From farm-workers to farm-owners: A case study of the socio-economic impact of a land reform project on Battlesden farm, Alice, Eastern Cape.

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ABSTRACT

This is an evaluation of a land reform project of a community which was given land in 2001. There were 16 participants who were interviewed to give their perspectives on different areas of the project which , including the functioning of the Communal Property Associations (CPA), the role of strategic partners such as agribusinesses, and the support provided by the state in ensuring the success of the project. The participants were also asked about the general development of the farm since ownership was transferred to the community in 2001. The study revealed disappointing results in the state of the farm, and the lack of development that has taken place. This was evident in the functioning of the CPA, and the high unemployment which was prevalent on the farm. There were elements of dependency which resulted from the mentorship of the agribusiness, as well as a lack of state support in the general operations of the farm.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ABET	Adult Based Education and Training
ANC	African National Congress
CPA	Communal Property Associations
CNDC	Ciskei National Development Corporation
CRDP	Comprehensive Rural Development Plan
DAFF	Department of Agriculture, Forestry, and Fisheries
DLA	Department of Land Affairs
DRDLR	Department of Rural Development and Land Reform
ECDC	Eastern Cape Development Corporation
IDC	Industrial Development Corporation
LaLL	Livelihoods after Land Reform
LED	Local Economic Development
LRAD	Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development
LRP	Land Reform Programme
LSCF	Large-Scale Commercial Farming
MLAR	Market-Led Agrarian Reform
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NRM	National Resource Management
QOL	Quality Of Life
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
RLCC	Regional Land Claims Commission
RUESCH	Rhodes University Ethical Standards Committee Handbook
SLAG	Settlement-Land Acquisition Grants
SSD	Support Services Department
ULIMOCOR	Ciskei Agricultural Corporation
VAT	Value Added Tax
XDC	Xhosa Development Corporation

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Problem Statement

Pre-1994, commercial farming outside of the bantustans exclusively accommodated white farmers, with the black population serving as the labour force on those white commercial farms. After the demise of apartheid, however, there was a major shift in policy which would allow the previously disadvantaged black population to participate in the local agricultural sector especially in farming, in order to encourage rural development. At the beginning of the transition period in the early 1990s, it is important to understand that "emerging black farmers (did) not have access to the levels of state assistance and market share which the government previously guaranteed to white farmers" (Nel and Davies, 1999: 262). With these conditions at play, attempting to penetrate established markets was extremely difficult (Nel and Davies, 1999: 262). Moving into the post-1994 democratization process, the land reform programme in South Africa was premised on redistribution of previously white-owned commercial farms, restitution of land lost under the apartheid era, and land tenure reform which looked "to provide more secure access to land in the former Bantustans" (Cliffe, 2007: 273).

In the post-1994 dispensation there have been problems "in transforming the racialized patterns of ownership and importantly reconfiguring an agrarian structure which was dominated by large commercial farms" (O'Laughlin, Bernstein, Cousins, & Peters, 2013: 2). Cliffe (2000: 273) argues that the way in which redistribution happened, was 'constricted' by 'old-fashioned' "modernist orthodoxies", which are presently still prevalent. Even after policy amendments, these "orthodoxies have shaped a contorted reform, centred on criteria of commercial viability and governed by state officials, consultants and agribusiness 'strategic partners' (Hall and Kepe, 2017: 1). These partners have been largely concerned with 'surveillance' and control of 'beneficiaries' in projects, which have hampered inclusion and growth of smallholder farmers (Hall and Kepe, 2017).

The application of the Large-Scale Commercial Farming (LSCF) model has led to "unworkable project design and/or projects that are irrelevant to the circumstances of the rural poor" (Aliber & Cousins, 2013: 140). As it stands in South Africa, there are about 4 million black individuals from about 2.5 million households which practice some form of farming (Cousins, 2013: 123). The available evidence with regards to the impacts of land reform on the livelihoods and income of beneficiaries indicates that land reform projects have largely failed, with cases of

improvement few and far between (O'Laughlin *et al*, 2013: 8). "Most studies report that redistributed and restored land tends to be underutilized by beneficiaries, in part because of low levels of post-settlement support services, inadequate access to capital and inappropriate planning by officials and consultants"(Shackleton, Shackleton, & Cousins, 2010: 583).

Financial and institutional support was withdrawn when the Bantustans were re-incorporated into the democratic South Africa in 1994, with some schemes experiencing a 'near-immediate' collapse of production as agricultural parastatals were dismantled, such as the Ciskei Agricultural Corporation (ULIMOCOR) and institutions like the agricultural/ land banks (Cousins, 2008: 17). According to Perrer (2001 cited in Cousins, 2013: 126), farms were inactive for some time due poor planning and design, inappropriate management structures, a lack of technical knowledge, insecure land tenure, political interference, and the absence of opportunities for those farmers to participate in decision-making, which subsequently created 'a history of dependency'. In these communities, especially with black small-communal farms, "this dependency on external experts and pack houses have become prevalent partly because of the lack of support (state) and the liberalisation of the market, where a group with no capital will not be able to sustain the business; let alone be able to expand it" (Jari & Fraser, 2009: 1132). This dependency is more prevalent with black-emerging farmers growing fruit, rather than cattle farmers, because of the involvement of intermediaries, such as agribusinesses/ packhouses involved.

