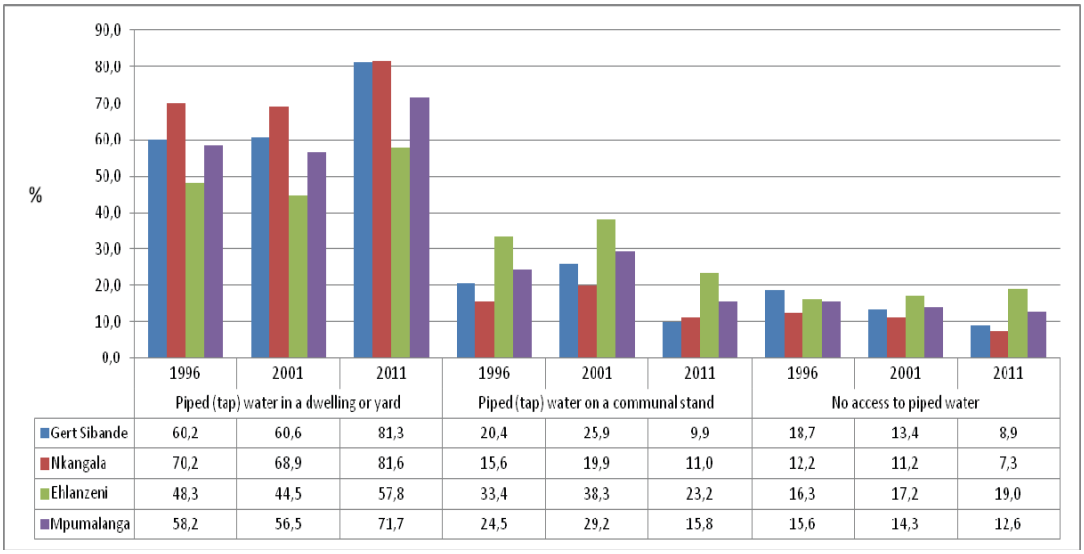
cooking and heating by district municipality – 1996, 2001 and 2011

Figure 3.10 above shows the distribution of electricity for lighting, cooking and heating. Significant variations are shown across the districts with Nkangala leading in all categories (lighting, cooking and heating) over time. Lighting is shown as the proportion of households using electricity as

the main source of energy. Despite these variations, Figure 3.9 above exhibits significant increases in electricity distribution across the province.

- **Access to water**

Figure 3.11: Distribution of households having access to piped water by district municipality – 1996, 2001 and 2011

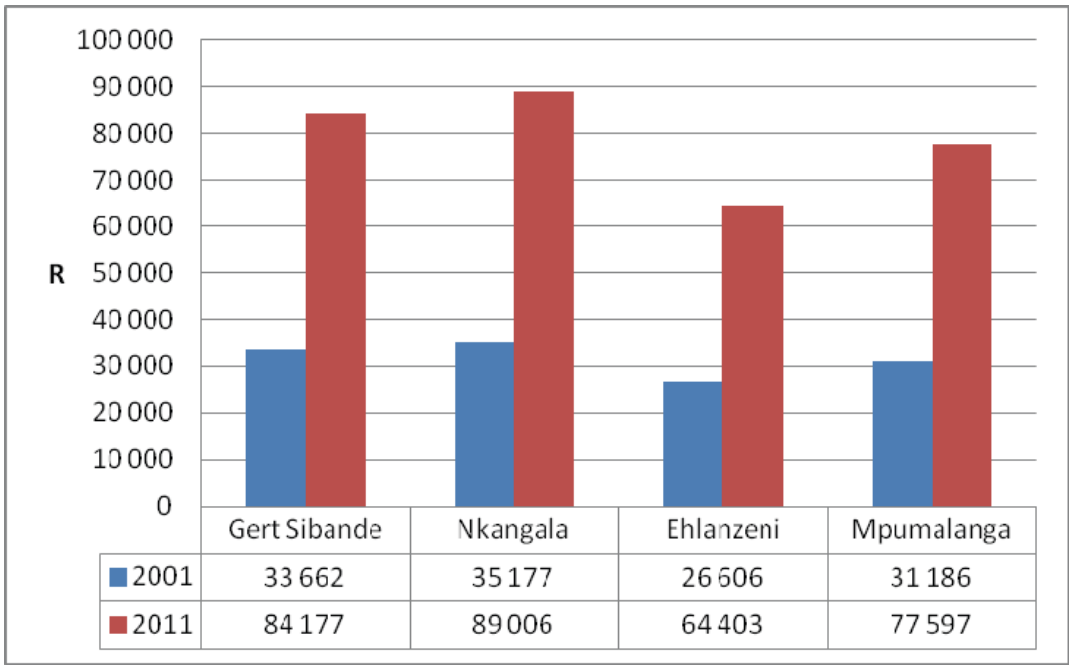


	Piped (tap) water in a dwelling or yard			Piped (tap) water on a communal stand			No access to piped water		
	1996	2001	2011	1996	2001	2011	1996	2001	2011
Gert Sibande	60,2	60,6	81,3	20,4	25,9	9,9	18,7	13,4	8,9
Nkangala	70,2	68,9	81,6	15,6	19,9	11,0	12,2	11,2	7,3
Ehlanzeni	48,3	44,5	57,8	33,4	38,3	23,2	16,3	17,2	19,0
Mpumalanga	58,2	56,5	71,7	24,5	29,2	15,8	15,6	14,3	12,6

The EDM is a category C municipality (two-tier local government in Category B and C municipalities where a Category C municipality shares jurisdiction with a number of Category B municipalities) and is a non-water authority but has all the responsibilities of providing support to its local municipalities. Figure 3.11 above shows an increase in the proportion of households having access to piped water in their dwelling or yard. Alongside is the decline in the proportion of households having access to piped water on a communal stand or no access to piped water except in Ehlanzeni district which saw an increase over time. The proportion of households having access to piped water on a communal stand increased from 1996 to 2001 and in 2011 shows a decline.

- **Income distribution**

Figure 3.12: Distribution of average household income by district municipality – 2001 and 2011



	Gert Sibande	Nkangala	Ehlanzeni	Mpumalanga
2001	33 662	35 177	26 606	31 186
2011	84 177	89 006	64 403	77 597

Income plays a critical role in any community. Between 2001 and 2011, significant increases in incomes were recorded across the districts. The EDM recorded the least income throughout the period 2001 to 2011 with a 142 per cent change in incomes, while Gert Sibande and Nkangala reported 150 per cent and 153 per cent changes respectively. For the province, the average incomes increase from R31, 186 to R77, 587 representing a 144 per cent change in incomes over time.

