

**LINKING LAND REFORM AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT
TO POVERTY ALLEVIATION IN THE RURAL AREAS**

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**A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Architecture, University of the Witwatersrand,
Johannesburg, in partial fulfilment for the Master of Science in Development
Planning**

Johannesburg, 1999

DECLARATION

I declare that this research report is my own unaided work. It is being submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science in Development Planning at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'M A Makgata', with a large, stylized flourish extending upwards and to the right.

M A Makgata

07th
..... Day of October 1999

ABSTRACT

The issue of rural poverty is deeply rooted in the skewed distribution of the resources in the rural areas. The majority of rural people do not have access to the basic services like health, water, electricity, education etc. the inequalities constitute a barrier to progress, and indeed there is some evidence to indicate that the extreme inequality acts as bottleneck to development.

Land Reform and Rural Development programmes have been initiated in the rural areas to alleviate poverty, although they have been subject to hot debates in many countries. This is due to the fact that most of these programmes have fallen short of expectations, especially of the intended beneficiaries.

This discourse attempts to link Land Reform and rural development to poverty alleviation. This is done by reviewing literature on land reform and rural development, analysing the case of Tarlton land Redistribution project and recommendations on the best practice for poverty alleviation through an integrated approach towards land reform and rural development.

DEDICATION

Dedicated to my parents in Sekhukhuneland, Repo and Hlapogadi Makgata

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I would like to thank the following people for their tireless assistance

- DR Olufemi, my supervisor, for her inspiration and invaluable support.
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- Librarians from the University of South Africa.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0. BACKGROUND STATEMENT

Rural poverty has deteriorated the living conditions of the rural people who are struggling to survive on low incomes, without sufficient access to sanitation, health and education. Eckholm (1979:9) observed that, “altogether, more than 600 million people live in rural households that are either completely landless or that lack secure access to farmland. Not coincidentally, this figure approaches the World Bank’s estimate that nearly 800 million people live in absolute poverty in the late 70s, at the very margin of existence. Along with the destitute urban slum dwellers themselves usually refugees from rural landless, landless labourers and those farming insecure or marginal plots and are absolutely poor”.

Rural development as a broader concept encompasses all major rural activities, both agricultural and non agricultural in order to improve the general living conditions of the rural people. Development in the rural areas of most countries especially in the rural areas has not been implemented or effectively changed the conditions of the rural poor. Eckholm (1979:8) indicated, “that the rural areas have been bypassed by the global development process, and development programmes which worsened their living conditions because of poor programme design”.

In South Africa, according to the Rural Development Framework (1997), major constraints to rural development originate from the past apartheid with its discriminatory policies. May(1998:6) observed that, “50 percent of the population in South Africa is rural, the rural area contain 72 percent of those members of the total population who are poor. The poverty rate for rural areas is 71 percent. On the other hand, the poverty gap was about R28 billion in 1993, and 76 percent of this was accounted for by the rural area”.

To overcome these problems, policy frameworks emanating from the Reconstruction and Development Programme have been committed to eradicate poverty in the country. The Reconstruction and Development Programme (1994) emphasises principles which indicate an integrated and sustainable programme which will link reconstruction and development of the country. To achieve the objectives of the RDP, GEAR (Growth, Employment and Redistribution) has been formulated in order to address infrastructural backlog created by the past policies and diversify job creation through local development planning.

Land Reform has been interpreted and used by many countries for different purposes. Land reform as a programme can be used for social and ethical morals in reducing inequality among the citizens of a country. It can also be linked to political objectives for a ruling party to achieve its ideological positions, and lastly economic grounds, which will empower the rural people as part of the overall socio-economic policy of the country.

King (1975:5) reiterated that, "Land Reform, as a programme that leads to change, presumably for the better, in the manner in which land is held or used, has been adopted by many countries. Also Marcus (1990:11) emphasised land reform as an instrument that will enhance the upliftment of rural people and access to the land.

It is becoming clear that the rural areas are faced with the high level of poverty and, therefore, there is a need for rural development to be implemented to improve their general living conditions. To improve the living conditions of the rural poor, there is a need for them to have access to the land in order to be engaged in economic activities, which will sustain rural growth.

This means that land policies need to be restructured in order to allow developmental programmes like land reform and rural development in the rural areas to be informed by the rural environment for enhancing sustainable rural development for poverty alleviation.

Therefore, this discourse will provide a guide to link land reform as one of powerful tools towards effective and sustainable rural development for poverty alleviation in the rural areas.

1.1. PROBLEM STATEMENT

The new democratic government of South Africa is faced with the mammoth task of improving the living conditions of all the people living in the country as outlined in the objectives of the Reconstruction and Development Programme.

It is imperative to note that in this country, the apartheid policies, Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 among others denied land accessibility and opportunities to the majority of the population especially in the rural areas. This implied that land constraints were a significant factor associated in household poverty in the rural areas which is about 73.7 percent (RDF,1997:4). The poverty is manifested in : malnutrition, insecurity, low income and high level of unemployment associated with devoid opportunities for the disadvantaged majority in the rural areas. In this context, it can then be argued that inaccessibility of rural dwellers to land led to their poverty.

1.2. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The main goal/aim of the study is to link land reform and rural development as one of the tools to alleviate poverty.

The discourse accomplished the following objectives:

- To describe the historical background of rural development in South Africa;
- To review the international and national approaches towards land reform;
- To examine Tarlton Project as one of the South African case study
- To propose an appropriate planning strategy to be implemented for efficient rural development programme in poverty alleviation.

1.3. METHODOLOGY

The method of investigation in this discourse is two fold. Secondary information was obtained from the libraries and other reports from the experts in the field of land reform and rural development.

The primary data sources include formal and informal discussions and interviews in this field. In the case of Tarlton Project, information was gathered through reviewing Magaliesberg Representative and Western Gauteng Services Council resolutions, minutes of the Project Steering committee meetings, technical reports on the projects.

People involved with the project were interviewed. Ten beneficiaries of the project (five employed and five unemployed) were also interviewed. Executive Committee members of Tarlton Development Trust were also be interviewed together with one Councillor representing Magaliesberg Representative Council in the Western Gauteng Services Council. Three officials from the Western Gauteng Services Council and one official from the Department of Land Affairs who were responsible for this project were also interviewed.

1.4. PRESENTATION OF THE DISCOURSE

Chapter 1 gives the background of the discourse and introduces the problem statement. It goes further to outline the objectives and the methodology to be followed. Lastly, it gives the structure of the whole discourse.

Chapter 2 explores the historical background to land reform in terms of the approaches and legislation in South Africa.

Chapter 3 discusses the theoretical background on land reform and rural development in poverty alleviation.

Chapter 4 provides the lessons to be learnt from international cases like Zimbabwe in Africa and Colombia in America in relation to the implementation of land reform and rural development.

Chapter 5 review the South African approach towards land reform and rural development in alleviating poverty in the rural areas.

Chapter 6 analyses the Tarlton Land Reform project in the Magaliesberg area as a case study in South Africa.

Chapter 7 gives an overview of planning strategies which can be used by planners and recommend an appropriate strategy for an effective rural development in poverty alleviation.

Chapter 8 concludes the study by identifying issues reflected in the study and make recommendations which will efficiently improve the living conditions of the people living in the rural areas of South Africa.

CHAPTER TWO

Historical Approaches to Land Reform in South Africa

2.0. Introduction

This chapter examines the background to land reform in South Africa in terms of legislation since the establishment of Union of South Africa until mid 1990s prior to the general elections held in 1994.

The chapter gives a general understanding of the past legislation and how it affected land reform programmes in the country. And this is shown by the social conditions of the people directly affected by this legislation.

The background on legislation gives a clear picture on the outcome of the social conditions prevailing in the rural areas. Murray (1995) pointed out that land reform programmes and other related developmental initiatives do not take place in a vacuum or, as it were, on a clean slate. The political and economic climate of the present and the possible future has strong roots in the past.

2.1. Historical background-politics and legislation

Land reform in South Africa started a long time before the 1950s. Different legislations were introduced in order to empower the Afrikaners at the expense of the Blacks who were the majority in the country. Letswalo (1987) pointed out that the white settlers, which drastically reduced the land area through their racist policies, took these measures in order to reduce the rural economy of the Blacks.

According to Letswalo (1987), the conflict between the black people and the Voortrekker was caused by land. This is reflected by his observation (Letswalo): "whatever causes there may have been for many Bantu European wars, the desire for land was the fundamental cause".

These conflicts resulted in a great loss of rural land for blacks. The Blacks were left with no option but to change their economic activities in order to sustain their living. Majority of them exchanged their labour for work in the European farms. Letswalo (1987) further referred to this as 'kaffir-farming'.

Rural poor blacks were used as cheap labour on farms. This was even strengthened by dividing black labour into two broad categories. The first group worked on the white farms for cash, and the other workers, who were in the majority, were paid by accommodation.

The conditions reflected above, indicate the land reform pattern during the 1950s. To extend this practice in the emerging capitalist economy, the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts were instituted.

2.1.1. The Natives Land Act No.27 of 1913.

The Native Land Act No.27 of 1913 made it possible for the division of land into areas of blacks and whites (for the segregation of areas occupied by blacks). Blacks were not allowed to acquire land from white areas. This resulted in unequal distribution of land between Blacks and Whites. According to Letswalo(1987:35) "the area for the White minority population was ten times larger than that of the Black majority population".

Letswalo(1987:36) indicated that, " a basic change in the political economy of the country was the abolition of 'kaffir-farming' and the new law (the 1913 Act) strikes a death blow at kaffir farming and this has been the earnest wish every progressive landowner wanted to see". It is pertinent to say that this Act considerably affected labour conditions in many parts of the Union. It meant the clearing off, of a large number of natives from European farms, the natives who were working in return for wages. The result was a good, clear straight forward farming, whilst land in non-native areas that is not being farmed by Europeans remain unused.

2.1.2. The Bantu Trust and Land Act No.18 of 1936.

In terms of the Bantu Trust and Land Act no.18 of 1936, certain areas were released to be used by blacks. Many farmers resisted the release of land because they believed that the availability of more land to blacks would reduce the number of Black labour. Letswalo(1987) citing Lord Olivier when he said, " the European farmers and landholders have refused to part with an acre of land for increased native settlement. They are solidly opposed to any scheme of segregation calculated to provide more land and independence for black men... These farmers control the government of the country. The belief of the White farmer is that the additional land provided from the native population will react detrimentally on their labour market".

2.1.3. Betterment Planning.

The reduction of land for African occupation and survival according to Letswalo (1990:6)"led to overstocking/ overgrazing as the carrying capacity of the land was reduced. This resulted in the agricultural and environmental deterioration of the land for blacks.

Letswalo(1990) went further to indicate that, a critical milestone in the history of betterment planning was the appointment of the Tomlinson Commission in the early 1950s. The Commission in its report recommended that there should be a land reform in the African reserves as a prerequisite for economic development; and as an alternative to the inevitable consequence of the integration of the Bantu and European groups into a common society.

The proposed land reform as postulated by Tomlinson Commission recommended that the division of the Africans into the landless majority and the full time farmers. This initiative will be linked to a settlement reform where the former group will be occupying closer settlements, and the latter group occupying betterment villages. This indicated that

betterment planning gave no rights to the landless and the full time farmers will have basic farming rights on the land.

The above-mentioned proposal was rejected by the state due to the fact that some Africans will be given access to the land for agricultural purposes and these will affect the number of Africans who are supposed to work on the White farming lands.

2.2.Socio-economic issues to land reform.

The enactment of the abovementioned affected the living conditions of blacks who are almost three quarters of people below poverty line in South Africa (RDF:1997). The legislation denied them access to improve their own conditions, thereby leaving them no option but to depend on the farmers for their living. This resulted in poverty among the rural people and it manifested in idleness, poor housing quality, infrastructure etc. Table 2.1 below indicates the gap between South Africa and other countries in terms of the social indicators.

Table 2.1 :Social Indicators

Country	Poland	Thailand	Botswana	South Africa
GNP per capita US\$ (1994)	2 410	2 410	2800	3 040
Life expectancy	72	69	68	64
Infant mortality rate	15	36	34	50
Total fertility rate	1.8	2.0	4.5	3.9

Source: Ingrid, W (1998)

2.2.1. Landlessness

Land scarcity emerged as a problem where populations are pressing against arable land base. Eckholm (1979:9) pointed out that, more than 600 million people live in the rural households and are either completely landless or lack secure access to adequate farmland”.

2.2.2. Housing

According to the South African Agricultural Union cited by Davies (1990), there is an enormous need for better housing in the rural areas. This indicates the conditions of houses in the rural areas for farm workers and dwellers. In reality, very few farmers provide housing to their farm workers, and this housing is inadequate.

The Anti-slavery Society quoted by Davies (1990) presented a case which report about the type of accommodation provided by farmers to their farmworkers in the Northern Province: " ten young girls lived in an L-shaped compound which had once been whitewashed and may have served as stables. Some of the windows were merely holes in the wall... there were no toilet or water facilities apart from an outside cold water tap. There was no light, and fires had to be made on the floors in winter for both warmth and light. There was no furniture apart from the cement beds built into the wall".

2.2.3. Poor infrastructure

Poor infrastructure and service provision in the rural areas prompted Rural Community Development Project (1976) to undertake a research on the provision of rural infrastructure. The project identified the problems in the form of inadequate supply of water and , poor transportation and communication network. Table 2.2. indicates the gaps between urban and rural areas in terms of access to basic services like water and electricity.

Table 2.2. : Access to basic services, by rural/urban classification, 1993

	Rural (%)	Urban (%)
Water in house	13	74
Waterborne sewerage	8	64
Electricity in house	13	51
Communal water taps	55	32
Streetlightning	7	59

Source: Ingrid Woolard: (1998)

2.2.4. Health

Health provision in the rural areas is inadequate. Poor hygiene and sanitation create ideal conditions for infectious diseases such as cholera, typhoid, and polio, TB etc. Malnutrition is common amongst children of the farm workers, and most of them are exposed to the high possibilities of losing eyesight. Workers are not guaranteed sick leave and most of them continue to work even if they are ill. Furthermore, the non-availability of rural clinics contributes to this problem.

2.3.5. Education

Davies (1990:19) indicated that, "the majority of farm workers cannot read or write. According to the official figures released in 1988, there were "5 627 farm schools for 481 325 children, and only one in three attends school. The education system available is usually of the most basic kind. Eight out of ten farm workers cannot read or write". Children attending these farm schools have to walk several kilometres to and from school. During the day, most of them are tired because of the distance, and absenteeism is common. This is due to their vulnerability to many diseases and the abuse as child labourers. The types of subjects (mostly related to agriculture) they are doing at school are those, which will prepare them to work efficiently in the farms. The whole education

system in the farm schools is designed to continue to ensure the consistent supply of subservient labour.