The policy with regards to agrarian reform in South Africa moved towards the liberalisation and deregulation of the market post-1994 resulting in small-scale farmers lagging in their development (Bank & Minkley, 2005: 4). The liberalisation of the market allowed large-scale farmers to compete internationally, where they were able to meet international standards with regards to products that they produced (Mather and Greenberg, 2010: 407). With certain skills and technologies required to meet those standards, new small-scale farmers did not have the required specialised workforce, skill set, and technologies to ensure that they could export and meet international standards (Mather and Greenberg, 2010: 408). "The general neglect of post-transfer support, and the failure to integrate land reform with a wider programme of rural development, has severely limited its contribution to livelihoods and to the revival of the rural economy" (Lahiff and Cousins, 2005: 129).

This study will focus on two farms, namely Battlesden and Thorndale, which are located in the Tyhume Valley, in the Alice area of the Eastern Cape. Thorndale collapsed fairly early after

the post-2001 land audit, carried out by Kingwill and Roodt (2001). Battlesden as the name of the farm has since changed to Skhutshwana, as indicated in the maps provided. For the purpose of this study, the farm will be referred to as Battlesden. Their project was unique in that it was state-owned land which was transferred to the communities that were living there. Some of the community members that were living on the farm had been working on the respective farms as labourers for a number of years. Both of the farms were constituents of a larger agricultural project, called the 'Tyefu Citrus Project', which was established by the Xhosa Development Corporation in 1972 (XDC) (Kingwill & Roodt, 2001). The project was taken over by the Ciskei National Development Corporation (CNDC) in 1975, thereafter on its demise, the project was taken over in 1988 by the Ciskei Agricultural Corporation (ULIMOCOR).

Map of transferred land/ farm: Map 1, Battlesden/ Skhutshwana, Tyhume Valley

The project initially continued with citrus and beef farming. The citrus, mainly oranges, were packed in the Woburn pack shed situated on Woburn farm, which was also part of the project, and sold on the export market (Kingwill & Roodt, 2001). When ULIMOCOR took over the project in 1988, they proceeded to get rid of the cattle and focus solely on citrus farming (Kingwill & Roodt, 2001). ULIMOCOR ran short of funds as time passed, and had to dismiss employees who had been around since CNDC; with ULIMOCOR eventually folded by 1997 (Kingwill & Roodt, 2001). On Battlesden farm, eight workers who had been working on the farm, decided to maintain the existing citrus trees at their own expense. Similarly workers in Thorndale also tried to maintain the trees, but struggled due to a lack of skills. As part of the recommendations, a Community Property Association (CPA) was established for both

respective farms; in addition to this recommendation, was a business plan which set out various proposals concerned with how production and expansion should occur in Battlesden (Kingwill & Roodt). The Department of Land Affairs, and the Amathole Municipality helped donate funding, which was part of the recommendations, where it was suggested that each individual received a Land Reform and Development (LRAD) grant of R20 000.

As of 2003, Battlesden started a partnership with Riverside, which is a local pack shed that processes citrus for export, as well as doing marketing and advising for growers. This partnership with Riverside was a strategic partnership which was suggested as part of the recommendations of the business plan, drawn up by Mr. BD Botha. Riverside therefore was one of the main advisers of the project, and ensured that international standards were adhered to, as well as helping the farm secure funding from places such as the Industrial Development Corporation (IDC) in order to ensure the orchards could be maintained (Botha, 2018). Riverside pack shed are also in charge of the finances of Battlesden farm, which includes budgeting and the paying of wages (Botha, 2018). Thorndale, having had issues with the maintenance of trees and starting up, was unsuccessful as a project after the land audit, therefore the focus of the study will be on Battlesden. In looking to secure funding from different organisations, along with Mr. Botha from Riverside pack shed, who served as the main advisor for the farm, participant 12 represented the farm within the management structures. Since then they have been in a number of programmes and training workshops in order to equip the participants with the necessary knowledge and management skills to maintain the operations of a citrus farm (Participant 12, 2018).