3.5 SUMMARY

One of the local municipalities within EDM is Mbombela which is also the home of the Mpumalanga Provincial Government. It is the most concentrated economic hub within the province. It features three border gates to both Swaziland and Mozambique (Matsamo, Komatipoort and

Mananga) and therefore movement of people from neighbouring countries to the district, and from Gauteng to either Swaziland or Mozambique, creates a catalyst for the economic life of the area. In the 2012/2013 financial year, the trade sector was recorded as the largest contributor, accounting for 24.7 per cent of the District's economy. This was followed by Community services (20%), Agriculture sector (12.7%), Manufacturing (10%), Construction (9.1%) and Private households (8.2%). The lowest contributors were Finances (6.9%), Mining (4.1%), Transport (3.8%) and Utilities at 0.5% (EDM Annual Report, 2012/13).

Income, unemployment and poverty levels remain a challenge within the district. Generally, despite the end of apartheid in 1994, South Africa has the highest income inequality in the world as measured by the Gini Co-efficient. Income inequality remained relatively unchanged between 1990 and 2011. This is one of the biggest challenges facing the country and has a detrimental impact on the country's economic development and business environment. Unemployment levels have also remained high in the district and well above the national rate. These high rates of unemployment and levels of income inequality have detrimental implications for economic development and socio-political stability. These challenges tend to impede the progress of health and education. Huge variations in income can also increase the incidence of poverty and contribute towards high crime rates. Given the geographical location of the District and the key national routes such as the National Route (N4), a decline in economic activities, particularly agriculture that has the potential to create extensive wealth and employment may result in lost opportunities for travellers around the neighbouring countries.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODS AND TECHNIQUES

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the research methods used to collect, analyse and represent the data. The methods and design are detailed in section 4.2 and the population sample in section 4.3. The structure of the questionnaire reflecting the information on restitution projects in the Ehlanzeni District Municipality is presented in section 4.4. Section 4.5 ends the chapter with a summary of the salient methods employed in the research.

4.2 RESEARCH METHODS

This research explores the impact of the restitution projects on the livelihoods, employment and incomes of the communities in the Ehlanzeni District. Therefore, the design and approach of the research is most appropriate to answer the proposed research question. This research follows, like many other studies on land, a mixed approach – utilizing quantitative and quantitative design. It is envisaged that such a research method will provide answers to the research question/objectives. Quantitative analysis enables running sensitivity tests to clarify the role of key behavioural assumptions and other important parameters (Sadoulet & de Janvry, 1995). In addition, Cohen and Manion (1980) define quantitative research as social research that employs empirical methods and empirical statements. They state that an empirical statement is defined as a descriptive statement about what “is” the case in the “real world” rather than what “ought” to be the case. Typically, empirical statements are expressed in numerical terms.

Quantitative modelling studies involving changes in land use assist in policy analysis bridging the gap between pure economic theory, which is inadequate in dealing with these issues in a holistic manner, and the real world (Dikgang & Muchapondwa, 2013). In an attempt to improve the policy debate for pragmatic answers to the complex problems on optimal and sustainable resource use, quantifications of various variables stated in the underlying theories are needed. Hence, the use of only qualitative insight as well as conceptual models, as is mostly the case, is not sufficient. The use of quantitative modelling can assist in revealing important direct and indirect effects of a policy, which are likely to be lost when only discussing the policy issues.

4.2.1 Research design

The proposed study will employ an ex-post-facto research design. According to Kerlinger (1973), ex-post-facto research is a systematic empirical inquiry in which the scientist does not have direct control of variables. Inferences about relationships among variables are made from any determined variations between the studied variables.

Therefore, this study will involve the gathering of information about the impact of restitution projects on the livelihoods of the Ehlanzeni community which has a varied socio-economic setting. Such a study design does not allow for the manipulation of variables by the researcher. Instead, any determined differences will be ex-post-facto in nature in that they will stem from differences in results in the measurement efforts according to the survey instruments questionnaire.

4.2.2 Data collection

The study employs a structured interview approach through questionnaires in collecting the data. The general geographical profile including income and consumption patterns and infrastructural settings will be taken from the 2011 Census report for Mpumalanga Province. However, the Census report does not detail the extent of the impact of the restitution projects on the livelihoods, employment and incomes of the communities in the Ehlanzeni district. Therefore, the study will employ questionnaires that will draw information about the restitution projects to ascertain the impact on the community of Ehlanzeni District.

4.2.3 Primary data

The study used five university students (hereafter administrators, two of whom are in the area of land studies) to administer the questionnaires. These students were also assisted by seven Departmental officials including a Member of Parliament of South Africa who resides in Mpumalanga. The Member of Parliament also assisted in the co-ordination of the participants and some students to assist as administrators. Prior to the process of data collection, letters introducing the study and the respective administrators were sent to the Minister of Rural Development and Land Reform, the Mayor of the Ehlanzeni District Municipality, the chiefs and the co-ordinators of land claims in the province. The letters described the nature of the study and its importance and requested the support of the administrator. These letters were followed up by telephone calls to confirm receipt of the letters.

The procedure and the questionnaires were pilot-tested with at least five officials from the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform in order to refine the data gathering plans. After the pilot-testing procedures, the questionnaires were then shared with the administrators. The sharing of the questionnaires formed part of coaching the administrators on how to carry out the entire process. The administrators then filled in the

questionnaires on behalf of the participants. The reason for this was informed in part, by the lower literacy levels in the District. Apart from literacy considerations, it also improved the quality of data collected since the administrators were coached. The process of data collection took three days.

4.2.4 Secondary data

South Africa has had three censuses since 1994, in 1996, 2001 and 2011. The census data is widely published and accessible to business, all levels of government, media, students and teachers, charities and researchers and any interested parties, by Statistics South Africa. Census data offer a unique insight into small areas and small demographic groups which sample data would be unable to capture with precision. The study, as a secondary source of data, will use the 2011 Census report for the Mpumalanga Province. The Census report provides data on demographics, migration, education, general health and functioning, labour force, mortality, and households.

4.3 POPULATION / SAMPLE

The study will focus on a sample of the adult population, 18 years and older, and identifies a minimum of about 15 restitution projects. One restitution project was found to have at least 4-5 trusts serving quite a large community.