2.2.6. Rights

The majority of rural dwellers are vulnerable to being exploited because they have little or no knowledge about their rights in terms of the constitution (Refer to the attached Annexures).

2.2.7. Evictions.

Evictions are prevalent in the rural areas because of different reasons (Refer to attached Annexures). Mechanisation which replaces manual labour and lower agricultural output associated with poor climatic conditions led to a lesser demand for high number of farm workers, and therefore, the majority of farm workers are evicted. On the other hand, the failure to replace the ageing and ill workers, may result in evictions. Those workers who complain about poor conditions on the farmland are also evicted.

2.2.8. Unemployment

The level of unemployment in the rural areas is extremely high due to internal and external factors like mechanization and the restructuring of the South African Agriculture. This is associated with the economic trends prevailing in the country and throughout the world. This is also happening in the country due to the lower economic base of the rural areas. The rural economy is largely not diversified. Generally, the majority of farm workers are casuals and divided in terms of the four seasons of the year including reaping, threshing, transporting and storing.

2.2.9. Women's work

Women are also employed on the farms together with their husbands. Some farm owners make it a prerequisite for both family members to work on the farms and get paid through provision of accommodation. If they are paid, they usually get less than their male counterparts.

2.2.10. Child Labour

The employment of children has been used for a long time in the rural areas (Refer to the attached Annexures). "According to the International Labour Organisation (ILO), it is estimated that 65 000 children between the ages of eight and fourteen were used as farm labourers."(Davies, 1990) sometimes this type of arrangement is associated with the requirements from the farmer where the whole family was required to work on the farm.

Davids (1990) presented cases of child labour in the farms "Many parents who are farm labourers are forced to consent to their children's employment because they fear being fired. Others like Mr. Abraham Mokoena, who works on a farm in the Vischgat, Vereeniging area, consent to their children working because the family could not survive on his meagre wage of R40.00 a month and a bag of mealie meal. The farmer employs 36 adults. The 30 children on his farm aged between eight and eighteen are all expected to rise at sunrise and work till sunset during the school holidays and weekends. The farmer rounds all the children and they work under an adult foreman reaping mealies. I myself began working on a farm at the age of 8 and I am now 42. I do not believe children should be used as farm labourers. They should have time and food in their stomachs for their schoolwork. But without the wages they bring in, we would all starve.

2.3. Summary

The past legislation in the South Africa denied black people access to land and opportunities and the prospects of being actively involved in the economic main stream of their respective areas. The living conditions as outlined in the chapter indicate that the majority of them live below the poverty line and in the appalling conditions.

CHAPTER THREE

Link Between Land Reform and Rural Development

3.0. Introduction.

This chapter addresses the problems identified in the previous chapter by reviewing Land Reform and Rural Development literature and how they can achieve the goal of alleviating poverty.

The chapter introduces the concepts on land reform and rural development based on its definitions. The land reform and rural development concepts are also analysed on how they influenced the need to link socio-economic factors for integrated rural development

3.1.Land reform and rural development

3.1.1. Land Reform

Land reform has become a term, which has many interpretations where sometimes it is confused with agrarian reform. King (1977:50) regard land reform “as more or less direct, publicly controlled change in the existing character of land ownership, and it normally attempts a diffusion of wealth, income or productive capacity”. Apart from this interpretation, some authors in the literature regard land reform “as a means to provide land to 'landless', while there are others who conceive the idea in a much broader sense and consider land reform as a comprehensive programme for the transformation of agricultural economy.

Land reform in relation to the above definitions, is normally implemented in response to political pressure resulting from socio-economic change, caused by population pressure on a limited land or different political ideologies. It is, therefore, close land dynamic links with political, economic and social dimensions, which in turn have significant implications for rural development.

3.1.1.2. The need for land reform

King (1977:7) noted that “the inequalities in the rural areas constitute a barrier to progress, and indeed there is some evidence to indicate that the extreme inequality acts as a bottleneck to development by depriving the very rich and the very poor of any real incentive to work for higher productivity”.

The United Nations is of the notion that Land Reform as an integrated programme of measures designed to eliminate obstacles to economic and social development arising out of defects in the agrarian structure can be a viable solution to rural poverty.

It is important to note that land reform alone cannot achieve much, unless a variety of supporting institutional improvements, including the provision of greater and easier credit systems, marketing facilities, the provision of many agricultural inputs, and the setting up of extension and research services, are provided.

3.1.2. Rural Development

Rural development has been defined as a process of endless variety having as its main objective of the overall balanced and proportionate well being of rural people. On the other hand (Poostchi;1986) UNESCO defines the goals, objectives and the aims of development to be : not to develop things but to develop men. It states that the implication of this approach is that development must be aimed at the spiritual, moral and material advancement of the whole human being, both as a member of society and from the point of view of individual fulfilment.

These two views on the definitions of rural development, and development consider it as a process which leads to a rise in the capacity of rural people to control their environment resulting from more extensive use of the benefits which ensue from such a control.

Rural development aims at the following:

- Change in rural productivity
- Changes in the extent of employment, unemployment and underemployment,
- Change in the redistribution of wealth,
- Change in the socio-economic structure, and
- Change in the degree and extent of mobility of the rural people.

3.1.2. The link between land reform and rural development

The relationship between land reform and rural development is that it can serve both as redistributive instrument and a vehicle for achieving increased productivity. It is becoming more important for strategies to be adopted in the rural areas to be more broader and integrate different sectors for meaningful and sustainable changes. Past strategies implemented in most of the developing countries tended to emphasise economic growth without specifically considering the manner in which the benefits are to be distributed.

The implementation of land reform in the rural areas should not solely be seen as a process of getting access of land to the landless, but as an important tool of achieving sustainable rural development. The central concept of rural development, thus can be seen as a process through which rural poverty is alleviated by sustained increases in the productivity and incomes of low-income rural workers and households.

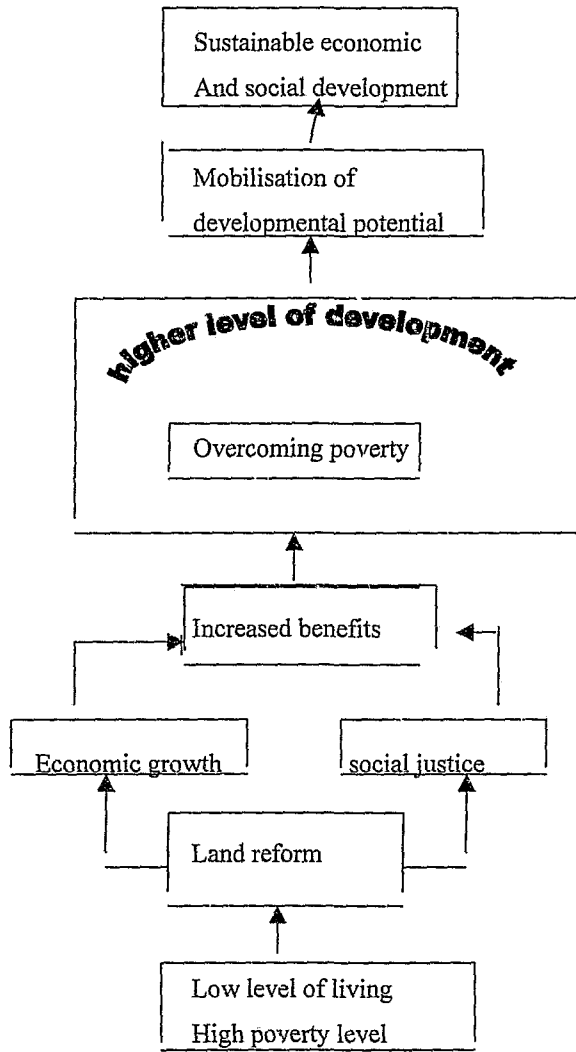
The notion of rural land reform for maximum benefits lies at its definition as a unique and integrated component of rural development of achieving the main goal of alleviating poverty. Rural development, through rural land reform should extend beyond any particular sector. "A program of rural development must embrace a wide range and mix of activities, including projects to raise agricultural output, employment, to improve health and education, to expand communications and to improve housing" (Hopkins,

1995:17). The implication is that an attempt may be made to use a broad base, multisectoral approach whereby series of activities may be undertaken simultaneously if need be.

According to Erskine(1992)," some of the criteria and conditions governing the development of productive, sustainable way of life for people presently living in the poverty stricken rural areas of South Africa are:

- Achieving a productive and yet sustainable way of life will mean alleviating poverty, which in turn will require major initiatives in respect of research, infrastructural development and the development of individuals and institutions.
- Elimination of poverty through wealth creation
- Instilling the concept of local economic development amongst the rural people.
- Invest in human capital that contribute efficient development to the local as exporting human capital is unstable.

Figure : 3.1. A dynamic system for attaining sustainable and social development



Erskine (1992)

It is evident from figure 3.1.above that rural land reform has been accepted as another prerequisite for meaningful rural development as postulated by Erskine (1992), when he said that land reform involves recognition of the efficiency and equity advantages of :

- A land market, and
- The privatisation of public land.

Figure 3.1. indicates that the high poverty rate in the rural areas can be alleviated if land reform can be initiated in order to achieve the main goals on social justice and economic growth. This will result in increased benefits in the community. Poverty will be reduced, when the developmental potential of the area is realized. Once this potential is realized, the community will experience a sustainable economic and social development.

On the other hand, increased productivity after implementation of land reform necessitates changes in the pre-form structure of supporting services such as marketing, credit inputs and research. It is apparently through increased productivity of agricultural products and the related progress of agricultural business that the quality of life for the majority of the underprivileged people can be enhanced.

3.2. Prerequisite for effective land reform

For Land Reform to be effective and address the needs of the rural poor, there are quite number of factors which must be considered. The following are the most pressing ones amongst them:

a) The speed of implementation

In the absence of fast paced programs, a combination of bureaucratic inertia, legal challenges, and the power of present landowner (generally the elite) is likely to render the program ineffective. Frustrations are experienced where tenants were converted into contract labourers. The limits on land ceilings were subverted by notional partitions of better lands among landowner families and the surplus available for distribution was marginal lands. The intended beneficiaries therefore obtained less

land than was estimated. The land were of inferior quality and delays in implementation undermined the credibility and effectiveness of the program.

b). Economic viability of the farm model.

There must be a careful assessment of the models prepared. The models should indicate whether the persons resettled on the land have sufficient land size and quality to provide at least the target income.

c). Political acceptability and legitimacy of the program. The program must be a consensus of the wide spectrum of political opinion that the program is both necessary and acceptable.

d). Clear definition of the role that the public sector can and should play.

e). Land Reform should be regarded as only one part of a comprehensive program of economic reconstruction. The redistribution of land should be seen as necessary, but not sufficient or guarantee the success of rural development program. There is a need for additional services like infrastructure, markets, incentives and health to be considered and access provided.

History on restructuring the rural economy has indicated through international experience that labour absorption(Lipton, 1993) is determined by the following basic factors.

- Specialists and 'bricoleurs'.

Adam Smith saw development and industrialization as almost synonymous with specialization. This view was followed by free trade, which encourages specialization by increasing the market in which specialists can exchange their products.

On the other hand, there are bricoleurs people who cobble together a livelihood from many sources. The concept of bricoleurs is brought to

the fore due to the fact that many people in the rural areas are not just farmers, but people who diversify their production in order to reduce risks.

- Rights in land

Access to land is a major determinant of a household's ability to choose and plan its own level of farm employment. Rural people without land are likelier to be driven into casual labour, job search, temporary unemployment and poverty. The strengthening of the bargaining position of poor rural people in labour markets is an important part of the case for land redistribution as a remedy for poverty. Redistribution of ownership right, accompanied by appropriate policies for small holder friendly inputs, and on the other hand, research can make a significant contribution to creating more rural livelihoods.

- Rights from land: access to markets

A major determinant of a farmers rights from land is his capacity to sell products in unrepresented markets. Various marketing boards can help prospective farmers by improving the price level, stability, or access to markets. They can become useful buyers of last resort in a glut, and as sellers of last resort in a death.

- On farm technology and rural livelihoods.

A negative and a positive example illustrate the potential of on farm technology to destroy or create rural livelihoods.

On the negative side, the subsidisation of tractors in South Africa has destroyed hundreds of thousands of jobs because capital/labour ratios are higher in tractor ploughing than in animal ploughing. Yet little

output/no output is added, this change in the method of ploughing(Lipton, 1970).

Positive example of the potential of technology is the spread of high yielding varieties of cereals in Asia. In the early 1970s, HYV often raised yields of rice or wheat by 50 percent. That increased labour use per hectare, typically by 20 percent.

The basic question to be asked is to what extent should agricultural policies use incentives, public resources, technology etc to promote labour intensity on the farms. Most economists agree that direct disincentives to labour use, such as subsidies for tractors should be phased out. There is also widespread agreement that setting minimum agricultural wages encourages the adoption of labour displacing techniques and this encourages unemployment.

- large farms and livelihoods

It is important for rural livelihoods that labour intensive pattern or work on such farms should not be discouraged. It is therefore important to ensure that smallholder and workers have a choice and are not bound to a single powerful supplier. Success in this approach depends on recognising that many rural people divide their time between the role of employee and or entrepreneur. Possible complementarities among their various activities and roles create opportunities for employment and growth.

- The majority of farmers in Africa combine their farmwork with transport trade, or manufacture to diversify income in the face of agricultural risks.

Non-farming activities, however, are not an alternative to agricultural development in the rural areas, because rural non-farming activities are driven largely by agriculture itself.

In a context of extreme rural inequality, which is evident in South African farms, land redistribution from large commercial farms will be good for local non-farming employment as well. Means of associating urban factories with rural production might be more promising way to increase rural non farm production, and the linkages to it from agricultural growth and development.

3.3. Summary

It is clear from the issues identified in this chapter that land reform and rural development are the two concepts which are interlinked with each other. Land reform cannot succeed if the major rural development policies and framework are not considered. The integrated rural development strategy is the major solution to the problems in the areas as it involved all major activities which have an impact in development.

CHAPTER FOUR

International Experiences on Land Reform: Colombia and Zimbabwe

4.0. Introduction

This chapter examines the approaches adopted by two different countries towards land reform with a view to draw lessons from respective approaches to guide future land reform programmes and rural poverty alleviation in South Africa.

Zimbabwe has been chosen because of its similar political changes which took place in 1980s like South Africa. It has been under the colonial rule of the minority regime like South Africa where similar land practices were used in order to deny the black people access to the land.