The respective training and workshops included study groups with other local farmers, leadership and management courses in Pretoria through the Department of Land Affairs (DLA), as well as a Citrus Management course at one of the local universities (Participant 12, 2018). Subsequently within a few months of 2018 starting, Riverside pack Shed was burnt to the ground with 300 jobs temporarily lost until the pack shed could be rebuilt again; which is likely to commence in 2019 (Participant 12, 2018). Fortunately it was towards the end of the season, with the implications of the arson being that Battlesden had to subsequently use another local pack shed temporarily until the season ends (Botha, 2018). In light of this brief summary of how the farms have developed along with their brief history, the main goal of the research is to document the progress or lack of it, in terms a land reform project on Battlesden and Tyhume Valley.

This land audit having been carried out under the auspices of the Department of Land Affairs, which included the setting up of a Communal Property Association (CPA) and the drawing up of a business plan, subsequently evaluating the results of this project 17 years later. With that being the main objective, the aim of the study is to also evaluate how successful the CPA has been in functioning and communicating ideas that members have regarding the implementation of the business plan. Secondly the dissertation aims to look at the extent at which the CPA has implemented the business plan along with other recommendations, and whether it has been successful or not in that implementation. Thirdly the dissertation will look to assess what support has been provided by the state and Riverside, specifically in ensuring the success and the sustainability (through a gradual improvement of income of the farm and beneficiaries over the 17 years of the project) of the project. The fourth aim of the study is to evaluate whether the land reform projects have been able to bring a qualitative improvement (increased income and better living conditions) to the Battlesden community. Lastly, through the various roles of the stakeholders (the state and Riverside), and key processes such as the business plan and the CPA, the study will look to evaluate whether there has been an improvement in the livelihoods of the beneficiaries, or whether or not the livelihoods have remained the same or even degenerated.

1.2 Dissertation Objectives

The aim of the research study was to obtain an in-depth understanding of the workers' views on the functioning of the respective farms over the past 17 years since the transferal of land to the community. Therefore understanding of the views of these workers in-depth, who subsequently became farm owners required a qualitative research design, which is widely regarded as the best option for what this study aims to achieve. This qualitative research design consists of in-depth interviews, which were semi-structured. Qualitative research follows an interpretivist paradigm which involves using an 'interpretive, naturalistic approach' when we are attempting to understand the world around us (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000: 3). Qualitative research therefore has the ability to help the researcher interpret and study the meaning people place on their lived experiences, in their 'natural settings' (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000: 3). My aim for this study and research was to research whether the livelihoods of the beneficiaries have improved or not, since the land transferal over the last 17 years. The interviews were structured in such a manner that the participants could answer open-ended questions from a set

of questions, created based on the aims of the research. Using the original report which contained the original beneficiaries of the farm and the initial support given for the longevity and success of the farm, the research will look to highlight the impact of a land reform project on the community of Battlesden.

1.3 Research Methods and Methodology

In-depth interviews are a qualitative research method that require the researcher to conduct 'intensive individual interviews' with a small pool of respondents, to explore and engage their perspectives on particular programmes or ideas (Boyce and Neale, 2006: 3). The interviews were conducted at the homes of the various research participants. In sitting down and interviewing each participant, each interview took one hour to one hour fifteen minutes to conduct. Of the 16 Interviews conducted, as indicated above, 15 were sit down interviews, with one of the interviews being a telephonic interview. The interviews were recorded with a phone as well as questionnaires which were filled in by participants, with the help of the interviewer. Although some of the respondents were recruited by farm management, this did not affect the quality of information received nor the quality of that information.

In accessing the participants, I was helped by participant 12 who forms part of the management team at Battlesden and is also the liaison from the farm with Riverside Packshed, who have looked to support the farm through providing them with the needed expertise in growing and maintaining their trees, as well as providing them with a market to sell their product. Before any study or data collection can be done, there needs to be sampling which takes place. "A sample is a subset of the population, selected so as to be representative of the larger population" (Acharya, Prakash, Saxena, and Nigam, 2013: 330). Sampling representativeness depends on three factors: Sampling methodology, sample size, and response rate. For this particular study, the type of sampling that was used was non-probability sampling, "are those in which the probability that a subject is selected is unknown and results in selection bias in the study" (Acharya, Prakash, Saxena, Nigam, 2013: 332).

One of the sampling methods within non-probability is snow-ball sampling which was used during data collection on the field. There were initial respondents, which participant 12 helped me with, and those respondents help me recruit more eligible respondents by indicating who would be willing to be interviewed or sometimes asking potential respondents themselves.

1.3.1 Ethics

It is important that researchers respect participants throughout the research project, this because the participants are allowing you as their researcher into their personal space. Alderson and Morrow (2011: 3) suggest a way in which this respect can be maintained is through agreed standards, which participants will be aware of and agree to along with the researcher. The research itself was approved and reviewed through a proposal by the Sociology Department Research Ethics Committee, as per the requirements and protocol of the Rhodes University Ethical Standards Committee Handbook (RUESCH).