A sample was drawn from the list of farmers obtained from the district municipality. Using a table of random numbers, the names of individuals were selected from each setting until a minimum of 15 restitution projects was obtained. It is anticipated that if fewer than 15 restitution projects per setting initially respond to the instruments described below, project names will continue to be drawn from the remaining list of farmers until at least 15

restitution projects complete the questionnaires. Although the number of households in the district is 445,087 (Statistics South Africa, 2012), it is expected that obtaining a minimum of 15 restitution projects will result in a good cross-section of participants in terms of impact of land restitution programmes.

The questionnaire included questions, *inter alia*, on the following:

- Black farmers (male/female) on restituted land;
- Specific area of farming and type of crop farming – banana and sugar cane;
- Number of years farming – assessing relevant skills and job opportunities that prevailed;
- Consumption patterns;
- Rural economic activities – to judge the levels of incomes generated;
- Access to basic needs and infrastructure;
- Levels of education; and
- Type of non-financial technical support.

The following exclusion criteria were made. In other words, the following participants will not be included in the study as they would not provide a true reflection of the impact of the restitution projects on the livelihoods of the communities involved in the study. These criteria include the following:

- Communities that are not directly involved in the projects but have some degree of benefits;
- Additional source of income (dependants from outside the district/province) that far outweigh the income generated from the project; and
- Availability of grants that are not related to the projects.

The research will focus on the period from when the projects were started. Differences will be noticed in this regard where some projects will reflect some degree of progress whilst others may be too new to identify reasonable progress and impact of the livelihoods. A period of five years may be sufficient to provide evidence of impact of the project. Such a period is considered sufficient to measure the impact of the restitution projects in the medium to long term period.

4.4 DATA ANALYSIS AND TECHNIQUES

4.4.1 Structure of the questionnaire

The study employed qualitative research methods comprising a three-pronged approach:

- The selected participants were interviewed on their experiences after regaining the land (through the restitution programme) and their relationships with other community projects. The aim here was to establish the extent to which social relations empowered or hampered further progress or contributed to sustained livelihoods. This method was also used to understand the expectations that communities had of the restitution programme and the model that is used by government.
- The second was to study the social and economic demographics of the area and the information was sourced from using the semi-structured interviews with the participants. The intention of this was to get a clearer understanding of the present economic and livelihood status of the community, and how this may affect the expectations of the community. The plight of the current farm workers on the claimed farms was deliberately omitted from the study because the challenges of farm workers on restitution farms is a wide and complex challenge that requires specific attention.

- The third was to establish the general challenges faced by the communities and their relationship with the government, particularly on the type of assistance that might have been provided to them.

The questionnaire is divided into seven sections. These sections are tabled below.

Table 4.1: Questionnaire Structure

Section	Type of information
A. Personal information	This section presents general information about the project name, household information, number of dependants and their education levels and structure of the house.
B. Restitution Land details	Section B provides information from type of land, ownership and year of ownership, type of crop, employee information to type of government assistance on the project. This is the core of the study as it will provide the nature of the restitution project. However, the information is not sufficient to determine the socio-economic impact of the project. This is presented in the next sections.
C. Income levels (Disposable income = Y^D)	This is an important section that provides information on the income levels both from the project and personal incomes generated elsewhere
D. Consumption Patterns (C)	Consumption information is essential in determining how income generated from the project is used. The focus is largely

	on food and basic consumption. This is seen as a measure of poverty. The propensity to consume, particularly from disposable income, may be used to determine some degree of livelihood.
E. Access to infrastructure	This section provides information on access to infrastructure such as markets, government buildings, main roads and tourist attractions. Proximity or ease of access to infrastructure may have a bearing on the incomes and also market share.
F. Additional Income	Additional income includes any other income apart from the one generated from the project. Sales from agricultural products (not main crops of the project) and small livestock are examples.
G. Savings (S)	This section determines the savings element. This involves the determination of income and consumption.

The questionnaire is structured in such a way that it differentiates between independent and dependant variables. Sections A and B in Table 4.1 are deemed independent variables whereas sections C, D, E, F and G are dependent variables. The dependent variables are also presented in the form of algebraic equations that describe their relationships. The study uses the simple Keynesian income and expenditure model to derive the values of these equations. The consumption function (C) describes the relationship between consumption and real (disposable) income (Y^D). There is a positively sloped relationship between real consumption and spending and real (disposable) income.

The consumption function in this study focuses largely on food and basic needs. This is in line with the argument by Deaton (1997) that in the context of developing countries, particularly in rural areas, food consumption expenditure is preferred to measure poverty, rather than income. However, income remains a critical component of poverty and sustained livelihoods. For example, the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS, 2004) states that income is useful as a measure that can provide vital information concerning the understanding of welfare in terms of monetary sources.

Once the data was collected from the interviews and questionnaires, it was processed in various ways. This study used an Excel spreadsheet to analyse the data and translate it into useful research evidence and information. Calculation of the averages (average function) from the Excel spreadsheet and other statistical analysis such as correlations will be determined. The average function measures the central tendency, which is the location of the centre of a group of numbers in a statistical distribution. The three most common measures of central tendency are:

- Average: The arithmetic mean, calculated by adding a group of numbers and then dividing by the count of those numbers.
- Median: The middle number of a group of numbers; that is, half the numbers have values that are greater than the median, and half the numbers have values that are less than the median.
- Mode: which is the most frequently occurring number in a group of numbers.

Since the study attempts to explore the impact of the restitution projects on the livelihoods of the Ehlanzeni district community, the measures of central tendency will be used to test average levels of income, consumption and access to basic needs (including electricity, water and sanitation). Furthermore, a correlation matrix will be computed to determine any

relationship between incomes, consumption, level of education, and access to basic services as a measure that will determine the levels of poverty. The size of the farm, level of education, number of employees, turnover and wages paid will be used to determine the extent of job creation in the District. This also tests whether having access to land (in terms of size) necessarily means that incomes of farmers will be higher. The levels of incomes will be tested against the number of dependents/people in a household and consumption patterns. It is expected that the statistical descriptions will also reveal other important findings.

4.5 SUMMARY

The independent variables included the name, size of households, and the project nature which may contribute in determining the number of restitution projects. However, information drawn from the dependent variables addresses the core of the study – the socio-economic impact of the restitution projects in the Ehlanzeni District Municipality. The use of the simplistic Keynesian income and expenditure model provides useful information both for determining the levels of poverty (consumption perspective) and sources of income (the use of income). The Keynesian model (applied at micro level) allows for a closer look at the factors that influence spending (consumption patterns) and to consider why total spending tends to fluctuate.