Colombia had the maladministration of land distribution where the wealthy people had the opportunity to acquire more land. Like in South Africa where whites had the privilege of owning large tract of land. They had subsidies when buying farming equipment. This created a gap between the haves and the have nots.

4.1. Colombia

4.1.1. Background

The land reform in Colombia before 1994 has been a long-standing concern and there has been efforts to correct the distribution of land. These initiatives of land reform were aimed at reducing the high level of crime in the rural areas and to increase the rural productivity in agriculture.

The maladministration of land in Colombia was due to the following policies as outlined by Deininger(1999)

- Tax incentives for agriculture that implied that rich individuals acquired land in order to offset taxes on non-agricultural enterprises;
- Legal impediments to the smooth functioning of the land rental and sales markets;
- Credit and interest rate plus disproportionate protection of the livestock sub sector provided incentives for agriculture with very low labour intensity; and
- The use of land to launder money that had been acquired by drug lords.

The abovementioned factors had an impact on the rural environment in Colombia. The emerging farmers were compelled to live in the marginal areas, which were environmentally fragile. Economic growth was complemented by labour saving methods, which resulted in the rural employment rate to be lower than the aggregate economic growth.

All the rural problems as highlighted above necessitated the establishment of National Land Reform Institute (Instituto Nacional Colombiano de Reforma Agraria or INCORA) to bring about the equal distribution of resources in the rural areas.

4.1.2. The new law and its implementation

Having realized that the poor in the rural areas were unable to access finance, the Colombian Land Reform Law provided a land purchase grant. This grant covered 70 percent of the land price and was restricted to the purchase of land.

This grant targeted full time farmers with a minimum farm size of 15 hectares. This excludes the potential poor farmer who derives income from a variety of sources.

4.1.3. Implementation

The implementation of land reform in Colombia was based on the following key element:

- The land reform was “owned” by the local government, making it possible to integrate land reform with local government developmental priorities;
- The elaboration of productive projects and economic evaluation of the expected benefits and costs;
- Establishing a decentralized and hands-on program of beneficiary training as a means of pre selecting beneficiaries;
- Insisting on a transparent and public process of project approval and linking the needed mechanism of accountability to a process of monitoring and evaluation.

The ecologically suitable zones were identified and an inventory of the land was established according to the soil classification that could be used to target areas for land reform. This approach helped beneficiaries to focus their efforts and goals in land reform to solve their social problems.

It has also been realized that the absence of technical support and the access to markets for finance and outputs during the initial stage of the project limit the sustainability of the project. In order to overcome this problem, the municipalities provided a list of institutions, which will help the beneficiaries to choose from the list for technical assistance.

4.1.4 Beneficiary training and project approval

An in-depth training program for pre-selected beneficiaries was developed in order to increase the scope for land reform to lead to productivity-enhancing outcomes.

The local authorities do the approval of the project in the Council session where the beneficiaries defend their projects to indicate that they understood the critical issues involved in the project.

4.1.5. Monitoring and evaluation

Monitoring of the project is used to assess whether the mechanisms utilized do reach targeted population, provide an estimate of the expected benefits of the project in terms of productivity and poverty reduction and also provide information on whether implementation is progressing as expected.

Table 4.1 indicates how different variables are monitored and evaluated in Colombia. Monitoring is evaluated from each and every activity which is undertaken by the beneficiaries. The impact of the project areas are assessed in order to ascertain whether the programme achieve its objectives

Table 4.1: Land reform planning, monitoring and impact assessment in Colombia.

	Municipal land reform plan	Monitoring	Impact Assessment
Beneficiaries	Beneficiary identification and profile. Training requirements for specific projects	Grant per beneficiary Group formation Additional employment generated. Targeting efficiency Improvements in access to land.	Increase in income Consumption smoothing Credit market access Social services Reduction of violence
Projects	Demand and Supply of land Complementary investment needed Cost by component	Characteristics of farms transferred. Implementation of projects. Repayment of performance Targeting of under utilized lands	Agricultural productivity Environmental sustainability Reconcentration of land/?
Institutions	Institutional capacity: Local & central government (tech. Assistance and legal framework Private sector (banks, input suppliers, marketing) NGO's (training, evaluation)	Effectiveness in dissemination and capacity building. Efficiency of land transfer process Private sector/NGO participation	Strengthened local government Fiscal sustainability Degree of decentralisation

(World Bank:1999)

4.1.6. Lessons from Colombia

It is clear from the Colombian experience that land reform is successful when the land markets are more transparent and fluid. The selection of land which is demand driven can succeed when reinforced by other strategies like provision of technical assistance to the beneficiaries, co-financing of the land purchase through private financial intermediary base on the economic feasibility of the project and a market information system to providing prices for plots transacted in the market.

Decentralizing implementation of land reform projects indicate that they will be completed in a short space of time. This also reduces the costs as indicated that decentralized approach were about 40 percent below the costs of land.

4.2. Zimbabwe

4.2.1. Background

The Zimbabwean economy is well diversified compared to most economies of African countries. In 1989, Christiansen (1993) highlighted that the industrial sector accounted for 43 percent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP), services accounted for about 46 percent and agriculture accounted for 11 percent.

Despite this extensive diversification of the economy, agriculture accounted for a relatively small share of the Gross Domestic Product. However, agriculture 's contribution to exports and employment is significant.

At independence, in 1980, Zimbabwe's agricultural economy was characterized by a badly skewed distribution of resources and production patterns which rooted in the colonial past. These inequalities are the product of colonial land allocation policies. Chiviya (1982) pointed out, that white settlers embarked on a process of land alienation in which the black majority were assigned insufficient land for their requirements while the settlers themselves expropriated most of the land for their own use.

This scenario of skewed distribution of resources is evident as Christiansen (1993) indicated that the Large Scale Commercial Sector (LSCS) consist of about 4 600 farmers who own 29 percent of the nations land area and account for two thirds of the total agricultural output. In contrast, more than one million families live in overcrowded Communal Area (CA) that account for 42 percent of the total land area, mainly in the regions with poor soils and low, erratic rainfall.

4.2.2. Land reform in Zimbabwe

The Zimbabwean government's main objectives in the rural areas especially in the agricultural sector during the first decade of independence was to redistribute land and to extend public sector agricultural support services to farmers in the communal and settlement areas.

In order to keep the style of economic management prior to independence, the land redistribution and resettlement programmes were designed and implemented by the public sector, as were the majority of agricultural services, but the programmes were complemented and facilitated by the private sector.

The government implemented three major initiatives in order to achieve its objectives in the rural economy. They are :

- to acquire and resettle agricultural land;
- reorientate research, extension, credit, and veterinary services to be more favourable to small-scale farmers; and
- to provide agricultural marketing services to farmers in communal areas for the first time.

4.2.3. Overview of the circumstances and policy decisions in Zimbabwe

4.2.3.1. Macro-economic and sectoral framework

After the 1980s, the Zimbabwean economy was characterised by the failure to create sufficient employment to those entering the labour force. Agricultural contribution to formal employment declined during the 1980s, chiefly because of the minimum wage legislation and other disincentives to labour-intensive production in the large farm sector. This pattern of slow growth, low investment, and inadequate creation of jobs is the result of high costs of doing business in Zimbabwe, The wide array of regulations, limited and unpredictable access to imported capital goods.

Zimbabwean's macro-economic performance over the last 12 years highlights important lessons which are successive years of large fiscal deficits undermine private sector confidence and thereby constrain private sector investment, and fiscal debts amount. Secondly, insufficient export growth, combined with external debt accumulation and debt servicing, constraints imports and subsequent investment and growth.

4.2.3.2. Land and resettlement

The Communal Areas consists of a total of 16.4 million hectares, 74 percent of which are located in the poorest rainfall zones. The total Communal Areas population in 1988 was roughly 5,1 Million persons, representing a population density of about 31,1 persons per square kilometre.

The resettlement programme has been the government main instrument for redressing inequalities in land distribution. This programme initiated in 1980, was originally intended to last for three years and to resettle 18 000 families on 1,2 million hectares or land previously owned by European farmers.

To implement the resettlement programme in Zimbabwe, The Land Acquisition Act of 1985 was promulgated. In this Act, the seller of any private rural land gives the government the right of first refusal. If the government acquires land other than through the buyer/seller systems, then it is obliged to compensate the landowner in convertible currency.

The guidelines of the Land Acquisition Act required that applicants for resettlement be landless, unemployed and poor with dependents of 18-55 years, and prepared to forego all land rights in their Communal Areas.

There were concerns that scarce resources were being allocated to those least able to make use of them. These concerns led to revise settler selection criteria in 1984-85, which allowed experienced Communal Areas farmers to be chosen for resettlement.

Settlers were established on land according to one of following five models:

- **Model A**

The model involves nucleated village settlement where individuals are allocated residential plot within a planned village, a parcel of arable, a grazing area based on the number of livestock units, which varies according to agro-ecological area.

- **Model B**

This model led to the establishment of cooperatives in agriculture. Khoza (1997) citing Zinyama when he said the new farming and cropping specialists emerged with this model and it is also observed that beneficiaries had to possess a higher level of management and expertise in order to sustain production.

- **Model C**

These are individual settlements found extensively on state farms with centralised provision of services. Khoza (1997) highlighted that agents of the state offered the economic infrastructure and services.

- **Models D and E**

These two models focused on the support of animals and found generally on the drier areas. Model D was established in order to provide grazing land for animals, whilst model E was targeted for ranching.

4.2.4. Lessons from Zimbabwe

Land reform in Zimbabwe was used as a political tool because of the pressure exerted by people who voted ZANU into power. The majority of the people had high expectations about the reform. This resulted in a less detailed planning for the implementation of land reform programmes.

The limited technical support available to the state and some anti-intellectual debates from Government resulted in insufficient debates about the resettlement models proposed.

The other issues realized from the Zimbabwean experience are the centralization of land reform within two sectoral ministries, that is Agriculture and Local Government. This limited the local participation in resettlement programmes and implementation strategies because planning was done in the offices of these two ministries. The communities were only involved during the last stage of the projects.

Budgetary constraints and limited administrative capacities imposed severe limitations to the process, as the whole process was not linked to the Marco-economic planning.

4.3. Summary

The two international experiences indicate that a major planning needs to be done when implementing land reform projects. Political pressure should not be allowed as this will create a false impression about the land reform. Experience indicates that the

goals of land reform should not solely be limited to agricultural activities, but also to non-agric activities to complement each other.

Community participation was encouraged in the projects in Colombia. Beneficiaries were trained to make meaningful contribution to the whole process. In Zimbabwe, the beneficiaries received less training.

CHAPTER FIVE

Land Reform and Rural Development in South Africa: Post apartheid era.

5.0. Introduction

The chapter reviews the policy framework as informed by the Reconstruction and Development Programme, New Land Policy and the other policy initiatives towards rural development are reviewed. The issues as identified by GEAR, SDIs, Local Government are also highlighted.

Furthermore, this chapter outlines broadly different approaches and initiatives adopted in order to improve the living conditions of the marginalized poor in the rural areas since 1994.

5.1. South African Land Policy.

The new land policy in South Africa was launched in the country. This is due to the fact that the past land ownership and land developmental patterns strongly reflected the political and economic conditions of the apartheid era when Black South Africans were pushed into overcrowded and impoverished reserves, homelands and townships. In addition, capital intensive agricultural policies led to the large-scale eviction of farm dwellers from their land and homes, as Murray (1995) affirmed that land reform in South Africa does not take place in a vacuum or, on a clean slate.

According to the Department of Land Affairs (1997:v) “racially based land policies were a cause of insecurity, landlessness and poverty amongst black people, and a cause of inefficient land administration and land use”.

The South African land policy deals with the following rural and urban environments:

- injustices of racially-based land dispossession;
- inequitable distribution of land ownership;
- need for security of tenure for all;
- need for sustainable use of land;
- need for rapid land release of development for development;
- need to record and register all rights in property; and
- need to administer public land in an effective manner

(Department of Land Affairs :1997)

5.1.1. Land Reform

“The importance of land reform in South Africa arises from the scale and scope of land dispossession of black people. Since the Natives Land Act of 1913, millions of black people were forced to leave their ancestral land and resettle in what became overcrowded and environmentally degraded reserves where there is a pool of cheap labour for white owned farms and mines. Black families who owned land under freehold tenure outside the reserves before 1913 were initially exempted from the provisions of the Natives Land Act. The result was a number of ‘black spot’ communities in farming areas occupied by whites. These were subjects of a second wave of removals which took place from the 1950s through to the 1980s”(Letswalo:1987).

The ownership and use of land, has always played an important role in shaping the political, economic and social processes in the country. It is therefore seen as essential for sustainable growth and development in South Africa by helping to create conditions of stability and certainty.

5.1.2. Land Reform principles and the RDP

In this regard, the Reconstruction and Development Programme (1994:19-20) through its policy framework was formulated and emphasise that, “land is the most basic need for rural dwellers, and it became clear that the abolition of the Land Acts alone cannot therefore redress inequities in land distribution. Only a minority of black people can afford to buy land on the free market.

The principles of land reform was be based on the following:

- social justice;
- poverty;
- needs based;
- flexibility;
- participation;
- gender equity; and
- environmental sustainability.

This necessitated a national land reform programme which is the central and driving force of a programme of rural development. Such a programme aims to address effectively the injustices of forced removals and the historical denial of access to land. It aims to ensure security of tenure for rural dwellers. And in implementing the national land reform programme, and through the provision of support services, the democratic government will build the economy by generating large-scale employment increasing rural incomes and eliminating overcrowding.

The overcrowding, the bad environmental practices because of betterment planning, and other legislation led to the environmental destruction. This is due to the fact that the many blacks were forced to live in an overcrowded environment, which was not feasible to them to make a sustainable living. Through the Department of Environmental Affairs, land reform programmes will be subjected to the Environmental Impact Assessment in order to promote environmental sustainability

in the projects. This will help to redress the environmental degradation caused by apartheid policies.

Land reform can contribute to economic development, both by giving households the opportunity to engage in productive land use and by increasing employment opportunities through encouraging greater investment.

The first premise is that increasing food production, storage and trade can ensure food availability, but this will not automatically ensure that all people have access and entitlement of food. To alleviate poverty in the rural areas, there is a need for rural restructuring and specifically land reform.

5.1.3. Land reform programmes

- **Land redistribution**

The goal of the land redistribution programme is to provide the marginalised poor people with access to land for residential and productive uses. The land redistribution is aimed at a more equitable distribution of land, solving the problem of landlessness, improving rural and urban conditions, and enhancing job and economic growth. This programme targets the poor, farm workers and emerging farmers to access land through financial grants and finance required during the planning process.