Participants were given a participant consent form for interviews, which had a brief description of the research topic (see Appendix A). Also contained on the form was a declaration which outlined what participants would be agreeing to sign the form after the declaration alongside the researcher's signature and the date it was signed. Participation in this study was voluntary and respondents were made aware of this from the onset of the study. The researcher explained the purpose and nature of the study to the research respondents, as well as acknowledging the ethical obligation to the research participants, to protect their identities in maintaining anonymity and confidentiality. All the interviews were conducted in the private homes of the research participants, in order to make them feel comfortable. The importance of all participants could not be stressed enough, therefore the autonomy of the individuals was respected, so that no harm could be caused.

1.3.2 Challenges with the research

As researchers before going to do fieldwork, we attempt to ensure that all the necessary preparations required to ensure a successful field trip are made and put in place. This trip was no different as well ahead of time I had an initial visit at the site where I would be conducting my fieldwork. During this trip I got in contact with the management of the farm and shared details of what my research would be focusing on and when I would come collect the data for my research.

The first challenge I encountered was the initial unwillingness from members of the community to be interviewed. The two reasons for this was firstly passed encounters with people who had conducted interviews but had not done any follow ups in terms of telling them the outcomes that may of come from their research. I reassured them that this was not the case with the research, and as an immediate solution gave them my contact details should they have any

questions Secondly there was a fear that the interviews would not be confidential; but I quickly settled that fear through the participants signing a consent form highlighting my commitment to them as the researcher. It helped that I interviewed farm management first, because this helped in getting trust and willingness from the community members in being interviewed. Farm management also help reassure potential respondents that the research would benefit the community in helping the farm work efficiently and effectively again.

1.4 Dissertation Outline

The structure of the dissertation will follow a similar structure to that of the introduction, in terms of how the different chapters are introduced and formatted. The Literature review will begin with an overview of the chapter, and continue with the theoretical framework and the context of the study. Thereafter, there will follow an in-depth chapter which will provide a data analysis based on the data collected. This chapter will consist of a multitude of different sub-headings in order to highlight the different themes that were outlined in the aims of the research, and in the questions which were formulated in the questionnaire. The dissertation concludes with a chapter which will look to analyse the data in its entirety, and therefore will perform the role of bringing together the multitude of data which has been analysed and presented. Following the conclusion chapter will be the list of references that have been used for this study, as well as the appendices, namely the consent forms, the fieldwork tools such as the questionnaire schedule, and interview guidelines.

Chapter 2: The historical context of land reform in South Africa

2.1 Introduction

Land dispossession has occurred for many centuries, making land reform a necessary component of social justice in our country and democracy. "Relocation and segregation of blacks from whites started as early as 1658, when the Khoi were informed that they could no longer dwell in the west of the Salt and Liesback rivers, and in the 1800's, when the first reserves were proclaimed by the British and the Boer governments" (Thwala, 2006: 2). The Native Land Act, which was passed in South Africa in 1913, looked to restrict and dispossess African black people of their land, through restricting occupation and resulting in a mere 10% of the land reserved for blacks (Thwala, 2006: 2). Later on would be the introduction of The Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act which came into effect in 1959, in order to establish Bantustans and ensure that they became the 'political homeland' of black South Africans (Tomlinson, 1983: 369). Pre-1994, commercial farming exclusively accommodated white farmers, with the black population serving as the labour force on those white commercial farms (Thwala, 2006:2).

After the demise of apartheid, there was a major shift in policy which would allow the previously disadvantaged black population to participate in the local agricultural sector, especially in farming, in order to encourage rural development. At the beginning of the transition period in the early 1990's, it is important to understand that "emerging black farmers did not have access to the levels of state assistance and market share which the government previously guaranteed to white farmers" (Nel and Davies, 1999: 262). With these conditions at play, attempting to penetrate established markets was extremely difficult (Nel and Davies, 1999: 262). Part of the reason for this was the decision by the incoming government to follow the World Banks lead for a market-based approach to agrarian reform. This chapter will therefore look to highlight a number of theoretical perspectives with regards to support provided in the post-democratic era, as well as the support which was not and has not yet been provided. Post liberalisation of markets in which the government relinquished some power and responsibility to support the farmers mentioned above, structures such as the CPA, and its effectiveness within these communities after the land audit was implemented, as well as creating documents such as a business plan. Through the theoretical framework and the history of the farm, the chapter will look to provide an in-depth understanding of the genealogy of the farms development from its early years. This will be done while providing a South African

perspective on how the various stakeholders have since interacted and worked with each, as well as the effectiveness of those partnerships in ensuring rural development takes place.