The data analysis is presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA ANALYSIS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the analysis of the data and the findings in line with the methodology discussed in the previous chapter. The chapter further provides a comprehensive analysis of the socio-economic benefits deriving from land restitution programmes.

5.2 RESTITUTION PROJECTS IN THE EDM

The study focused on a sample of the adult population, 18 years and older, and interviewed a sample of 21 farmers in various restitution projects within the EDM. These farmers also represented a Trust serving a relatively large community.

5.2.1. Personal information

Table 5.1 below shows personal and other information about the projects in the district. The majority of the households are headed by males representing 85.7 per cent of the sample population. This figure is also equal to the married category in terms of marital status.

There is some degree of education with the majority having been through secondary/high school. This seems to be reflective of the general census statistics concerning the levels of education. About 9.5 per cent of the sample size (2 of 21 participants) is employed elsewhere (that is, other than agriculture).

Table 5.1: Personal information

			Nkomazi	Mbombela	Umjindi	Bushbuck-ridge	Thaba Chweu
Number. of Participants			3	6	4	5	3
Gender		Male	3	3	3	4	1
		Female				1	-
Marital Status		Married	3	6	4	3	2
		Single	-	-	-	1	
		Not Specified	-	-	-	1	1
Level of Education		Tertiary	2	3	-	2	1
		High/Secondary	1	1	-	1	1
		Primary		-	-	1	-
		No Schooling		-	-	-	-
		Not Specified		1	4	1	1
Employment Status (outside the Project)		Number	1	1	-	-	-
		Not Specified			-	-	-
Household Size		Average	7	5	8.25	9	6.5
		Not Specified	-	-	-	2	1
		Not Applicable	-	3	-	-	-
Number. of Dependants		Average	4.7	7.7	5.6	6.6	4.5
Number. of Dependants attending school		Average	4.3	4.8	4.5	3.6	2

Number of meals per day		One	-	-	-	-	-
		Two	-	1	-	2	-
		Three	3	3	4	2	2
		More than Three		2			
Type of Dwelling		House	3	6	3	4	2
		Not Specified	-	-	1	1	1
Years of Occupation		0-5 Years	-	-	2	1	-
		5-10Years	-	-	-	-	-
		10-15 Years	1	2		2	-
		15-20 Years	1	1	1		1
		More than 20 Years	1	3	-	2	1
		Not Specified	-	-	1		1
Own Household Goods		All	2	5	3	5	2
		Some	1	1	1		1
Access to Basic Services		Electricity	3	6	2	5	2
		Piped Water	2	4	2	5	2
		Closed toilet	3	4	3	5	2
		Telephone/Cell	3	6	1	2	2
		Other (Specify)	2 Pumps	3 Pumps	1 Pump	3 Pumps	-

5.2.2 Household Information

The majority of the houses are formal dwellings. The formal dwellings account for 85.7 per cent of the sample size. This falls slightly short of matching the EDM's formal dwelling rate of 91.8 per cent (Census, 2011). The projects within the District have a large percentage of household size averaging 7.15 per household. The household size parallels the number of dependants at an average of 5.8 per household. Even with large households, in most municipalities the families state that they have at least three meals a day (81%). The meals come from a combination of income generated from sales used to buy additional food items and surplus produce from the fields. The remaining 19 per cent has either slightly more or less than three meals a day. Regarding access to basic services, significant figures are presented.

A total of 43 per cent (9 of 21) of the farmers have over 10 years of residence in their current dwelling whilst 14 per cent (3 of 21) have less than 5 years. The long period of residence can be expected to correspond with some degree of income and better livelihoods. However, this is not the case as these farmers struggle to maintain the farms and generate the necessary income that improves their livelihoods. In addition, the increase in the number of households (often not at the same pace as the increase in income) over time has had adverse effects on their livelihoods.

Access to electricity across the district stands at 85.7 per cent, piped water at 71.4 per cent, closed toilets at 81.0 per cent and cell phones at 66.7 per cent. About 42.8 per cent have access to pumps. In some areas, it was reported that some days they do not receive piped water; therefore the pumps are useful. The Census reports showed a decline in the proportion of households owning a landline telephone and an increase in households owning cell phones between 2001 and 2011.

5.2.3 Information of the Projects

Most participants recall that the land was taken away from them during the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s. This may be supported by the implementation of the Natives Land Act of 1936. The land was returned only after 1998 (after 1994 initiatives of Land Reform) with some only receiving returned land as late as 2013. The participants have spent an average of 8.8 years on the restitution projects. The majority of the land administered back to the communities was done in the mid-2000s. Since land was given back, the major activity has been farming with a variety of crops such as citrus, bananas, macadamia nuts, vegetables (cabbage, tomatoes, green beans) and fruits (lemons, mangoes, pawpaws, oranges, litchis). One participant in Thaba Chweu reported having a timber farm. The local municipality has extensive arable land suitable for timber, crops and livestock farming, and furthermore it has sufficient supplies of water. Therefore, it makes economic sense that most of the timber growers and saw mills, such as York Timber, Merensky and Sappi, are located either within Thaba Chweu or adjacent to Thaba Chweu (Thaleda, 2014). What can be deduced from this information is that there is indeed improved access to land as promised by the land reform initiatives.

Table 5.2: Project information

	Nkomazi	**Mbombela**	**Umjindi**	**Bushbuck ridge**	**Thaba Chweu**
Year Land was taken away	1940s, 1950s, 1960s (1940-1960)				
Year Land was given back	Between 1998 and 2013 (majority in mid-2000s)				
How long have you been in the project? Average No. of Years	4.3	5.6	3.5	4.4	8.5
Type of Land/Project	All Farms				
Size of the land	Range from 170ha to 6000ha				
Type of crop	Citrus, Bananas, Vegetables (cabbage, tomatoes, green beans), Lemon, Mangoes, Pawpaw, Oranges, Litchis, Macadamia nuts, and a few with Timber				
Type of Livestock	Cattle and Poultry				
No. of Employees since the start of the project	Ranges from 11 to 500				
Type of Employment	Mostly permanent and some seasonally/part-time				
Wage rate of the employees in the project	Ranges from R1500 to R3500				
No. of Employees by end of 2013	Ranges from 13 to 1000				

5.3 MEASURES OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPACT

The simple Keynesian model was employed to determine the levels of income, consumption and savings. It is expected that a higher income than the consumption level will yield significant savings levels.