Land reform redistribution strategy involves the following basic activities land acquisition, transfer; assistance with basic needs provision, land development, and the second one, delivery system. The first activity identifies and allocates the state land, provide grants for land acquisition and land development and enables beneficiaries to meet their basic needs. The second activity provides monitoring and evaluation, provides institutions for community facilitation, planning and implementation skills, and also provides training to all programme stakeholders.

- **Land restitution**

This second programme of land reform is aimed to restore land and provide other restitutionary remedies to people dispossessed by racially discriminatory legislation since 1913. The legal framework for the implementation of this programme is based on the Restitution of Land Rights Act, 22 of 1994.

The approach towards restitution claims is based on the distinction of people affected by dispossession through dispossession leading to landlessness, inadequate compensation for the value of property, and hardship which cannot be measured in financial or material terms.

The success of this programme required the establishment of Land Claims Commission, which investigate and mediate land claims through the facilitation of negotiated solution. The department will implement court orders and monitor implementation. Lastly the Department of Land Affairs will coordinate its activities with organizations involved in the process.

Restitution in the country is in the form of

- restoration of the land from which claimants who were dispossessed,
- provision of alternative land, payment of compensation, and
- alternative relief including a package containing of the above and the priority of access to state resources.

- **Land tenure reform**

In terms of Section 25 (6) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa “ a person or community whose tenure of land is legally insecure as a result of past racially discriminatory laws or practices is entitled, to the extent provided by an Act of Parliament, either to tenure which is legally secure, or to comparable redress.

The policy development on land tenure reform is best described by the following guidelines:

- Tenure reform must move towards rights and away from permits;
- Tenure reform must build a unitary non-racial system of land rights for all South Africans;
- Tenure reform must allow people to choose the tenure system which is appropriate to their circumstances;
- All tenure systems must be consistent with the Constitution 's commitment to basic human rights and equality;
- In order to deliver security of tenure a rights based approach has been adopted; and
- New tenure systems and laws should be brought in line with reality, as it exists on the ground and in practice.

(DLA: 1997:61)

5.1.4. Financial grants

The Department of Land Affairs offers a number of grants in order to implement land reform projects.

Table 5.1: Grants offered by the Department of Land Affairs

Grant	Use
Settlement/Land Acquisition Grant	Used to buy land or get secure tenure to land they already occupy
Settlement Planning Grant	Used by beneficiaries to appoint consultants to help them to prepare project proposals and settlement plans
Grant for the Acquisition of Land for Municipal Commonage	Local authorities use this grant to establish lease schemes for residential and settlement villages

Department of Land Affairs (1988)

5.5. Current laws which are applicable to land reform

- **Restitution of Land Rights Act, 22 of 1994.**

This Act provides for restitution of land rights to people who lost land due to racially based policies. In terms of this Act, claimant qualifies if he was dispossessed a land right after 19 June 1913, under a racially discriminatory law and was not paid just and equitable compensation.

- **Development Facilitation Act, 67 of 1995**

Under the apartheid era, planning was characterized by lack of coordination, unequal distribution of resources and a slow progress on development projects. The Development Facilitation Act was passed in order to speed up land development and to ensure that development takes place in accordance with the national RDP principles.

- **The Extension of Security of Tenure Act, 1997 on 28 November 1997.**

This Act “tries to give people more tenure security by helping people living in rural areas to get stronger rights to the land on which they are living, and laying down certain steps that owners and persons in charge of rural land must follow before they can evict people”(Department of Land Affairs (2), 1996, p.5)

This Act protected people who resided on the land on 4 February 1997 or at any time thereafter, and had the express or tacit consent of the owner or person in charge, and had another legal right to reside on the land.

- **The Labour Tenants Act, 3 of 1996**

This Act provides help to the labour tenants who are technically not covered by the Land Restitution Act. Land Tenants Act protects the rights of labour tenants and provides for them to acquire land. Tenants are also given preferential status and financial status in land redistribution and land development programmes.

- **The Communal Property Associations Act, 28 of 1996.**

Communities or groups are enabled by this Act to acquire, hold and manage property under a written constitution. This will enable members of disadvantaged communities to collectively acquire land in terms of the written constitution. The constitution drafted by the communities will set out the rules, which are appropriate to the values. These rules should conform to the requirements of the Act like transparency and accountability.

5.2. Rural Development.

Different departments, including the Reconstruction and Development Programme Framework view rural development as a broader and integrated concept. It sets the institutional framework for the reduction of poverty and inequality owing to the important role of the programme in integrating South African Development policy.

The approach towards rural poverty in South Africa is tackled in two major dimensions in a spatial context, which are based on restructuring the apartheid space economy and spatial distribution of infrastructure.

5.2.1. Restructuring the apartheid space economy.

Key intervention strategies have been initiated in order to reduce poverty in the country especially in the rural areas. Spatial Development initiatives which aim to unlock the inherent and under utilized economic development of certain areas included rural areas in fast tracking and boosting new investment, growth and employment opportunities. This is evident as the proposed SDI cut across geographical zones of major poverty areas.

Local authorities are assuming new responsibilities in promoting local economic development planning in their localities. This helps to bring together the major stakeholders in addressing the issue of poverty and unemployment in the rural areas.

5.2.2. Spatial distribution of infrastructure

It has been realized that the rural dwellers do not have access to the basic services in their localities. The Rural Development Framework has been drafted in order to focus on poverty, addressing the issues of how to involve rural people in decisions affecting them. The Rural Development Framework 's vision can be categorized in to the following major elements, governance and the provisions of infrastructure, and enabling framework for rural livelihoods.

The Rural Development Framework requires the following elements

- o Institutional development;
- o Restoration of economic rights;
- o Investment in rural infrastructure
- o Building local capacity to plan and implement.

The Department of Constitutional Development established the Rural Administration and Infrastructure Development (RAID) programme in the rural areas. The rural municipalities use these centres by providing basic services. RAID centres then provide one stop shop for different services to the rural people like health, economic empowerment and other related services. There are also other departments which are involved with the poverty relief programmes in the rural area.

5.3. Critique of South African Land Policy

In South Africa, Land Policy is the product of the Department of Land Affairs. There is no co-ordination between the activities identified by the land policy amongst the government departments.

The Department of Land Affairs is largely responsible for the implementation of land reform programmes. Other supporting mechanisms which must be implemented in order to supplement the projects are done in an ad-hoc basis. The Department of Agriculture

undertake its own agricultural programmes without consulting other departments like Land Affairs, Constitutional Development and Local Authorities.

5.4 Summary

The challenge facing the country is high in alleviating poverty in the rural areas. It is clear from the approaches that the major challenge is evident in implementing the land reform programmes especially in the rural areas where people do not have the capacity to be involved in the mainstream of the economy.

Different departments are involved with the rural development programmes which are not co-ordinated to achieve the goal of poverty alleviation. The other factor, which is an issue in the delivery of land reform programme and rural development, is the underlying economic constraints facing the whole country.

Chapter Six

The Case of Tarlton Land Redistribution Project

6.0. Introduction

This chapter introduces the case of Tarlton as a local land reform project identified in the Western Gauteng Services Council (Map 1) area of jurisdiction. It provides the practices and frustrations experienced by the land reform beneficiaries. This chapter looks into the background of the project, the problems identified during the implementation of the project and the findings from the interviews.

6.1. Background

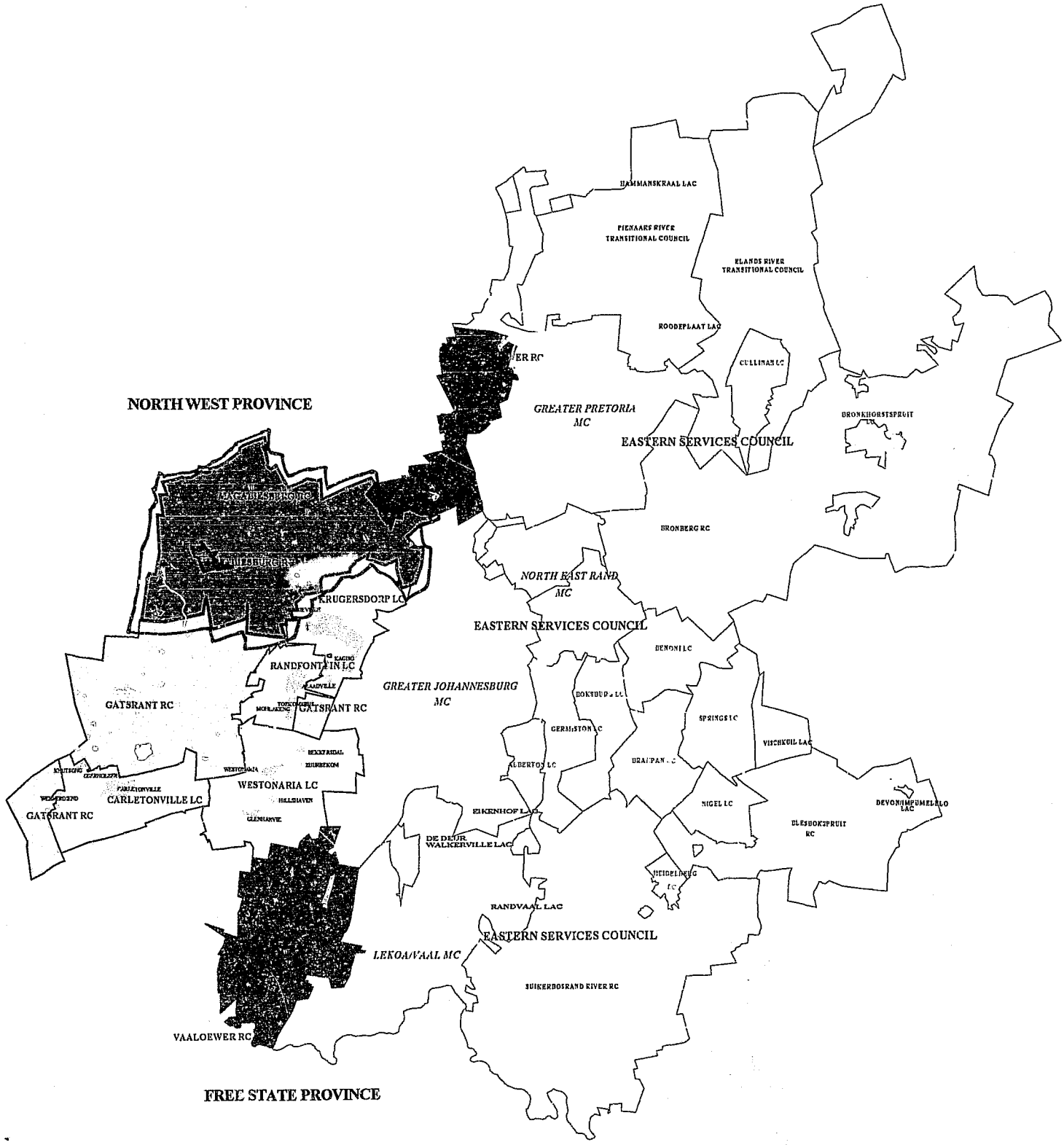
The Magaliesberg Rural area and especially the Tarlton area (Map 2) was experiencing an increase demand for land for private ownership. The number of people displaced from farms increases daily due to the changes of land ownership, the economy and difficulties experienced in the agricultural sector. The result was that people were legally of the land where they lived and worked for a number of years.

The Tarlton redistribution project started in 1995 when approximately 75 families were evicted from Skippers Farm in the Tarlton area, tents were erected on open ground adjacent to the Tarlton Police Station for the evicted families. An application was lodged to the Department Of Land Affairs on 2 February 1996 for financial assistance in accordance with the land redistribution programme.

A Tarlton Community Development Forum was established which identified a Portion of the farm Vlakdrift in the Tarlton Area as a possible site for the relocation of the community. Full description of the property is the Remaining Extent of Portion 4 of the farm Vlakdrift 163 IQ measuring 83,540ha (Map 2). The project is located approximately 20km west of Krugersdorp.

MAP 1

LOCALITY OF THE WESTERN GAUTENG SERVICES COUNCIL



WESTERN GAUTENG SERVICES COUNCIL

TESAME DIE TOEKOMS
TOGETHER THE FUTURE

Drawing Title:
WESTERN GAUTENG SERVICES COUNCIL BOUNDARY

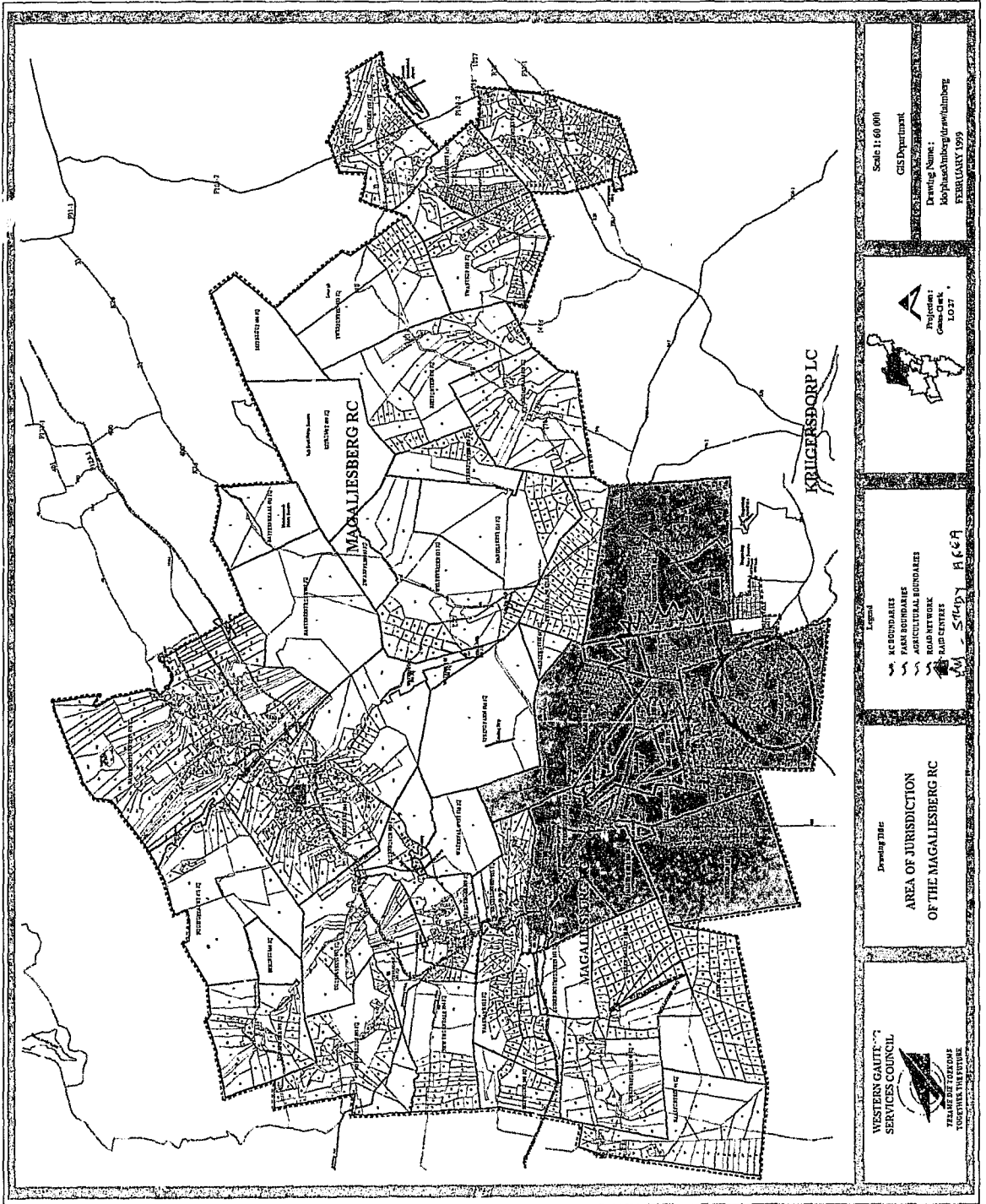
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- MAGALIESBURG RC
- GATSRANT RC
- VAAL RIVER RC
- VAALOEWER RC

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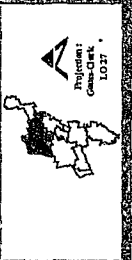
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November 1998

MAP 2



Scale 1:60 000
 GIS Department
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 FEBRUARY 1999



- Legend
- AC BOUNDARIES
 - FARM BOUNDARIES
 - AGRICULTURAL BOUNDARIES
 - ROAD NETWORK
 - PLANT CENTRES
- Scale 1:60 000

Drawing Title
**AREA OF JURISDICTION
 OF THE MAGALIESBERG RC**

WESTERN GAUTENG
 SERVICES COUNCIL
 TOGETHER WE BUILD THE FUTURE

Elected leadership from the beneficiary community and an elected outside member have formed a trust namely the Tarlton Community Development Trust that was registered on 28 August 1996.