2.2 History of Battlesden before land transfer

Battlesden has grown in its population quite significantly since it was formerly privately owned by the Atwell family before 1972 (Kingwill and Roodt, 2001). Mr Atwell sold the farm to the Xhosa Development Corporation (XDC), where the number of families on the farm grew from 15 families who stayed there during Mr Atwell's tenure, to 30 families during the tenure of XDC (Kingwill and Roodt, 2001). In terms of the people occupying the farm at the time, amongst the households which were there, a distinction needed to be made between occupiers and occupier-farmers, as not everyone on the farm was working on the farm (Kingwill and Roodt, 2001). Moreover it is important to note that a lot of the families that had decided to occupy were 'refugees' who had been evicted from neighbouring farms (Kingwill and Roodt, 2001). 'Independent' agencies, such as the XDC and Ciskei National Development Corporation (CNDC), Heribert Adam argued that "rather than the revolutionary defeat and annihilation [of the entrenched white tribe] in an all-out confrontation, evolutionary change and mutual accommodation in a new class society, instead of an openly racist one, would seem likely" (Southall, 1977: 1). This referred to the preconisation by the apartheid government for separate development between white and black South Africans, but through black elites where the apartheid government was able to monitor that 'development'. This meant that the ruling groups would find it expedient to collaborate with a "domestic black bourgeoisie in a process of pragmatic accommodation which leaves white power essential intact" (Southall, 1977: 1). It was therefore in the best interest of the apartheid government to allow separate development because it would minimise protests, but through the black elites were able to monitor and facilitate how that 'development' would take place.

ULIMOCOR took over the project in 1988 from the CNDC, who had taken over the project from XDC (Kingwill and Roodt, 2001). When ULIMOCOR had taken over the project, it decided to get rid of the cattle which was on the farm, with the focus shifting to only citrus (Kingwill and Roodt, 2001). Heribert Adam spoke about the integration of the black bourgeoisies into the system for their 'independence', therefore it is important to understand that ULIMOCOR and XDC comprised of these type of black people, this speaking to a devolution of limited rights to "so called Bantustans" (Southall, 1977: 2) The people that were

hired had been employed by the CNDC, but the state parastatal began retrenching the staff which had been originally hired by the CNDC, and began to dismiss the staff due a lack of funds, with ULIMOCOR eventually folding in 1997 (Kingwill and Roodt, 2001). This was a result of a number of government run irrigation schemes having a poor track record, despite huge investments, which prompted the government to "reconsider its active and direct role in small-scale irrigation farming" (Sishuta, 2005: 188). When the project did fold, "the farms comprising the project were taken over by the Department of Land Affairs and split up into their previous constituent parts, namely Battlesden, Thornsdale, Woburn, and Hopefield" (Kingwill and Roodt, 2001). Battlesden had originally consisted of eight blocks which were under citrus production, where the combined hectares of the blocks were 28.8 hectares (Kingwill and Roodt, 2001). When the facilitation of land study was done in 2001, there were only three blocks left, which comprised of 14 hectares, meaning the farm was operating at less than half of the capacity it could (Kingwill and Roodt, 2001). Besides the citrus production at Battlesden, vegetable production had commenced from 1997 on three hectares of land which was under irrigation, with the vegetables comprising of potatoes, butternut, cabbage, onions, beetroot, and tomatoes (Kingwill and Roodt, 2001).

Photo of one of the planted fields with the village: Photographer: Prof. Monty Roodt

There was a plan to empower the women of the community through a Women's Vegetable Project which was part of the Nomzamo Gardening Project. The start of the project was boosted by the Adult Based Education and Training (ABET) with its initial donation of four bags of seed potatoes (Kingwill and Roodt, 2001). This project was very important because it was an

important counter poverty strategy, as the food was for home consumption, but more importantly to generate cash income (Kingwill and Roodt, 2001). It was also important because, "the main vegetable and citrus production on the farm was managed and controlled by men", where the women were called in to hoe and weed, or to pick oranges during the citrus production; therefore the vegetable project helped empower women to manage their own project and generate independent incomes (Kingwill and Roodt, 2001).

Map of transferred land with surrounding villages: Map 2, Battlesden/ Skhutshwana, Tyhume Valley

2.2.1 Market-Led Agrarian Reform as a shift away from State-Led Agrarian Reform post-1994

At the beginning of the transition period in the early 1990's, it is important to understand that "emerging black farmers did not have access to the levels of state assistance and market share which the government previously guaranteed to white farmers" (Nel and Davies, 1999: 262). With these conditions at play, attempting to penetrate established markets was extremely difficult (Nel and Davies, 1999: 262). Moving into the post-1994 democratisation process, the land reform programme in South Africa was premised on redistribution of previously white-owned commercial farms, restitution of land lost under the apartheid era, and land tenure reform which looked "to provide more secure access to land in the former Bantustans" (Cliffe, 2007: 273). The question for the South African government was the model which would be used to carry out this land reform programme. The policy with regards to agrarian reform in South Africa moved towards the liberalisation and deregulation of the market post-1994, resulting in small-scale farmers lagging in their development (Bank & Minkley, 2005: 4). The

liberalisation of the market allowed large-scale farmers to compete internationally in being able to meet international standards with regards to citrus products (Mather and Greenberg, 2010: 407).