5.3.1 Income, Consumption and Savings

Table 5.3: Income, consumption and savings in Rands (2014)

	Nkomazi	Mbombela	Umjindi	Bush-buck ridge	Thaba Chweu	EDM
Total Incomes	16,250	46,252	1,250	17,500	15,000	96,252
Total Consumption	10,667	13,775	-	5,500	104,500	134,442
Total Savings	**5,583**	**32,477**	**1,250**	**12,000**	**(89,500)**	**(38,190)**
MPC (assuming R0 autonomous savings)	0.66	0.30	0.00	0.31	6.97	1.40

Table 5.3 above presents interesting findings. All municipalities (except Thaba Chweu) show some degree of savings. Savings is the portion of income not spent on current expenditure. Savings may assist in a number of ways from financing unforeseen situations to earning interest over time. Without savings, unexpected events can become large financial burdens. Therefore, having savings available helps an individual or family become financially secure. The marginal propensity to consume (MPC) is lower across the district (except for Nkomazi). If Thaba Chweu were to be excluded for MPC calculation, the four municipalities have an average MPC of 0.32. This is a very low MPC and may also be attributed to low levels of incomes. The marginal propensity to consume (MPC) is a metric that quantifies induced consumption, the concept being that the increase in personal consumer spending (consumption) occurs with an increase in disposable income (income after taxes and transfers). In that context, the results seem to suggest little or limited benefits of the projects to the EDM communities.

In terms of consumption in general, there is evidence of a reasonable level of consumption in the district municipality. Of the total consumption (R134,442) 47 per cent (or R63,300) is spent on food consumption whilst 15 per cent (R19,500) is spent of non-food items such as fuel. The lower consumption of non-food items could be correlated to proximity to the

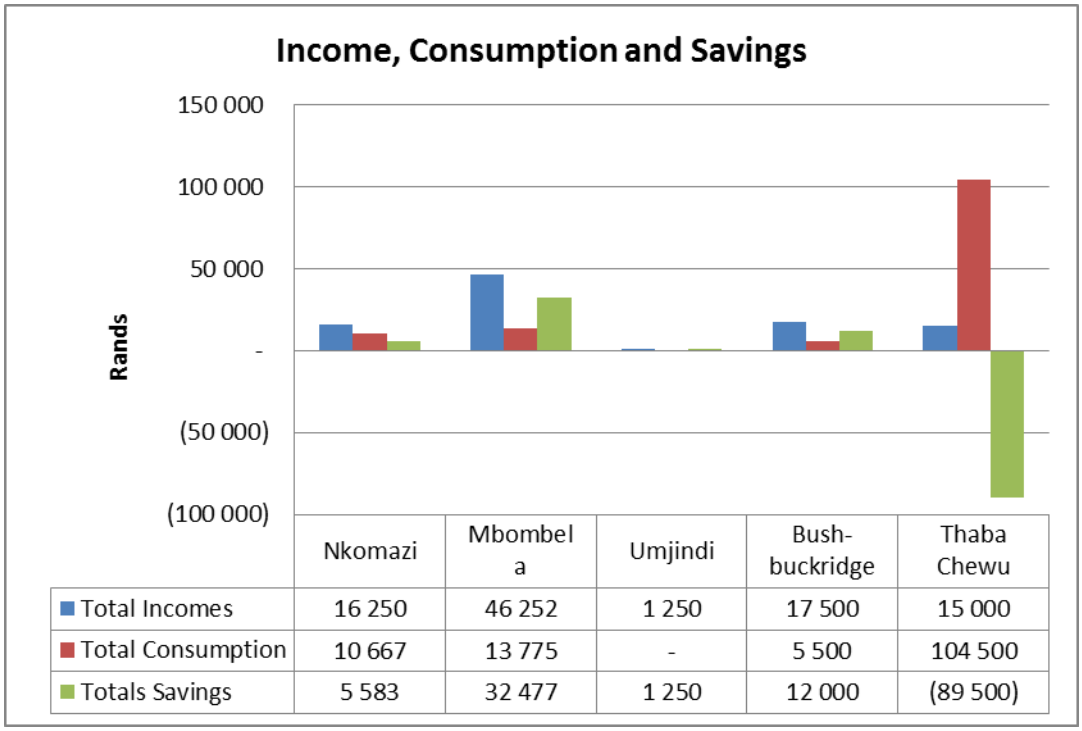
market and easy access to main roads. The remaining balance of 32 per cent is consumption of other items other than food and items for the projects. It should, however, be noted that some information on consumption may have been withheld for various reasons.

Apart from the projects themselves, few farmers stated that they derive additional income from other activities. For example, 19 per cent (4 of 21 farmers) stated that they derive additional income from sale of sugar cane. 33 per cent (7 farmers) of the farmers did not specify their additional income whilst 48 per cent (10 farmers) are not engaged in any activity that may generate additional income. About 9 per cent (2 farmers) stated that they are employed elsewhere for additional income. However, they did not provide information on the level of additional income derived from other activities. The fact that some farmers have to engage in other activities to generate income presents a picture of limited benefits of the restitution projects in that particular area. In some areas a significant number of farmers did not specify additional income. This presents mixed results. For example, in all the 6 questions under the additional income category, an average of 60 per cent did not specify any level of additional income. This makes it difficult to ascertain the impact of restitution projects.

Per capita income is also a good measure of well-being. It is a robust indicator of the welfare of the people, who account for a significant proportion of the rural poor in South Africa. With large households and limited income, the income per capita is likely to decline implying the likelihood that a household will be poorer. In addition, per capita income increases as household heads become older. This implies that the older the household heads (age, years of occupation, size of the household dwelling and marital status), the more likely they are to be involved in various income generating activities compared to younger household heads. Examples include Nkomazi (one farmer involved in piece jobs through small tenders that become available), Mbombela (providing

agriculture and tourism advice) and Bushbuckridge (agricultural mentoring).

Figure 5.1: Income, consumption and savings



	Nkomazi	Mbombela	Umjindi	Bush-buckridge	Thaba Chewu
Total Incomes	16 250	46 252	1 250	17 500	15 000
Total Consumption	10 667	13 775	-	5 500	104 500
Totals Savings	5 583	32 477	1 250	12 000	(89 500)

There are some statistically significant findings regarding Thaba Chweu. One is the level of consumption and the other is the MPC. The consumption in this regard is assumed to reflect the use of the recapitalisation fund to purchase farm equipment. For this study, this consumption and MPC is ignored. Due to this inconsistency, the EDM's consumption levels and MPC are also compromised. Umjindi municipality on the other hand reflects incomplete information as the participants were reluctant to provide information. Such a limitation may impact on the quality and quantity of data that is available to determine the impact of restitution projects.