The transfer of the land in the name of the Tarlton Development Community Trust took place on 11 February 1997, whereafter the people that were staying in the tents at the Tarlton Police station were moved onto the farm, where they were staying in the shacks.

At first, the Western Gauteng Services Council provided the necessary services such as water and sanitation until the permanent services were installed.

6.1.2. Aims of the project

- ✓ To facilitate the speedy redistribution of land to the community in a co-ordinated manner and to ensure that the process takes place within the context of the community's Tarlton Community Development Trust.
- ✓ The implementation and management of the Tarlton development plan, which must still be compiled by the community with the assistance of the Western Gauteng Services Council and the Department of Land Affairs.
- ✓ Tenure management, which will be communal with regard to residential, grazing and commercial farming activities.

6.1.3. Objectives

To enhance the standard of living of the Tarlton community, firstly by providing land for settlement purposes and secondly by means of an integrated participatory process of basic needs provision and continuous development planning to achieve short, medium and long term development goals.

The needs identified above include tenure security, housing, water, job creation, education, roads, transport, health and welfare, self sustaining economy and agricultural activity.

6.1.4. Land needs of the community

This report is related to the redistribution claim of the community of which some of the beneficiaries were already staying on the farm after the development planning on the portion of the land. The community's need for land is housing and agriculture. The development will therefore be in the form of an agri-village. Therefore, the plan was concerned with the establishment of an agri-village with residential as well as agriculture and/or land based income earning activities.

6.1.5. Profile of the applicants.

The community consists out of 75 families. The total number of people was 291 with households of 40 males and 35 females headed. The number of dependents was 93 with an average monthly family income of R387.00. The employment level can be categorised as 50 employed, all part time, 21 unemployed and 4 pensioners.

6.1.6. Land identification.

The Tarlton Community is located approximately 20 kilometres from Krugersdorp on the 26, 40-degree longitudes, in the Magaliesberg Representative Council's area of jurisdiction. The full description of the property is the Remaining Extent of Portion 4 of the farm Vlakdrift 163 IQ, measuring 85,540ha.

The land use of the farm prior to the purchasing thereof was farming. The farm also was not occupied by the owners at the time of the purchase, due to the fact that the owner died and the land form part of his estate. Existing facilities on the farm after the transfer took place was a farmhouse, a barn and a small water reservoir (200lt) and two boreholes of which only one can be used.

This property was found suitable for the settlement of the Tarlton Community and would address their identified needs for housing as well as farming. A number of families are already settled on the farm and the other group will be settled as soon as the construction of the houses is completed.

6.1.7. Proposed land use

An agricultural assessment was done and the report indicated that the project is feasible. Approximately 2 ha are reserved for housing. The rest of the arable area will be used for communal food production, where the individual members will have free access to land for household food security, and a portion that is exclusively for commercial crop production under intensive management and to be run on business principles. The main activities identified for implementation are vegetables, fruit and animal production. The aim is to create jobs and generate an additional income for the community. In addition it was indicated that labour based production methods should be employed and where possible, some components should also generate an income.

6.1.8. Tenure arrangements of the project.

The ownership of the land will reside in the Tarlton Community Development Trust, which is the legal body of 75 beneficiaries, comprises of members of the community, outside members, Western Gauteng Services Council and the Department of Land Affairs.

6.2. The present scenario

Presently, 75 top structures were built from the grant received from the Department of Land Affairs. These top structures, together with the purchasing of land used more than 90 percent of the grant. And this left less money for the implementation of the agricultural portion. There are only 30 people living in the shacks on the property. These people are living in the shacks still relying on part time jobs offered by surrounding farmers and business people.

Photo 1: The type of houses in Tarlton area

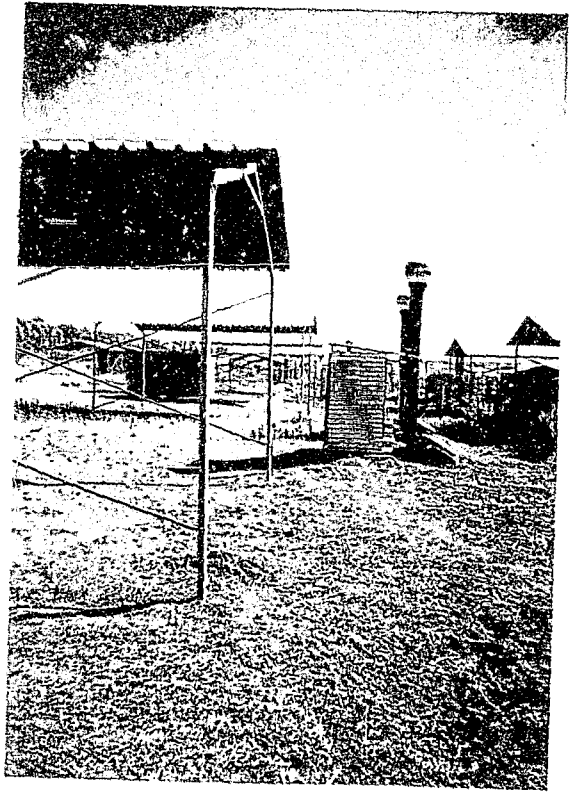


Photo 2: The top structures of houses which were not completed

About thirty (30) women on the property initiated a small-scale agricultural project where they grow vegetables. Because of lack of support and marketing strategy, the number of participants in this project decreased to eighteen (18). They have initiated a link with the Magaliesburg market where they sell their products.

The portion, which has been identified for agricultural activities, is lying unused because of limited funds to be used for implementation.

6.3. Findings from the case study.

• Beneficiaries

It is evident from the beneficiaries that the project did not succeed in meeting their basic need of alleviating poverty. They have access to the land, but cannot do anything on the land because they do not have any means of support to work on the land. The beneficiaries indicated that they did not fully participate in the project because they were not capacitated to take rational decisions. One of the beneficiaries indicated that their conditions are deteriorating even further.

Poor public participation identified is due to the lack of training offered to the beneficiaries. Many beneficiaries do not understand the general goals of land reform. They were told that the main goal of land reform is provide them with land and houses, which will be owned by them

The other problem associated with the poor participation is the passive involvement of the beneficiaries. This may be due to the concern raised about the delay of the project. On the other hand, some of the beneficiaries were not part of the committee, which selected the activities to be undertaken on the farm. It was assumed that they are all interested in agricultural activities. It was emphasised during the interviews that some of the beneficiaries were interested in the manufacturing sector.

- **Officials**

Department of Land Affairs

The officials from Land Affairs indicated that the Tarlton project did not achieve its goals due to some of the problems experienced during the implementation stage. It was realized that the R15 000 subsidies received from government was too little. The top structures for houses and the land used approximately 90 percent of the money allocated to the project. Only 10 percent was left for administrative and buying of machinery.

At the end of the project, it was also realized that the majority of beneficiaries were not interested in agriculture. This problem was due to the fact that there was no proper screening to identify different activities, which are of interest to the beneficiaries. The activities were only informed by the climatic and soil conditions of the area without taking into consideration the ability and the interests of the beneficiaries.

It was also evident from the Departmental side that there is no detailed communication plan for more inputs and binding into the project. The Department of Land Affairs, which is responsible for the transfer of land to the beneficiaries did not consult other departments in order to provide other supporting services for integrated and sustainable rural development. The budget of other Departments are not linked to the project like Agriculture, Public Works, Education, Health etc.

The implementation of Land Reform project by the Department of Land Affairs creates problems because the officials from the Department do not have contacts with the local people than the local authority. On the other hand, it becomes difficult for officials from the local authority to attend meetings especially after hours. Local authorities are complaining because they do not get funds for their staff members to attend these meetings.

Western Gauteng Services Council

The local authority with regard to the implementation of the project identified different issues. It has been pointed out that there is a problem of disseminating information about the projects. The officials are not regularly informed about the progress.

Beneficiaries' access to complementary services and infrastructure is a problem, because these responsibilities fall outside the Department of Land Affairs, which is only responsible for the designation of the land. This frustrates the local authority because they have to apply for bulk services for the project. This results in a fragmented type of planning. On the other hand, there is a lack of insight because the officials from the Department of Land Affairs do not understand how the local authority operates.

Centralized land reform implementation is time consuming. Many project leaders do not have good contacts with the community. This is evident when comparing South African land reform projects, which usually take more than two years whilst land reform projects in Colombia, which takes approximately seven months.

There is no linkage of budget between different stakeholders. The department of Land Affairs responsible for land designation does not consult other departments in order to inbind and link their budget with the needs identified by the land development objectives (LDO) of the area.

The planning and the implementation of the project is not linked to the general objective of alleviating poverty especially in the rural areas. The officials are only interested in designating land to the beneficiaries. This is evident when the Department of Land Affairs does not evaluate the project in terms of sustainability.

Lack of Spatial Development Framework through which Land reform is managed creates problems. Good Agricultural land to be used for effective agricultural activities is scarce and this prolongs the land identification process.

Councillors

There is a communication breakdown between the councillors and the officials from Department of Land Affairs. One of the Councillors indicated this communication gap by saying that the Department enter into contracts and negotiations without involving them from the initial stage. They are only briefed about the progress.

6.4.Summary

Tarlton land reform project did not satisfy the overall objective of land reform programme. This is reflected by the conditions in which the beneficiaries find themselves. The majority of them are still unemployed and live in the appalling conditions without basic services like shelter, health services, sanitation, etc. The main issues identified in the project are:

- amount of subsidy received from the Department of Land Affairs,
- lack of training to empower the beneficiaries about the project,
- incremental approach towards the implementation of the project.
- It was evident that there was a poor linkage with the general development strategy of the Magaliesberg Representative Council.

Chapter Seven

Appropriate Planning Theories.

7.0. Introduction

This chapter concentrates on the planning theories which might affect the implementation of land reform in alleviating poverty. At the end of this chapter, critique of each planning theory will help to identify the most appropriate approach which will maximise the benefits of land reform and rural development.

Planning defined by Faludi (1994:11) “as a process for determining appropriate future action through a sequence of choices”, will largely influence the outcome of any planning development. The planning approach to be adopted can be regarded as the most important tool to be used in attaining planning goals. It is therefore important for planning activities to take into consideration, the following basic elements: goals achievement, choice of exercise, future oriented, action and comprehensive (integration)

7.1. Blue Print Planning Approach

Blue print planning was dominant in the early 20s when Geddes used his biological principles in planning. And it is defined (Faludi, 1973:118), “as a form of planning which determines every detail of the solution to a problem, and only then proceeds unswervingly towards implementing the plan.” In terms of Geddes approach, it is indicated that survey should come before a plan. This approach sees a planner as a mater of built environment, and was commonly regarded as top down approach as more information was coming from the top without initiating any input from the grassroots.

7.1.1. Critique of Blue Print Planning

Blue print planning approach can only be used in a situation where the goal of the government is to implement without further inputs of the affected parties. This type of approach can be seen as inflexible and minimise the public inputs. It is usually done in suppressive conditions like evicting people in order to promote their individual interests. The land reform process needs beneficiaries' inputs in order to address their problems. The apartheid policies influenced planning approaches in South Africa in order to promote the interests of the minority groups. This resulted in a separate form of development where some people were living in an overcrowded situation.

Blue print approached is based on the premise that there are no external forces, which may influence the goal to be achieved in planning. Rural development is not a static process, but a dynamic one which take into consideration other aspects of planning. In reality, this is not practical as planning does not take place in a vacuum and the environment in which it is taking place will influence it. It has to be understood that planning is for the people, and people are different species, which need different approach for effective planning.

7.2. Rational comprehensive theory.

Rational comprehensive planning approach, which originated in the United States in the 1940s, can be regarded as a direct response towards a gap identified in the rational approach towards planning. The planner will then play a role of identifying all possible alternative or courses of action, to evaluate the consequences of each pre-stated ends, and as a result to select the most appropriate (Adams, 1994).

According to this approach, success will not depend solely on involving physical planning, but the inclusion of all factors, which have an effect towards planning. This is evident as its proponents (Faludi, 1973:113) are more inclined to see society as an organic whole, something which is, in metaphorical way, more real than the collection of individuals which it embraces". This approach resulted in the formulation of integrated type of planning, which is not static like the blue print planning.

7.2.1. Critique of rational comprehensive planning

The comprehensive nature of this approach will be regarded as time consuming to some of the population especially who stand to benefit from the project. Effective rural development would not allow planners who will dictate their interests to the communities. They must act as facilitators and guide the community in an effective and efficient process. This planning approach is also open to abuse especially to the elite group who have necessary resources to complicate the process in order to suit their individual needs at the expense of the poor.