Having been advised by the World Bank, the South African government looked to integrate into the global market, choosing mainstream policy in the form of Market-Led Agrarian Reform (MLAR) (Borras Jr, 2003: 367). This approach "has emerged out of the pro-market critique of state-led approaches to agrarian reform" (Borras Jr, 2003: 367). The pro-market critique of the state-led approach has also been based around its reliance on the 'central state' and its implementation through top-down methods (Borras Jr, 2003: 368). The MLAR model comprises of three parts, the first being gaining access to land, the second being post-land purchase development, and finally determining which financing mechanism will be used (Borras Jr, 2003: 370). South Africa using this model within our Land Reform Programme (LRP) and the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), one of the requirements stipulated in the second part of MLAR in a post-land purchase is the development of beneficiaries; where there must be planning on how the farms will develop, even before the farms are purchased (Borras Jr, 2003: 385). In South Africa this has not been the case because the "LRP-RDP" does not have a substantial integrated post-land transfer development support fund, as this responsibility rests on other state agencies" (Borras Jr, 2003: 385). Therefore because the responsibility rests on the state, the Department of Land Affairs proceeds with land purchases without clear farm plans (Borras Jr, 2003: 385).

With the restructuring of agrifood markets, this led to increasingly consumer driven markets, which were vertically integrated (Freguin-Gresh & Anseeuw, 2014: 79). "Market integration is seen as an opportunity for smaller farmers as it represents a possibility to access new restructured markets while reducing transaction costs and increasing their production and farm income" (World Bank (2007) in Freguin-Gresh and Anseeuw, 2014: 79). One of the other mechanisms for these market-led integrations is contract agriculture, which has the potential to expose smaller farmers to high risks and agribusiness normalisation (Freguin-Gresh and Anseeuw, 2014: 79). South Africa's response to the duality of the farming sector was the withdrawal of the state from farm development, with "the establishment of centralized buying and distribution centres and the concomitant decline of traditional markets, the emergence of private norms and the integration amongst value chains" (Freguin-Gresh and Anseeuw, 2014: 79-80). With the shift towards preferred suppliers and marketing systems, such as contract agriculture models, these have been used to 'procure' farmers that are capable of meeting the

quality and the volume of the restructured markets (Freguin-Gresh and Anseeuw, 2014: 80). With a contractual led model, the inclusion of agribusinesses as a leading partner for small-emerging black farmers was important, especially as the agribusinesses were seen as having access to the markets that would allow for vertical integration to take place.

Agribusinesses, such as packing houses and exporters, tried to facilitate the adoption of their own specifications while reducing their own transaction costs, thus resulting with the preferred use of specific suppliers in order to provide 'adequate and reliable volumes' with a certain quality at specific times, which also ensures less fluctuation (Freguin-Gresh and Anseeuw, 2014: 83). Therefore this has meant that strict standards have to be adhered to in order to be integrated into the market, with only local informal markets tolerating small 'irregular volumes and variable quality' (Freguin-Gresh and Anseeuw, 2014: 83). The restructured markets therefore present opportunities for smallholders to reduce their transaction costs, while increasing farm production and incomes (Freguin-Gresh and Anseeuw, 2014: 83). With the increasing competition amongst citrus growers and 'entry barriers', small-emerging farmers that are integrated are faced with no choice but to consistently adhere to stringent market standards and compliance (Freguin-Gresh and Anseeuw, 2014: 83).

"The core part of the contract relates to compliance with accreditation systems and mostly focuses on: (i) cultivation practices and the related resources and assistance; and (ii) handling, storage, packing and transportation conditions" (Freguin-Gresh and Anseeuw, 2014: 87). The contract further includes guidelines for cultivation practices, which are a prerequisite for certifications, more specifically for types of inputs that are to be used (Freguin-Gresh and Anseeuw, 2014: 83). The contract-led model of land reform is therefore premised on agricultural expert systems and knowledge, which is beneficial and crucial for small-emerging black farmers, especially when integrating them in the global market. "Agricultural expert systems in particular combine claims to knowledge with a set of practices by which the development of the agricultural sector is directed; one in which problems are identified and solutions forged, proposed and implemented" (Hebinck, Fay, and Kondlo, 2011: 223). This market-led agricultural expert system in South Africa consists of a 'condensed set of networks' which link together state structures at a national, provincial, and municipal level, as well as various professional organisations and individuals (Hebinck, Fay, and Kondlo, 2011: 223). However within this agricultural expert system framework is the question of transformation in terms of how these experts, from being overwhelmingly majority white, plan to include more 'black' experts (Hebinck *et al*, 2011: 227). A lot of these experts that come from agribusinesses,

received prior training in Faculties of Agriculture (University of Pretoria, Stellenbosch, Free State, KwaZulu-Natal, and Fort Hare), have experience gained through 'state-funded' institutions (Agricultural Research Council); and also have a background in either commercial, large-scale agriculture, or so-called 'homeland agriculture' (Hebinck *et al*, 2011: 223). It is important to note that a lot of this knowledge and experience had been gained pre-1994 where black exclusion from agricultural expert systems was prevalent.