5.4 INFRASTRUCTURE

This section presents information on infrastructure. Infrastructure in this case means access to main roads, proximity to clinics, and availability of markets close by, government facilities that may provide assistance and access to public transport. The majority of the farmers have access to almost all the necessary facilities. These contribute to non-monetary socio-economic factors. Figure 5.2 shows the distances to various basic infrastructures. The EDM is argued to be well structured based on the information presented in Figure 5.2 below. It is noted that even though Mpumalanga is a tourist destination; the majority of the farmers are far from the main centres of tourism in the Province.

Figure 5.2: Proximity to Infrastructure

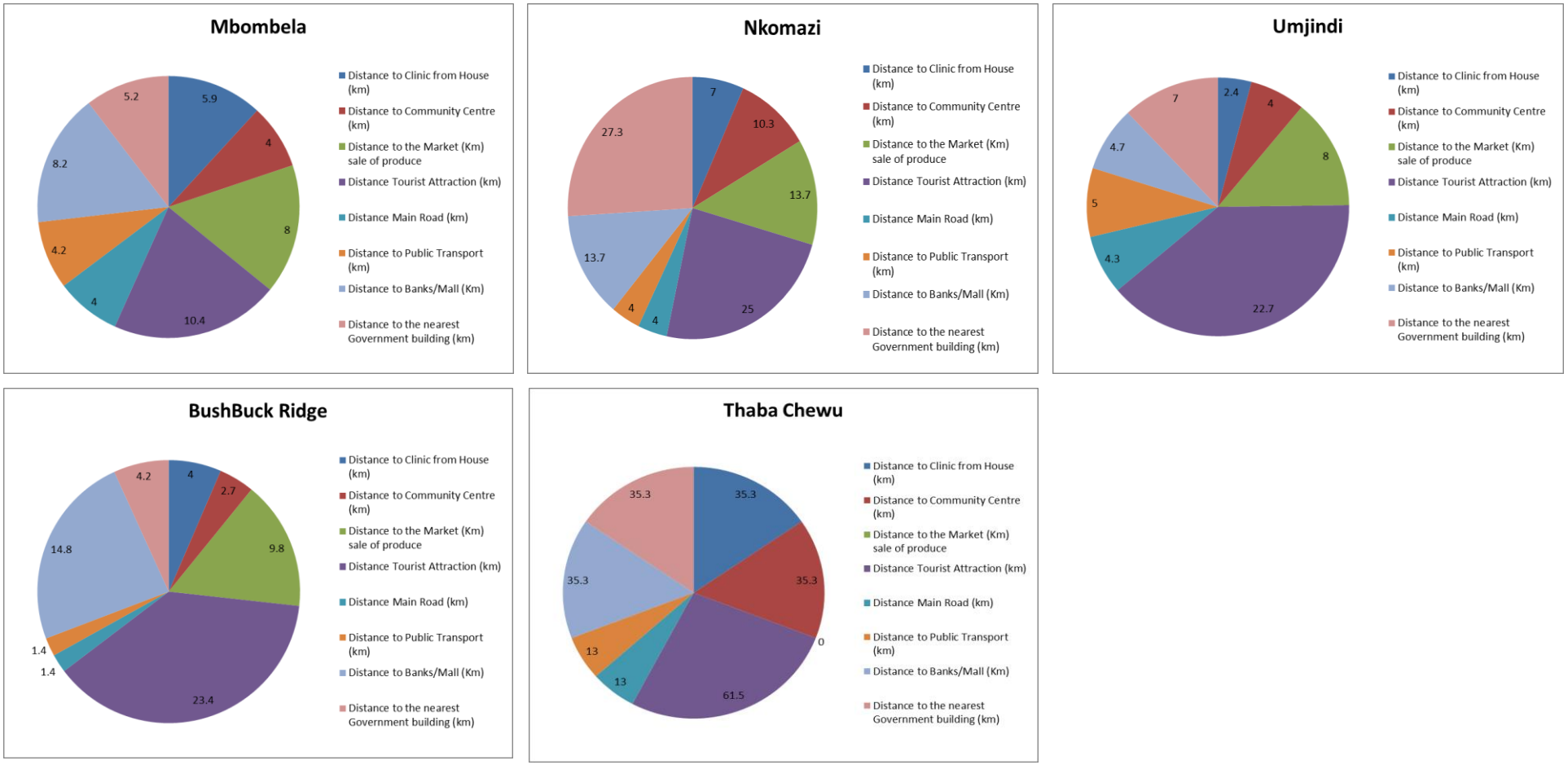


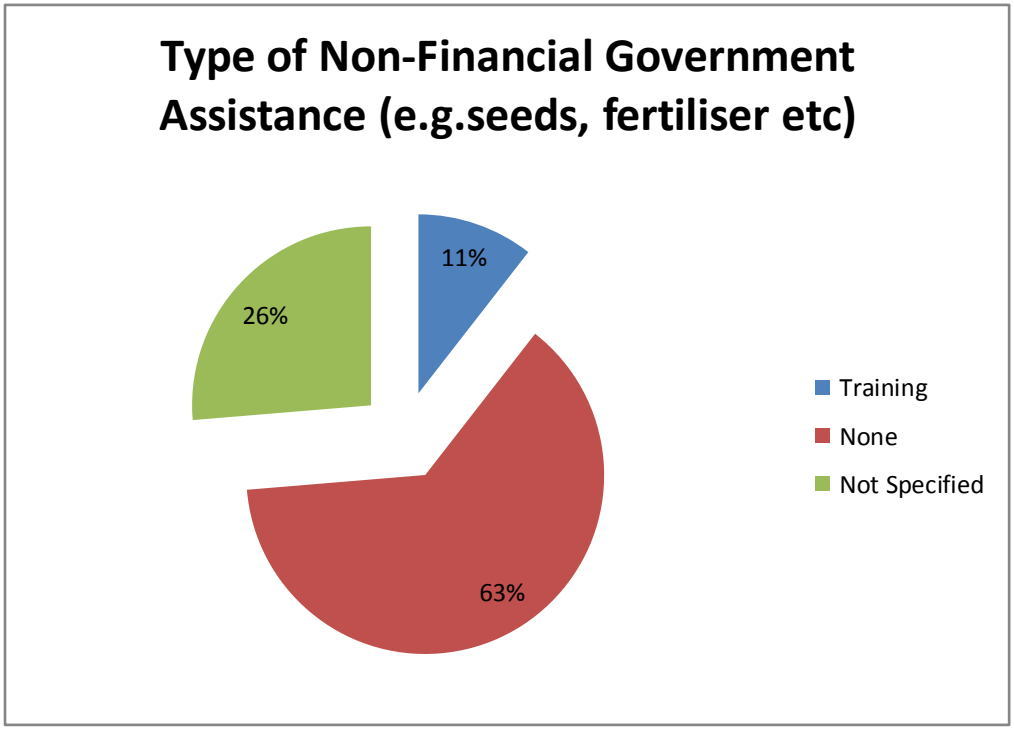
Figure 5.2 shows the distance to most of the infrastructure. The furthest distance is to the tourist attraction areas for all farmers. This means that the farmers are worse off when it comes to selling their produce to tourists. In addition, such a distance may prevent eco-tourism ventures. The closest distance, on the other hand, is to the main road and public transport. It is argued that a positive correlation exists between the main road and public transport. However, this may not be beneficial for a farmer who needs to transport large produce to the market using public transport.