7.3. Incremental approach

Incremental approach can be seen as a direct critique to rational comprehensive approach as Lindblom in Faludi (1973) argues that feasible planning sometimes does away with the rationality. Some feasible projects may be regarded as irrational. This planning process is piecemeal in approach so as to be responsive to different conditions.

Incremental approach sees objectives as they arise so as to adjust goals and objectives. This is possible because it allows flexibility in order to change the alternatives in order to achieve the set goals.

7.3.1. Critique of incremental approach

This approach is regarded by many planners as disjointed due to the fact that it sees problem in a piecemeal fashion and that affect the future decisions because the issue is tackled as it arise. In this case, the basic societal innovations will be neglected as it focuses on the short term goals rather than long term goals. Land reform should be guided by short, medium and long terms goals. Some of the short term goals may result in contradictions to some of the policies and strategies. The reliance on small scale intervention, the general approach will be without a principled guideline which need to be followed for achieving the end result.

7.4. Mixed scanning

The shortcomings observed from rational approach and incremental methods in planning led to the development of a new approach known as mixed scanning. This approach tried to minimise the shortcomings of these two approaches by fusing the two.

7.5. Strategic choice

“In the sixties, it was realised that the prevailing Planning approaches failed to cope with the problems of planning practice in a world of complexities”(Dekker and Mastop, 1991). This necessitated the emergence of Strategic Choice which is cyclical in nature because it take into consideration the past and the future decisions as this will enable the decision makers to understand the problems and its related comparisons.

The Strategic choice is based on the principle that planning is a continuous process of choice involving the evaluation of alternatives in the light of desirable goals.

Strategic Choice involves three types of uncertainties, which have been identified by Friend and Jessop in Dekker and Mastop (1991):

- Uncertainty in knowledge of the external environment;
- Uncertainty as to future intentions in related fields of choice; and
- Uncertainty as to appropriate value of judgements.

7.5.1. Critique of Strategic Choice

The Strategic Choice allows the review of the alternatives and continuous feedback but it does not allow community participation for its planning approach. Public participation is the buzzword in all land development process as legislated by the Development Facilitation Act. In the case of rural development, the rural people and the affected parties should be actively involved in order to determine their own development. In this case of the Strategic Choice, there is no point of reference where the community inputs are accommodated.

7.6. Participatory Planning: appropriate approach

Planning has taken a new form where "participation forms an integral part of the planning in most democratic countries and has recently become an indispensable part of the development rhetoric (Soen, 1984:162). This can be observed in South Africa where the Development Facilitation Act (DFA) was introduced. This Act requires all local authorities to draw up land development objectives that need maximum and representative community participation to guide development in their local areas. It is therefore imperative for planning to be seen as a tool, which can be used by the communities for their self-sufficiency and advancement in order to ensure social justice and equity.

From the previous chapter, it is clear that community participation in the land reform process and rural development is indispensable in order to ensure that their aspirations are addressed and also to feel part and parcel of the whole process. In this case, the issue of empowerment of the rural communities in the projects, which affect their future, will be addressed. Vasso (1988) defined citizen participation as "a process by which the effect of the people themselves are united with those of governmental authorities to improve the economic, social and cultural conditions of communities, to integrate these communities into the life of the nation, and to enable them to contribute fully to national progress. This complex process is made up of two essentials. It entails the encouragement of participation by the people themselves in efforts to improve their level of living with as much reliance as possible on their own initiative; and the provision of technical and other services in ways which encourage initiative self-help and mutual help and make these more effective".

7.7. Summary

This chapter highlighted different planning approaches, which may be used during the planning process for sustainable land reform and rural development. There is a need to involve the communities in all developmental projects in the country. Participatory

planning approach enhances the beneficiaries to be involved and own the project. This will also help to identify a need to capacitate them in order to be active in all major decision making process.

Chapter Eight

Recommendations and Conclusion

8.0 Introduction.

This chapter gives a summary of issues identified in the case study. It suggest some guidelines and recommendations towards an integrated rural development approach in alleviating poverty.

8.1. Issues related to the planning and implementation of rural land reform in Tarlton.

- **Public participation**

South Africa land reform programmes are characterised by the absence of active and meaningful public participation especially from the land reform beneficiaries in decision-making, planning and the implementation of the programme. Most of the planning takes place in the offices of Land Affairs. It is evident that the beneficiaries of the Tartlon Redistribution Project became involved during the last stage of the implementation of the project.

- **Capacity building**

The capacity building is not only required from the beneficiaries only, but the administrative staff who will deal with the process. In South Africa, the Department of Land Affairs is affected largely by insufficient administrative capacity and the resignation of officials charged with land reform. A planner who was responsible for other land redistribution projects administered the Tarlton project. This affects the implementation of land reform programmes.

- **Empowerment of beneficiaries**

The beneficiaries in Tarlton were not empowerment to influence major decisions in the project. Apart from decision-making, there were not empowered to actively take forward the objectives of the project.

- **Availability of resources.**

The availability of the resources affects the implementation of land reform programmes. The Department of land Affairs is facing budget cuts in the allocation of funds for land reform programmes.

- **Bridging finance**

Many beneficiaries are faced with the problem of sustaining their projects during the implementation stage. When they are given land to produce, the time between the ploughing and harvesting affect their family income. This discourage many potential farmers to leave their part time jobs to be fully involved in their new production.

- **The urban bias**

The inherent urban bias of the civil society has resulted in a non-existent of the rural community in dealing with the developmental issues of their areas. This is reflected by the programmes which are more suitable to the urban environments but not applicable to the rural areas.

- **Access to credit**

It is difficult for the potential rural farmers to get reasonable credit from the financial institutions. This is due to the fact that the majority of them do not have financial security against the loans.

- **Access to the market**

Another important element is the accessibility of the market for their products. Products, which come from the emerging farmers, especially those benefited from land reform programmes do not have support services.

- **Linkage to other developmental strategies.**

Tarlton Redistribution project was initially not linked with the developmental strategy of Magaliesberg RC and Western Gauteng Services Council. The LDO's in the area did not link the project with other support services needed for the region.

8.2. Recommendations

Land reform and rural development programmes should encompass comprehensive rural development policies which will enhance productivity and sustainability in the rural areas. It is therefore important to note that land redistribution is necessary, but it will not guarantee the success of the programme where the rural poor's poverty will be reduced or alleviated. There is a need to integrate the process with additional services infrastructure, markets and social facilities.

South African society will achieve the objectives of poverty alleviation in the rural areas when the central objective is to correct the present imbalance of resources while ensuring the economic and environmental sustainability of the resource base. This will have a multiplier effect to the beneficiaries, as they will improve their income earning opportunities.

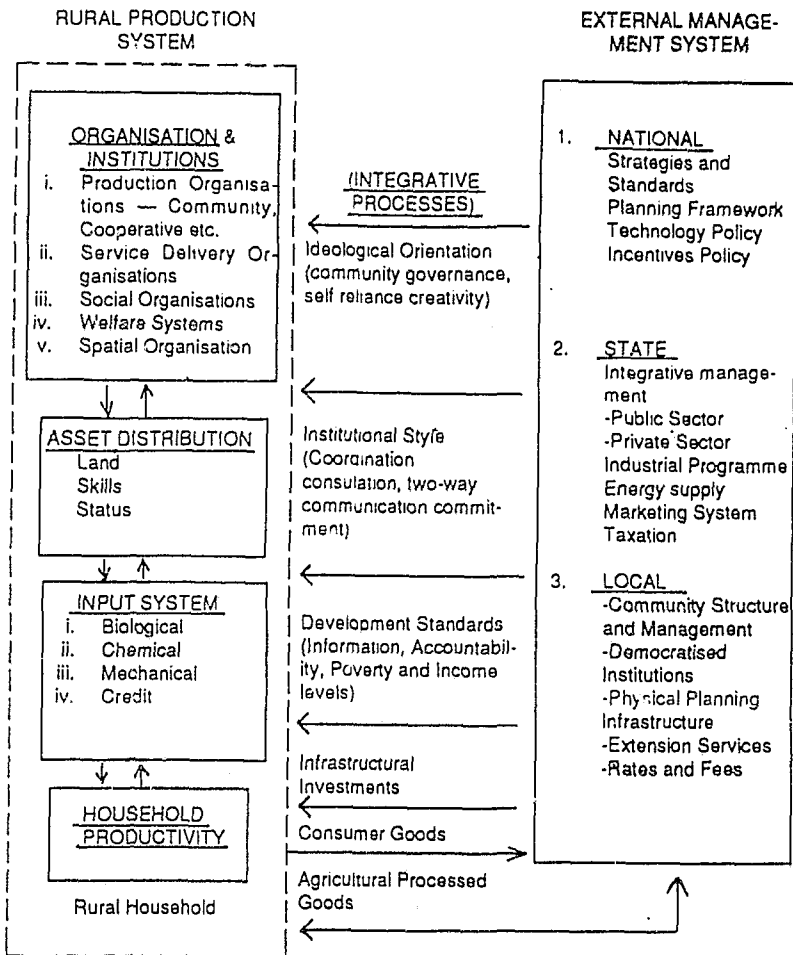
The success of this process will depend on the co-ordination of all other related activities. The following are the most important factors, which will contribute positively towards a sustainable and integrated rural development.

8.2.1. Co-ordinated process

The commitment of ensuring that land reform does not simply refer to the availability of land to the beneficiaries but integrating it with rural development, made the task more interesting. This involves the integration of all productive uses in the rural development. All available lines of functions like water, agriculture, economy health etc are considered to be important in the transformation of the rural areas.

Figure 8.1 indicates how different elements in an Integrated Rural Development process can be co-ordinated in order to reduce rural poverty. The management system of rural development should be clarified, and the roles of each system should be involved in an integrated process for the benefit of the rural poor.

Figure 8.1 Elements of an Integrated Rural Development



Source Mabogunje, 1989.

The Integrated Rural Development through its multisectoral strategy will increase rural productivity thereby ensuring better quality of life amongst the rural people. Mechanisms of facilitating economic development and alleviating poverty should be put into practice.

8.2.1.1. Economic development

Different approaches at local level should be initiated in order to stimulate economic growth through locally driven entrepreneurial approaches. Communities and the private sector should be mobilised to be actively involved in mutual partnerships for economic growth and development.

8.2.1.2. Poverty alleviation.

Mechanisms for alleviating poverty should be implemented in order to create demand and supply side of economic activities. Spatial objectives should be initiated in order to provide an investment framework for integrated environment and better access to services.

8.2.2. Decentralisation of land reform programmes.

There is a need to decentralise the land reform programmes into different local authorities. This will help the local government to integrate the land reform programmes with the existing development plans of the regions and at the same time reducing the transaction costs associated with these programmes.

8.2.3. Public participation

Successful implementation of rural development will be effective when there is a meaningful participation of the beneficiaries. The theoretical literature indicates that the beneficiaries must participate meaningfully in decision-making, planning and implementation process.

The participatory planning process is the appropriate process because it will involve the beneficiaries of land reform and rural development from the initial stage of the project. The needs of the beneficiaries will be determined and get training which will empower them to actively participate in the process. This will ensure that their needs are addressed and are able to guide their own development.

8.2.4. Capacity building and public participation.

It is evident from the literature review that the majority of the land reform beneficiaries have a severe capacity gap. This issue will at the end translates into a lack of participation and thus excluding them from major developmental inputs from the process, which is based on demand driven approach.

Rural skills development can be linked to the whole process where members of the community will get life long skills. Hands on training programmes should therefore be established to help the beneficiaries to overcome their structural problems. This will empower the rural beneficiaries to determine their own developmental goals, which will be implementable in their respective areas based on the availability of the resources. When the beneficiaries feel the ownership of the project, the sustainability of the project will ultimately be realised

8.2.5. Clear roles of stakeholders

The role of all the stakeholders involved in rural development should be clearly stated in order to reduce duplication of the responsibilities and the scarce resources.

- **Government**

The role of every sphere of government should be clear and binds all involved departments of government. The National and Provincial Government should be involved largely on the broad based policy initiatives, which will reflect the social, cultural and political factors. Similarly they should be consistent with the agricultural and rural development.

The local government as the hands of the Reconstruction and Development Programme should mediate competing interests through implementation of land development objectives and the integrated development Plans. It is the responsibility of the local government to co-ordinate different programmes of national and provincial sphere of government in order to be linked with the local development plans.

- **Development Planner**

The Development Planner has to play a role of co-ordinator and the watchdog of the planning process for efficient rural development. The planner should be able to understand that his role will be that of a community adviser in order to work with the communities and to ensure that they are empowered during the process of development.

8.2.6. Monitoring and evaluation

Careful monitoring of projects will help to achieve the desired goal and identify means of improving the implementation process. Monitoring and evaluation of projects should therefore insist on the linkage between the mechanisms of accountability and the local government reform and development plans. This will ultimately help to identify the problems during the implementation stage of the project

8.3. Relevance to Development Planning

WGSC (1999) defined Development Planning as the use of co-ordinated policies to achieve national economic objectives, such as reduced poverty or accelerated economic growth. In this case, Development Planning has a role to play in enhancing rural development in order to reduce the level of poverty in the rural areas. This is the mandate of the new democratic government through the Reconstruction and Development Programme of enhancing the living conditions of all the people of South Africa.

8.4. Conclusion

The main aim of the discourse is to link land reform to poverty alleviation in the rural areas. Literature review indicates that land reform has been a hot policy debate throughout the developing countries, which are characterised by unequal distribution of land.

It is evident that the approach and implementation of land reform play a significant role in achieving the objectives of poverty alleviation. In the case Tarlton Land Redistribution Project, a unilateral approach towards poverty alleviation proved to be a failure.

The comprehensive approach towards poverty alleviation in the rural areas brought new interests for rural development. An integrated approach towards rural development recognises that the rural areas have its own organic arrangement of natural, social, economic and physical factors. It is therefore important to understand this complex relationship.

The success of rural development depends on the impact and the way in which the beneficiaries are involved throughout the process. Capacity building and the public participation ensure that the rural development strategies have an impact on rural people. To ensure that land reform and rural development are linked in a sustainable way to alleviate poverty, integrated rural development and local economic development should be emphasised.

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ELECTRONIC MAIL & GUARDIAN

Johannesburg, South Africa. June 3, 1998

Over 200 000 children do farm labour

An institute that researches agricultural issues estimates that more than 200 000 children are used as farm labour in South Africa's north. Meanwhile, new plans aim to halt the closure of farm schools. SIZWE SAMA YENDE reports

OVER 200 000 children are being used as child labour on farms in Northern Province and Mpumalanga, said spokesman for the Institute for Applied Labour Law and Farmworkers Research, Philip Lebopa, on Tuesday.