A form of dependency is therefore prevalent within these market-led agricultural expert systems, in that a vacuum is created with the integration of small-emerging black farmers not coupled with an increase in the growth of black agricultural experts. With regards to small-emerging black farmers, within the market-led agrarian reform model, there has been great concern with regards to the slow pace in which these farmers have been able to be integrated within the global value chain (O'Lauglin, Bernstein, Cousins, and Peters, 2013: 9). "In relation to reform of agrarian structure, large commercial farms continue to produce all marketed agricultural production" (O'Laughlin, Bernstein, Cousins, and Peters, 2013: 9). Part of the failure of these large-commercial farms have been their inability to sustainably absorb a labour force which is permanent, resulting in improved working and living conditions for farm workers; whereas the integration of smallholder-emerging farmers would help deal with this problem through the eradication of casualisation of the labour force (O'Laughlin *et al*, 2013: 9).

South Africa's market-led (market-based) reform programme however differs from other versions of MLAR with a number of important aspects, affecting its effectiveness (Lahiff, 2007: 1582). The result has been a compromise which has had various consequences. They failed to deliver key policy objectives, due to the low levels of mobilisation (and the absence of militancy) among the rural poor and landless, where the 'design and implementation' of land reform policies are almost only shaped by state officials and their technical advisors (Lahiff, 2007; 1582). In line with what the World Bank recommended for South Africa, beneficiaries in principle are supposed to 'self-select', rather than be selected by government officials (Lahiff, 2007: 1587). In practice what is seen on the ground is limited knowledge regarding the type of people benefiting from land reform, "those who apply and are being rejected, and those who are not being reached by the programme at all" (Lahiff, 2007: 1587). Part of the reason for this failure in practice, is the lack of basic knowledge and information about the people in rural areas, this specifically arising due to the inadequate (and often non-existent) systems of monitoring and evaluation (Lahiff, 2007: 1587). The result of this is the unreliability of data

with regards to the "socioeconomic characteristics of beneficiaries entering the programme as well as on the impact of land reform on livelihoods and the broader economy" (Lahiff, 2007: 1587). Apart from the capital intensiveness of the land that is acquired, and the beneficiaries selected, the South African land reform project has been constructed by very conservative farm planning (Lahiff, 2007: 1588). The two planning failures which are prevalent and which stand out is the failure to firstly subdivide large properties in order to keep intact the policy framework of establishing smallholder farmers as the backbone of agrarian reform (Lahiff, 2007; 1588). The second planning failure has been the 'imposition' of unrealistic business plans, which ultimately have failed during the process of implementation (Lahiff, 2007: 1588).

More recently, the Strategic Plan for Smallholder Support announced by the Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (DAFF) in 2013, proposes a 'typology' of smallholders, and "acknowledges that most types of agricultural support (e.g. extension, financing, mechanisation, etc.) require some degree of catering to specific circumstances, albeit within a unified approach" (DAFF (2013) in Okunlola, Ngubane, Cousins, and du Toit, 2016: 53). The typology suggested divides smallholder farmers into three groups. The first group is part of the 'Smallholder producer type 1, where smallholder production is done on a part-time basis and which forms an insignificant part of a 'multiple-livelihood strategy' (Okunlola, Ngubane, Cousins, and du Toit, 2016: 54). Smallholder producer type 2 are seen to be in the middle of the 'spectrum', meaning that they rely largely on their agricultural enterprises to support themselves and are not living in poverty, but "need further assistance both to expand production (or make it more efficient), join in the value addition and find markets" (Okunlola *et al*, 2016: 54). Smallholder producer type 3 is one which operates within the strict confines of commercial norms but have yet to reach the threshold in which they have to register for Value Added Tax (VAT) or 'personal income taxes' (Okunlola *et al*, 2016: 54). Through the analysis of the various ways which MLAR has been implemented, this section has served to highlight what its strengths have been, compared to the weaknesses which have also manifested themselves in practice of this model. The section also looked to highlight possible tweaks that the state is looking to make in order to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of the model itself.