The most important infrastructure for these communities is the market place. With the exception of Thaba Chweu, all projects reflected some degree of proximity to the market (averaging 9.9 km). This is important for the projects in cases here produce needs to reach the market whilst still fresh. The average distance for the four municipalities is 9.9km to the market. The proximity to markets suggests that these farmers are relatively well organised and often spend less on fuel.

5.5 ROLE OF THE GOVERNMENT

It is evident from the study that government is not playing a major role in providing technical assistance, other than providing recapitalisation funds, since 63 per cent of respondents reported lack of government non-financial assistance. It means that restitution projects are left to survive on their own. Non-financial assistance includes the provision of fertiliser, seeds, monitoring, mentoring and any other non-financial assistance that can increase productivity and contribute to the sustainability of the projects. Only 11 per cent were provided with training and 26 per cent did not specify. However, not specifying lack of assistance may be a result of withholding information and may not necessarily reflect a lack of assistance having been provided.

Figure 5.2: Government Assistance



5.6 SUMMARY

This chapter provided an analysis of the restitution projects and their impacts on the EDM community. Structured interviews were conducted and a simple Keynesian model was employed. The results revealed some improvement in the ownership (greater access), ability to run farms but with little impact on the livelihoods of the EDM. Even when participants expressed their commitment and satisfaction, the livelihoods impact was limited. Furthermore, the study found evidence of other socio-economic characteristics such as ownership of certain assets, proximity to markets and easy access to facilities such as clinics. However, these contribute to non-monetary indicators of poverty.

The impact of the projects is further limited by a number of challenges such as the absence of financial and non-financial support by the

government. The study reveals a lack of adequate monitoring mechanisms after recapitalisation to ensure value for money and sustainability of the projects. These results are consistent with the studies by Du Toit (2000), Lahiff (2201), Hall (2004), Walker (2005) and Dikgang and Muchapondwa (2013).

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The study sought to investigate the impact of the restitution projects on the livelihoods, employment and incomes of the communities in the Ehlanzeni District Municipality (EDM). Data collected were used to provide an explanation, running throughout the chapters of the study. This chapter concludes the study by summarising broad generalisations about the findings, discussing links between this work and broader academic debates, and proposing areas for further research on the topic.

6.2 SUMMARY

The 1913 Natives Land Act limited African land ownership to 7 per cent but this was later increased to 13 per cent through the 1936 Native Trust and Land Act of South Africa. The Act restricted black people from buying or occupying land except as employees of a white employer or land owner. It gave white people ownership of 87 per cent of land. This dispossession resulted in a number of shifts such as class formations, and capital and resource concentration towards the minority whites. The impact of land dispossession was twofold. The first was that the laws constrained black farmers from competing against their white counterparts in the agricultural sector and secondly, deprived people of land, which was their primary source of livelihoods. The laws stimulated the growth of the migrant labour system, forcing the black population to seek wage labour in white-owned farms and industries.

Arguably, the dispossession process created an agrarian and economic structure that was dualistic in nature and racially defined in content. This resulted in laws that sought to protect the white commercial sector and neglected the black subsistence sector. These land Acts had both immediate and far-reaching impacts for the African community. The additional 6 per cent of land as per the 1936 Land Act (resulting in 13% of total land allocated since 1913) allocated to Africans was still grossly insufficient. With the then government acknowledging this, it then established the South African Native Trust. This Trust was tasked with acquiring and administering land in the reserves. The Trust also became a repressive mechanism for Africans in that it tightened even further the conditions under which Africans were allowed to occupy white farms.

In the Central Lowveld of Mpumalanga, dispossession occurred for a range of reasons, such as the establishment of game and nature reserves, to the expansion of exotic forest plantations, and the establishment of intensive commercial agricultural industry. However, dispossession was only one part of an historical process of resource expropriation from Africans and their removal to areas with less rainfall and water.

The hardships that African communities faced and the psychological damage they suffered during the periods of dispossession and forced labour were enormous to the extent that in 1994, something needed to be done to address the land question. With the advent of democracy in 1994, the South African government sought to redress the imbalances of the past. Under the democratic government, regimes of statutes were formulated to promote human dignity, the achievement of equality and the advancement of human rights and freedoms. The Restitution of Land Rights Act No. 22 of 1994 was promulgated to control the process by which specific persons could claim the return of their land, if it had been taken from them post-1913. The process of land reform sought to break

from the past without significantly disrupting agricultural production and food security.

The government's land reform programme comprises three tiers, namely Land Redistribution, Land Tenure Reform and Land Restitution. The 1996 constitution provides for these three tiers of land reform. Land reform was one of the principal promises made by the ANC on assuming power in 1994. One of the reasons for the launching of the Reconstruction and Development Programme was that land reform was necessary to redress the injustice caused by forced deportation and restricted access to land.

The study finds a number of important issues around the distribution of land. While it may be laudable that land reforms are being implemented, the effective utilization of the land to promote growth and reduce poverty remains a challenge. In the Ehlanzeni District, large farms have been administered back to the people as far back as 1998 with the latest in 2013. However, with an average of 8.8 years on the restitution projects, the financial benefits (such as incomes and savings and accumulation of community assets) have been limited. On the other hand, the fact that many people chose to remain on the projects rather than take up the opportunity of lucrative employment elsewhere, may be attributed to the fact that although the projects are not yielding success they none the less provide a minimum of two meals a day. Given the high levels of unemployment and under employment in the country it could be that many would prefer to remain on the farms where the availability of food (some for their own consumption) is much better than an income that may not even buy half of the food they have access to on the farms.