He said farmers along the borders between South Africa and neighbouring Mozambique and Zimbabwe were particularly guilty of hiring children.

"This can be attributed to illegal border crossings, because these children come from poverty stricken families over the border and are prepared to work for meagre wages," said Lebopa.

He said children were subjected to harder work than adults, and were paid less

"It's usual to find that a child works for R5 a day, while an adult doing the same job earns three or four times that amount," said Lebopa.

He said child labourers eventually suffered physically, psychologically and economically and felt inadequate when socialising with their peers

"These children do not grow up normally, as their school-going peers do, and feel inferior when mingling with them," he explained

The Institute is currently gathering data on the extent of child labour in the two provinces, before it devises solutions to the problem

The Institute was forced to stop operating for two years due to financial constraints, but began again last year after receiving funding from Norwegian Peoples Aid

New plans to halt farm school closures

By Dumisane Lubisi

THE unilateral closure of farm schools may be a thing of the past in Mpumalanga if a campaign launched by the provincial education department on Tuesday succeeds in convincing farmers to sign a memorandum of understanding.

The memorandum, introduced to Secunda farmers on Tuesday, will require farmers to consult with provincial authorities before they can close established farm schools on their property.

The education department will, in return, assume all finance responsibility for running the schools and may also lease the land on which schools stand from farmers for nominal amounts.

Farmers at the Secunda meeting met the proposal with cautious approval but officials were told that the memorandum had to be discussed with farm associations and with legal advisors before it could be signed.

Education spokesman, Peter Maminza, stressed that the Secunda meeting was only the first in a series of planned consultations but said the department was treating the initiative as a priority.

He said that some "disaffected" farmers in the province seemed to be using the closure of farm schools as a tool to force labour tenants off farms and so prevent land claims or labour disputes.

"The proposed agreement would safeguard the interests of pupils and their rights to an education," he said.

He was uncertain how the agreement would legally bind farmers to consult with the department before closing schools but said that it would at least ensure that farmers carefully considered their actions and did not act impulsively.

Maminza confirmed that the department hoped to sign a comprehensive province-wide agreement within the next two months - *African Eye News Service, June 3, 1998.*

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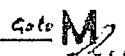
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ELECTRONIC MAIL&GUARDIAN

Johannesburg, South Africa. September 21, 1998

The forgotten poverty factor behind farm attacks

The vast majority of South Africa's poor live in rural areas, a forgotten factor in discussing the scourge of farm attacks. JOYCE BARRETT reports

POVERTY has been touted as one reason for the scourge of farm attacks across South Africa, where 72 percent of poor people are concentrated in rural areas.

According to the "Poverty and Inequality Report" brought out by the United Nations and South African government earlier this year, farm workers are the poorest of the poor, often earning wages below the minimum standard. The report also indicates that most black people, or 61 percent of blacks, are poor, while 38 percent of coloureds are considered poor.

On the other hand, just 1 percent of the white population is classified as poor. Richard Gumede, a regional organiser for the South African Agricultural and Plantation Workers Union, which represents about 8,000 white and black workers, said farm employees are frustrated by the low wages.

"We start work young and we die young," he said. "I don't know where the killing is coming from but farmers must work together with their employees and learn to stop the killings."

He said some farmers were arrogant and brutally exploited farm workers and that both parties needed to sit down together to solve our problems. Recent police reports, however, blame the crime wave that has seen over 550 farmers killed since 1994 on "pure criminality" and theft.

The reports reveal that in many cases there was a link between a perpetrator and the targeted farm, either through a former or current employee. South African Police Commissioner Karel Britz, appointed by Mandela to head a commission on serious and violent crime, said that farmers are particularly vulnerable because of their remoteness and their closest neighbors are often miles away. "They are soft targets," he said. "And South Africa has a culture of violence. "Farmers must secure their homes and be on the look out for attacks."

This sort of comment annoys farmers like Jan Uys of Ermelo, in Mpumalanga. Before his father was killed steps away from the back door of his farmhouse, Uys didn't feel the need to lock his doors at night. Now, five years later, he's been forced to live in a fortification. His bull terrier patrols the yard, which is wrapped by a six-foot electric fence. The only access is through a remote-controlled gate. His house is protected by an alarm system, window bars and steel safety doors. He has two-way radio networks established with his neighbors and the police. So far, he estimates he's spent about R35,000 on security systems to protect his family.

Police report that in the first five months of this year alone, there were 305 attacks on farmers. In July, 18 farmers were killed in 49 attacks. Uys' father, Johannes, was one of the first to die. The 81-year-old farmer was gunned down by a still unapprehended murderer who said he wanted to buy some milk.

"Every farmer is a sitting duck," Uys said. "It can happen so easily." Charging that the government is not doing enough to protect them, farmers are beginning to mobilise. Commando patrols and militias routinely patrol rural areas for suspicious characters. Farmers have bought two-way radios to communicate with each other and the police.

They have petitioned the business community to assist them fight crime, and have offered a list of demands topped with a reinstatement of the death penalty and a temporary imposition of marshal law to Mandela's government.

They have proposed withholding their tax payments from the government and setting them aside in a special fund designated for additional police protection. An October summit with Mandela is tentatively set. At the end of this month, farmers plan to take to streets in a nationwide demonstration to call attention to their plight.

"We are trying to tell the outside world that something serious is going on in this country," said Lourie Bosman, president of the Mpumalanga Agricultural Union that includes some 1 500 farmers in the northern part of the country near the borders of Swaziland, Zimbabwe and Mozambique.

Although the farmers concede that poverty is a factor in the attacks, they also calculate another factor to the crime equation. Most farmers are Afrikaners

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and as such symbolize the repressive Apartheid system to many of the country's still disenfranchised blacks who are now bent on revenge. Farmers are appalled at the violence of some of the crimes. Robbers have waited around farms all day until the families come home to kill them. People have been tortured and raped before being murdered. After a particularly brutal killing of a farming couple in July, family members charged that the killers were seeking revenge after a disagreement with their employer.

It's difficult to find a farmer who hasn't been victimized in some way in recent years. Uys can't think of any. Formerly a sheep and cattle rancher, Uys said flagrant thefts caused him to give up the livestock business and now he grows trees.

The reports of violence against farmers throughout the country are increasing. The last weekend in August, a farmer was killed by two men who beat and stabbed him; a farm wife survived after being stabbed 14 times; a farm couple was injured in a robbery; a dairy farmer recuperating in bed from a bout with the flu was shot dead; a farmer was gunned down in his living room by four men posing as cattle buyers; and two other farmers were found shot dead on their farms.

"Five years ago, when my father was killed, it was the talk of the town for weeks afterwards," Uys said. "Now it's just accepted and we say, 'Another farmer has been killed.'

"If farmers are acting that way, how will the government and others act?"

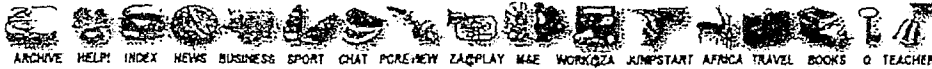
Graham McIntosh of the KwaZulu Natal Agricultural Union, decries what he sees happening to his neighbors and community:

"In all my life, and my family came to South Africa 300 years ago, I never thought it would get this bad. We know what the Wild West is all about." -- *African Eye News Service, September 21, 1998.*

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Johannesburg, South Africa. September 16, 1999

'Things aren't going well on farms'

New legislation is dragging the agricultural sector into a culture of rights.

LYNDA GILFILLAN reports

A MARBLE bust of Queen Victoria adorns the front of the Graaff-Reinet town hall, the interior of which is hung with crystal chandeliers, where farmers and farmworkers gathered last week to express their views on a minimum wage and conditions of employment.

A series of similar meetings has, over recent weeks, quietly taken place under the auspices of the Department of Labour. They form part of the process initiated by Minister of Labour Membathisi Mdladlana to regulate working conditions, including the question of a minimum wage under the Basic Conditions of Employment Act.

The crisply attired farm owners contradicted the usual stereotype of the khaki-clad, pot-bellied South African farmer. Included among these great-grandsons of settlers was a young, chic and articulate woman farmer -- all had been invited to express opinions on whether wages ought to be determined according to factors such as sector, area, workers' levels of skill, and so on.

Meeting chair Tembi Mkalipi, director of labour relations from East London, explained that, while the minimum wage is open to negotiation, the principle itself is not. A pall of suspicion hung over the group, for whom it was clearly an initiation into the consultative process

The point of the meeting was to elicit a broad response from individual

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a broad response from individual employers -- not all of whom are members of farmers' associations

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Mkalipi explained that the workshop was the start of an information gathering process, but responses from the farmers were slow and tentative and consisted mainly of defensive utterances about their concerns of protecting the jobs of their workers.

When the matter of in-kind payments (housing, food, fuel) was discussed, the ingrained paternalism of the system expressed itself in one farmer's view: "Farms are communities, and in-kind payments have become entrenched over time."

Reluctant to suggest actual figures for a minimum wage because this would somehow imply an acceptance of the principle, farmers spun the usual web of rationalisations: "We treat our labourers well, we have to ensure that they have enough food for the month and don't blow their cash."

In an area where the average monthly wage (inclusive of in-kind payments) is R700, Mkalipi informed the group that at other meetings in the Eastern Cape, farmers had suggested figures of not less than R200 and not more than R1 000. He warned that negative perceptions of farmers needed to be changed, particularly regarding exploitative wages.

The creative response to this of the only Afrikaans-speaking farmer present was that a maximum rather than a minimum wage ought to be established to safeguard wage and employment levels. "These people are our family," he said.

At midday, a small group of 13 farmworkers, representing six farms in the district, showed just how dysfunctional relations in these farm "families" are.

Again, a pall of suspicion hung in the air, as the workers sized up the officials seated before them.

Worker attendance was -- as with similar meetings held from Cradock to Komga -- so poor as to mock the consultative process.

When asked why, workers explained that they were at the mercy of employers for transport and information and that, while employers had brought them to the meeting, they had not been informed of its purpose, and so were ill-prepared.

They disclosed that current cash wages ranged between R204 and R580 per month. The figures workers then proceeded to suggest for a minimum wage mocked the fears employers had expressed earlier regarding their expectations. With neither anger nor outrage this most marginalised group of workers suggested cash wages between R800 and R1 000.

The abyss that exists between the perceptions of farm owner and worker may be widening. For one member of the farmer's "family" at least: "*Dinge gaan nie lekker op die plaas nie* [Things aren't going well on the farms]

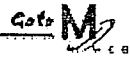
However, even if there is little material improvement after 2001 when this complex piece of legislation is expected to be passed, at the very least, farm owners and workers are slowly being integrated into those processes that form the fabric of a culture of rights

-- *The Mail & Guardian, September 16, 1999.*

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Johannesburg, South Africa, December 21, 1998

Farm activist's mysterious death

Four months after his release from jail, a prominent farm workers' activist dies. His family insist he was poisoned in the cells.

THOKOZANI MTSHALI reports

THIS Christmas, farm worker Farayi Moyo thinks not of birth, but of the strange death of his brother Sam, whose relatives suspect was slowly poisoned while in jail on a farmer's accusation of intimidation.

Sam Moyo (29) zealously campaigned for the rights of farm workers in the prosperous, semi-rural area of Lanseria, north of Johannesburg. He won support from a few white farmers, but angered most



Grieving: Sam Moyo's brother Farayi

photograph: nadia hutson

Moyo also befriended the young and poor. His reputation in the area was such that he drew 400 mourners to his funeral last September, including Gauteng acting premier Dan Mofokeng, who was once a farm worker.

Moyo's relatives believe he died because he threatened to expose the sour patterns on the farms — long hours and low wages — that have been described the area's landlords as wealthy farmers. The area was once a "paradise" in the new South Africa.

Farayi Moyo (31) thinks especially of his young brother because the arrest that preceded his death to

Last December 24, farmer and businessman E. M. M. Moyo and his son, Peter Moyo, filed charges against Sam Moyo, accusing him of intimidation. A few hours later, a convoy of eight police vehicles led by a white van carrying Moyo's Seed

Farm where Moyo resided. About 18 police emerged from the vehicles to arrest him.

"When Sam was arrested," Farayi Moyo said, "he had laid another charge against one farmer who had beaten a farm worker and then threw him on to the fire. But due to his arrest that case vanished into thin air. Most surprisingly, three months prior to his arrest, he had laid a similar charge of intimidation against Kok. But no arrest was made. The investigating officer said there was no valid evidence."

The Moyo brothers were born and raised in Kwekwe, a small mining town in the Zimbabwe midlands. At 23, Farayi Moyo left his mother country to work as a labourer for Rodney Zingel, owner of Mayford Seed Farm near Lanseria. The young Sam Moyo was employed by the Lonrho group at Anzec Gold Mines in Kwekwe.

Studying by correspondence, Sam Moyo obtained a degree in law and economics. He lost his job at the mines because of his involvement with trade unions

In 1992, he followed his brother to Mayford Seed Farm, got a job at a roadside shop and enrolled at Newport University in Rosebank to study for a diploma in labour studies and financial management. The Moyo brothers obtained South African citizenship.

Prior to his arrest, Sam Moyo had written to the Human Rights Commission requesting it to investigate the abuse of farm workers' rights in the Lanseria area. And he sent another letter to the Independent Complaints Directorate urging it to examine the conduct of local police.

Mayford Farm owner Zingel described Sam Moyo as "a man of great potential" who died too soon. "Sam was nice," Zingel said. "He was concerned about other people. He would find poor children and bring them together, teach them writing and the Bible. Though he was not favoured by some farmers, one farmer realised the importance of his work and gave some financial support for his education.

"I'm sad. I enjoyed [Sam's] reasoning. If he had not gone to jail, we were on the brink of establishing a good relationship between farmers and their employees. Perhaps he did go too far, but that was his calling."

Last Saturday inside the Methodist Church at Mayford, Farayi Moyo sat on one of the benches lined up for mourners at his brother's funeral. Behind him lay piles of books that Sam Moyo had collected for the kids in the area.

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Farayi Moyo said: "Sam became a pillar of this community. For some, he was a lawyer, a teacher and a saviour. In 1996, he initiated a school for the kids in this area. He negotiated with progressive people like Gary Player [the golf professional] and the kids he taught were integrated into Player's school.

Farayi Moyo said his brother also focused on labour issues and believes his brother's arrest was set up after the labour court and the Commission for Conciliation Mediation and Arbitration ordered Kok to reinstate employees he had dismissed. "But, to this day those people have not been reinstated," Farayi Moyo said, "and Sam was still preparing to launch another case against Kok for contempt of court."

After Sam Moyo's arrest, the Krugersdorp magistrates court refused him bail until the family took the matter to the Johannesburg High Court, which granted him R3 000 bail in May.

"But four months later, Sam is no more, he is history, he is dead," Farayi Moyo lamented. "We suspect he was poisoned while in prison, but the family had no money to pay for an independent pathologist to conduct medical tests."

Five days after the court granted bail, Farayi Moyo went to the Muldersdrift police station to collect his brother, but found he was in hospital. He died on November 29.

Zingel said when Sam Moyo "came out of jail, he was in a poor state. He looked like he would die right then. As to the real cause of the death, I don't know. Only heaven knows."

Muldersdrift police said they are investigating Sam Moyo's death. Forensic samples have been sent to the government laboratory.

As mourners paid tribute to Sam Moyo's good work, his parents sat facing the coffin in front of the pastors. Sam Moyo's father cried uncontrollably, while his Zimbabwean mother looked up at the roof, listened to foreigners telling her who her child was. They had come from Zimbabwe to witness their son being buried in a foreign country.

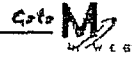
Sam Moyo's friend Marion Cloete told the mourners: "The suffering of people in the farms of Lanseria makes me think this area is not controlled by the current government. People here cannot report their complaints to the Muldersdrift police because this area is a landowner's paradise."

In his funeral address, Mofokeng said it may be too late to ascertain if Moyo's death was the result of any slow poisoning. "The [Lanseria] area is most difficult," Mofokeng said. "The landlords here act like they are the government, the judiciary and everything. If many people believe that Sam was poisoned, we must not overrule such possibility."

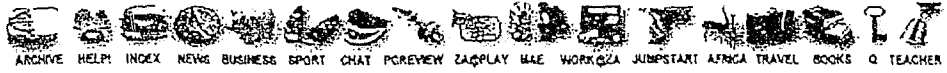
"Here, we are not burying a foreigner, but our own son whose good work will remain with us. As we bury him, we must commit ourselves to further his good works" -- *The Mail & Guardian, December 21, 1998.*

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Johannesburg South Africa. September 16, 1999

Benefits of wage law could be marginal

Proposed legislation to govern minimum wages for South Africa's lowest-paid employment sectors could pose a serious danger for employment losses, writes HARGON BHORAT



THE Department of Labour has recently called for public submissions and comment on the issue of minimum wages and conditions of employment for domestic and farm workers. An analysis of the first of these two issues, namely wages, will place into sharp focus the stringent trade-offs faced by the department in this part of the workforce

Living in poverty: Farmworkers are one of the two lowest-paid groups in the South African labour market, earning on average about R400 per month

photograph: jacqui pile

It is important, at the outset, to get a sense of the basic wage and employment statistics governing domestic and farmworkers in the economy. There are approximately 700 000 household domestic workers in the society, compared with fewer than one million farm labourers.

The imposition of any labour legislation will therefore impact on nearly two million workers, and their respective dependants. One is not, therefore, talking of an insubstantial number of affected individuals.

The overwhelming majority (96%) of domestic workers are female, while the majority of farmworkers (78%) are male. Hence the impact of a wage law will have a near equivalent impact on both males and females in the economy.

But perhaps the most important reason for the Department of Labour seeking to isolate these two occupations for special consideration lies in the pitifully low wages earned by these two groups.

Domestic workers on average earn just more than R300 per month, while farmworkers earn approximately R400 per month. These two occupations are far and away the lowest paid in the South African labour market.

To put into perspective how low these earnings are: domestic workers earn a third of what the average miner earns, and fourteen times less than the average skilled professional. Extremely low wages lead to the familiar outcome of individuals having a job, yet living in deep poverty.

Given these earnings of domestics and farmworkers, it is not surprising that more than 80% of all these workers remain below the poverty line. In this environment of extreme levels of indigence, it is tempting to give serious consideration to a legislated policy of minimum wages for these workers.

It is possible, given the above parameters, to undertake a carefully conceived thought experiment, wherein the dilemma of the choice between higher wages and lower levels of employment is vividly displayed.

We can think of such an experiment in the form of two scenarios:

- Scenario one -- where the wage of domestic and farm workers is increased by 10%.
- Scenario two -- where the wage is doubled

The first scenario is, of course, a far more likely outcome than the second. But the purpose of the extreme second case is to display how harsh some of the trade-offs between wages and employment are.

The effects of scenario one will be that the increase in the wage of these two occupations by 10% will reduce the percentage of workers in poverty to 75%, a 5% reduction to the poverty level prior to the wage increase. This, for domestic workers, means that about 32 000 of them will no longer be in poverty.

For farmworkers, the wage increase will extricate 47 000 of them from poverty. Given the large numbers of these workers, this is not by any means a significant poverty reduction effect.

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This does not mean that the wage increase will not be beneficial, but it is clear that its benefits in terms of alleviating poverty will be marginal. It has to be remembered though that, along with a wage increase, there is a serious danger of employment losses, as some employers perceive the cost of employment as being too high. This option may be the best and most optimal available to the department.

Aside from the concerns around the trade-off between poverty and employment, there are two other relevant issues surrounding the minimum

wage. These are the effects a minimum wage may have on payments in kind and, secondly, the monitoring of minimum wages should they be set.

On the first, it is true that a large number of employers do offer transfers in kind to their employees. By this, one is referring to, for example, food given to domestics, or bags of mealie meal to farm labourers, by their respective employers. The imposition of the minimum wage may see employers rescind these free transfers and begin then to charge employees for these products. So, an employer of a household domestic may decide that the new higher minimum wage is not affordable, given the current working arrangements.

In order to retain the services of the domestic, the employer will begin to include the free meals and so on as part of the wage paid to the domestic.

In such a case, the cash wage received by the domestic may not change and, in some cases, may go down. The potential for circumventing the minimum wage law arises thus from the existing and significant free transfers flowing from the employer to the employee.

The second concern around the minimum wage, that of monitoring its implementation, is, in many senses, what the effectiveness of the legislation hinges on. For example, even a minimum wage at double the current average wage is only effective if the government can ensure that such legislation is implemented and adhered to by employers.

The Department of Labour is currently under-resourced in this arena, and effective monitoring of such legislation will be extremely difficult. In addition, and more importantly, domestic services and farming are sectors notoriously difficult to monitor, even if the department did have an adequate supply of labour inspectors.

This is because employers in these sectors are widespread, often in unreachable areas and seldom a visible presence in the economy. If one thinks of the impossibility of trying to track down even a small national sample of households that employ domestic workers, as well as extracting wage information from the employer or employee, then the difficulty in monitoring these two sectors becomes evident.

Simply put, the effectiveness of any minimum wage legislation will depend on the state's ability to enforce and monitor the implementation by employers of the terms of the legislation.

Together with the difficulties in monitoring such legislation, its employment effects as well as employers' possible responses -- the minimum wage legislation proposed here should be, at best, viewed as setting a precedent for employers to improve their wages and other conditions of employment for these two indigent groups of workers.

The goal of poverty reduction among domestic and farm workers is thus only realistically achievable through a combination of economic policy interventions.

-- *The Mail & Guardian, September 16, 1999.*

Haroon Bhorat is senior researcher in the development policy research unit at the University of Cape Town's School of Economics

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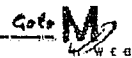
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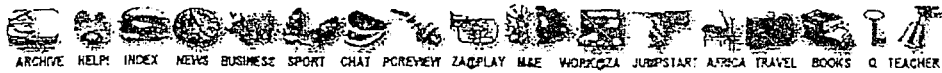
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Johannesburg, South Africa, June 1, 1999

Why poverty is more than sums

HAROON BHORAT argues that it is quite easy to identify who the poor are in our society; the difficulty is what to do about poverty.



A heavy load: Three groups in the labour market explain 80% of the poverty - the unemployed, domestic workers and farmworkers. photograph: ruth motau

ONE of the key dilemmas facing the government is to eradicate, or at least reduce, poverty. The first step is to understand which are the most affected groups. In the labour market there are three groups which together explain more than 80% of the poverty in South Africa. They are unemployed people, domestic workers and farmworkers.

Domestics and farmworkers may have jobs, but they are still living in poverty. While less than 4% of labourers in the mining and manufacturing sectors live in poverty, 38% of domestics are poor and 27% of farmworkers earn below the poverty line

From a policy perspective, this means that labour market interventions aimed at poverty alleviation need to give credence to the fact that poverty exists not only among the unemployed, but also among narrowly defined and often poorly defined sections of the employed

Some commentators may argue that while these groups are poor, they could be living in households that are not poor, that their access to a home they have access to will make them non-poor

Statistics show, however, that this is patently untrue. The poorest groups also come from the three poorest types of households in the country

The statistics show that in the homes where farmworkers live, more than 60% live in dire poverty. In the case of the unemployed and domestics, more than 40% of their homes are poor.

Knowing who most of the poor people are, in which homes they live and how much money each of these homes earns enables one to undertake a theoretical exercise giving each of these poor households enough money to place them above the poverty line.

For example, if a home is earning an income of R500 and the poverty line is about R900, then we would need to give that home R400 and it would no longer be poor.

If we use this approach, what would it cost, in theory, to eradicate most of the poverty in society?

In total, the number of poor homes which have domestics, unemployed people or farmworkers living in them amounts to just more than two million. The calculations show it would cost about R10-billion a year to place all these homes out of poverty. This translates into giving each of these poor homes an average of R3 300 a year.

How do we evaluate this amount? Is it inordinately large or surprisingly small? To put it in perspective: it represents about 6% of the government's total expenditure outlays.

The government spends about 20% of its budget on paying the interest on its debt, and about the same amount on education each year. This 6%, then, is a relatively low amount, and it would seem to indicate that the problem of poverty is easily solved.

Does this mean all that needs to happen is for the government to make provision for an income grant of this sort on an annual basis, and we could immediately talk of a poverty-free society? The answer is no.

As is the case with most theoretically appealing calculations, such a potential income grant throws up a whole host of obstacles.

The first difficulty is that the government will not find it easy to target the poorest of the poor effectively. Large wastage could occur through ineffective targeting, and while the money may get into the hands of poor homes, it won't reach the poorest of the poor.

Then there are the not insignificant administration costs that inevitably go with the setting up of such a scheme.

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Thirdly, giving grants to indigent homes could result in an undesired outcome. Individuals may cease work, or stop looking for work. Apart from the obvious moral issues here, such a withdrawal of labour would have serious negative economic consequences. One can imagine the growing drain on the state of such a scheme, as new entrants in the labour market refused to find jobs and rather relied on the state's income transfer.

What is clear, however, is that we can describe the nature and extent of poverty in South Africa quite simply and vividly. It is also evident that those individuals who are poor invariably live in homes that are indigent.

Finally, while the above calculations are simplistic and rather tell a story about the size of the problem than offer a tangible policy intervention, they suggest the government needs to think more energetically about social security and welfare provision for the poor.

-- *The Mail & Guardian, June 1, 1999.*

Haroon Borhat is a senior researcher in the development policy research unit at the School of Economics, University of Cape Town

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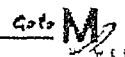
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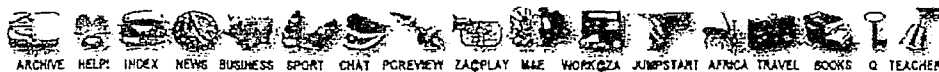
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Johannesburg, South Africa, September 16, 1999

'Things aren't going well on farms'

New legislation is dragging the agricultural sector into a culture of rights.

LYNDA GILFILLAN reports

A MARBLE bust of Queen Victoria adorns the front of the Graaff-Reinet town hall, the interior of which is hung with crystal chandeliers, where farmers and farmworkers gathered last week to express their views on a minimum wage and conditions of employment.

A series of similar meetings has, over recent weeks, quietly taken place under the auspices of the Department of Labour. They form part of the process initiated by Minister of Labour Membathisi Mdladlana to regulate working conditions, including the question of a minimum wage under the Basic Conditions of Employment Act.

The crisply attired farm owners contradicted the usual stereotype of the khaki-clad, pot-bellied South African farmer. Included among these great-grandsons of settlers was a young, chic and articulate woman farmer -- all had been invited to express opinions on whether wages ought to be determined according to factors such as sector, area, workers' levels of skill, and so on.

Meeting chair Tembi Mkalipi, director of labour relations from East London, explained that, while the minimum wage is open to negotiation, the principle itself is not. A pall of suspicion hung over the group, for whom it was clearly an initiation into the consultative process.

The point of the meeting was to elicit a broad response from individual

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a broad response from individual employers -- not all of whom are members of farmers' associations

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Mkalipi explained that the workshop was the start of an information gathering process, but responses from the farmers were slow and tentative and consisted mainly of defensive utterances about their concerns of protecting the jobs of their workers

When the matter of in-kind payments (housing, food, fuel) was discussed, the ingrained paternalism of the system expressed itself in one farmer's view: "Farms are communities, and in-kind payments have become entrenched over time."

Reluctant to suggest actual figures for a minimum wage because this would somehow imply an acceptance of the principle, farmers spun the usual web of rationalisations: "We treat our labourers well, we have to ensure that they have enough food for the month and don't blow their cash."

In an area where the average monthly wage (inclusive of in-kind payments) is R700, Mkalipi informed the group that at other meetings in the Eastern Cape, farmers had suggested figures of not less than R200 and not more than R1 000. He warned that negative perceptions of farmers needed to be changed, particularly regarding exploitative wages

The creative response to this of the only Afrikaans-speaking farmer present was that a maximum rather than a minimum wage ought to be established to safeguard wage and employment levels. "These people are our family," he said.

At midday, a small group of 13 farmworkers, representing six farms in the district, showed just how dysfunctional relations in these farm "families" are.

Again, a pall of suspicion hung in the air, as the workers sized up the officials seated before them.

Worker attendance was -- as with similar meetings held from Cradock to Komga -- so poor as to mock the consultative process.

When asked why, workers explained that they were at the mercy of employers for transport and information and that, while employers had brought them to the meeting, they had not been informed of its purpose, and so were ill-prepared.

They disclosed that current cash wages ranged between R204 and R580 per month. The figures workers then proceeded to suggest for a minimum wage mocked the fears employers had expressed earlier regarding their expectations. With neither anger nor outrage this most marginalised group of workers suggested cash wages between R500 and R1 000

The abyss that exists between the perceptions of farm owner and worker may be widening. For one member of the farmer's "family" at least "*Dinge gaan nie lekker op die plase nie* [Things aren't going well on the farms]"

However, even if there is little material improvement after 2001 when this complex piece of legislation is expected to be passed, at the very least, farm owners and workers are slowly being integrated into those processes that form the fabric of a culture of rights.

-- *The Mail & Guardian, September 16, 1999.*

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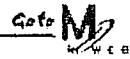
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