The research illustrates that a key reason for limited impact is that much emphasise has been placed on the political objective of land reform without balancing this with the social and economic objectives aimed at poverty reduction and development. The most significant challenge facing

the projects in the district is lack of government monitoring and support. This seems to be in conflict with the government's objective of developing a land reform programme that aims to bring about a fair and equitable land dispensation in the country in an orderly manner.

Over and above the distribution of land should be the importance of land reform's contribution to well-being of the communities. All the participants reported government's failure to assist, both in financial and non-financial terms. The most revealing of the concerns was the absence of a monitoring mechanism evidenced by dilapidating infrastructure (watering pipes, storage facilities, dams not fully operational) despite huge sums of recapitalisation allocated to some projects. These have detrimental effects on the production of crops and eventually the produce reaching the market. Government is more likely to meet this challenge if they integrate land reform into the broader context of economic and social improvement programmes. Such challenges could be addressed by performing clear assessment of capacity needed to implement and the cost thereof for successful land utilization. Government then has to provide support and mechanisms to scaffold land reform projects and finally decentralise this support at the local level. The evidence of this research makes a clear case for support, rigorous evaluation and monitoring of implementation of land reform projects.

The Policy Framework for Recapitalisation and Development by the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform (DRDLR) concedes that agriculture's contribution to GDP has declined since the early 1970s thus placing the country's food security in question. It has also been recognised that millions of South Africans continue to live in poverty with social grants as their only source of livelihood. There is now a view that South Africa has become a net importer of food as local farmers find it hard to compete with imports from subsidised farmers elsewhere in the world. An example includes a Lisbon farm (which was one of the

Lowveld's largest and most productive citrus farms and famous for its oranges, lemons and mangoes) that lies derelict, unproductive and stripped of any item of value including trees being burnt. The offices, packing houses, irrigation pipes, electric cables, pumping shed and farm stall have all been plundered.

Another major contributing factor to socio-economic deprivation related to restitution projects was the issue relating to the Trusts. Although this was not the intention of the study, it seems to come across as a striking hindrance to the growth of some of the projects. The literature states that the Development Trust and Land Act of 1936 established the South African Native Trust which was tasked with acquiring and administering land in the reserves, and that the Trust also became a very repressive mechanism for Africans in that it tightened even further the conditions under which Africans were allowed to occupy white farms. Given that the current Trust paradigm presents a hindrance to growth, it begs the question of whether the model of a Trust (and the means of administering it) is appropriate for land reform purposes.

6.3 CONCLUSIONS

Vast tracts of land have been returned to the communities and infrastructure improved around them. However, these issues contribute to non-monetary determinants of poverty. The real impact of the land reforms, particular the restitution in the EDM, has had limited benefits/impact. There seems to be an emphasis on the number of claimants which may suit the political agenda rather than the socio-economic contributions of land reform. It is argued that the cost of land reform does not seem to match the benefits thereof (that is, sustainability and improved livelihoods of communities). Some scholars argue that land initiatives are seen as a process of resettlement rather than an economic tool to equip communities to improve on their livelihoods. Some scholars

argue that restitution that only entails resettlement of communities on claimed lands is a costly exercise and is counter-productive to the broader aims of the land reform programme. The process of resettlement should be linked to the process of significant investment and developmental programmes, and restitution should be done in such a way that it assists and enhances the livelihood strategies of claimant communities, lifting them out of, instead of confining them to, poverty. This seems to be the main challenge of the restitution programme, to link past injustices to the present era of redress, and to link the present to the immediate and future prospects of growth and development.

There is also a strong view presented in the literature that the realisation of the goals of social justice, redress, and rebuilding communities that were destroyed by apartheid is proving to be an elusive ideal, primarily because it is dealing with a complex web of factors, the histories of dispossession and now reconstruction, the intersection of the symbolic process of dispossession and the material era of restitution and development, the rights that claimants have to reclaim their long-lost land and the developmental agenda of the country, the conceptualization of the national restitution agenda, and the complexity and dynamism of local communities. Reference is made in the land restitution discourse to a 'master narrative', which is a narrative of loss and restoration. This narrative may hold some political power and arouse the emotions of the majority but as a pragmatic programme of developmental action it is less useful as it focuses on the past rather than addressing current challenges. It is suggested that assessing the success or otherwise of land reform programmes should draw on qualitative rather than purely quantitative factors The evidence, though not sufficiently detailed, indicates that land restitution has not impacted as positively as expected on the livelihoods of Ehlanzeni beneficiaries based on the relevant indicators. Recent research indicates that this lack of development as linked to land restitution is a result of the following contributing factors:

- Improved food security: improved nutritional status from self-provisioning or from increased disposable cash income;
- More income: increased amounts and regularity of income from marketed produce and wage employment, and a more egalitarian distribution of income;
- Increased well-being: improved access to clean drinking water and to sanitation, improved housing, ownership of household items and access to fuel for cooking;
- Reduced vulnerability: improved access to social infrastructure like schools and clinics, and increased mobility; and
- Improved sustainability: more sustainable use of natural resource base.

If land reform is to be successful, it has to be part of a broader political, social and economic change, rather than a narrow intervention to redistribute land that was taken by European settlers. This study thus acknowledges the gaps in the restitution programmes and the limited benefits that accrue to these projects. However, it also emphasises the role of government in ensuring some form of monitoring mechanism, financial and non-financial incentives, continuous mentoring of emerging farmers and appraisal of farmers who have achieved success in land reform programmes.

6.4 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE STUDIES

While the study focused in particular on the EDM, there could be similar results generally with restitution projects across the country. An audit of the impact of other land reform projects can support the development of an implementation model grounded in the realities of the beneficiaries of land reform. Evidence from various scholars suggests an increase in the

number of claimants but fall short in positive impacts or spin-offs from these projects. Therefore, there needs to be more detailed independent impact studies commissioned jointly by the Department of Rural and land Reform (DRDLR) and the Department of Agriculture Forestry and Fisheries (DAFF) on the extent of socio-economic impacts in monetary terms and asset accumulation for future policy development, implementation and monitoring. These should be extended to international best practice experiences in small scale farming from other settler colonies in the continent, like Latin America and Asia, including Zimbabwe. While the study is by no means advocating for the Zimbabwean approach to land reform, but recommends an interrogation of the small-scale farming model. Furthermore, emphasis should be placed on the expansion of a successful model with established benchmarks for sustained success. With the increased number of females over males, a farming model may provide solutions for women and their role in rural farming towards sustainable livelihoods. Such an interrogation is expected to offer interesting lessons for South Africa, both as a policy initiative, women empowerment as well as a developmental agenda for the agricultural fraternity.

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