Chapter 3: Different Land Reform policy framework models post-1994

3.1 Introduction

The apartheid government, following its introduction into power in 1948, in order to closely monitor and control growth, particularly in the agriculture export sector, initiated a state-led development model. This state-led support would include providing skills to the white farmers at the time, and more importantly helping white farmers access foreign markets. This was possible through state subsidies which were regularly distributed amongst these white farmers, in order for them to buy the latest technology and equipment of the time, as well as other production costs that would need to be covered. The black population was mostly subjected to being casual farm labour, with black farmers found participating in subsistence farming, which meant that black farmers were not exposed to commercial farming and foreign markets.

After the many protests and pressure which had accumulated during the period of the 1960s, there was a call for separate development between the white and the black community. This separate development would allow the black population autonomy, through organisations such as XDC, to own farms in designated bantustans, in the Transkei, as well as at Battlesden and Thorndale.

With the liberalisation of the market post-1994, introduced a number of different of different models of land reform, such as SLAG, LRAD and more recently is the Proactive Land Acquisition Support (PLAS). This chapter will look to describe and detail how the development of land reform has transpired in the past 25 years. The particular focus in the chapter, will be identifying these models, and tease out where they have failed as well as possible ways in which they can succeed.

3.2 Liberalisation of markets post-1994

The National Party led Apartheid regime, after its inception in 1948, looked to improve support for white commercial farmers, who were struggling at the time. The state provided rigorous state support, through various government institutions, and in the process ensured that white farmers had an adequate foundation to be competitive with international markets. During this time there were few black smallholder farmers, where the black majority was used as cheap labour on these farms. With the end of Apartheid looming, and South Africa entering the post-democratic era, this would mean that there would be an evident change of leadership and

structure with regards to how South Africa would then integrate and reintroduce the black farmers into the market.

The liberalisation of the market post-1994 would also play a significant role in how various structures were organised within the farming sector. Therefore one of the approaches that the newly-elected government would adopt is the market-based approach. With this market-based approach, the market is utilised to redistribute land, with the principle of it based on a 'willing-buyer-willing-seller principles' (Thwala, 2006: 12). With this approach there is state support, with the government able to commit to Land Acquisition Grants, as well in theory having to finance and support the required planning process (Thwala, 2006: 12-13). Land reform does not only intend to bring about social justice in South Africa and undo racial discrimination, but was intended to be pro-poor, along with promoting gender equality by changing production and investment patterns (Hall, 2009: 1). This was further highlighted in the election manifesto of the African National Congress (ANC) in 1994 in which they stated that "a national land reform programme is the central and driving force of rural development.."; and also further highlighting that the programme be demand-driven in its aim to supply 'residential and productive land' to the poorest section of the rural population and aspiring farmers (Hall, 2009: 1).

Statistics indicating apartheid-era land concentration indicate that "71 percent of the population at the time was confined to 13 percent of the country's total land area" (Moseley & McCusker, 2008: 322). The 71 percent at the time was comprised of the black population (Moseley & McCusker, 2008: 322). Besides being part of a broader project of nation building, land reform "has the potential to form the centrepiece of a programme of rural restructuring: to transform social and economic relations and provide a structural basis for broad-based pro-poor development" (Hall, 2004: 214). This was important because during the apartheid era, in the creation of the Bantustans, the black population was isolated and starved of the opportunity to participate in the sector. The ANC had committed itself to the Reconstruction and Development Programme and within that framework it stipulated that within the land reform agenda, 30% of agricultural land should be redistributed to the poor over 5 years (Hall, 2004: 214). World Bank advisors of the time expressed their satisfaction of the target being feasible, with 6% of the land each year to be transacted in order to stay within the deadline (Hall, 2004: 214). Apart from the land being merely redistributed, which looked to address social justice and reconciliation, the state had to also consider the possibility of development on the redistributed land, otherwise the mentioned objectives would not be achieved (Anseeuw & Mathebula, 2008: 2). From 1995

to 1999, through the 'willing buyer and willing seller' land redistribution programme, made available the Settlement/Land Acquisition Grants (SLAG) which would enable poor households to purchase land (Hall, 2004: 215).

3.3 Introduction of Settlement/ Land Acquisition Grants (SLAG)

The grants, having been a mere R16 000 per household, were small compared to the price of land, and therefore what would often happen is large groups would pool their money together in order to get sufficient funds (Hall, 2004: 215). This model was criticised widely for the 'complex group dynamics' which resulted, as well as the overcrowding that it produced (Hall, 2004: 2015). International literature has shown that getting a positive impact on livelihoods was not guaranteed, "but contingent on the manner of implementation, both prior to and following the transfer of land rights" (Hall, 2007: 2). After the lack of success and progress over the first five years of the programme and the various policies which were rolled out, it was apparent that there was a need for a shift in policy. Thoko Didiza, Minister of Agriculture and Land Affairs at the time under the administration of newly elected President Thabo Mbeki announced a 'moratorium' on all land-redistribution projects, to allow government to formulate new guidelines and plans to accelerate land redistribution to stay within a 'market-orientated approach' in 1999 (Moseley & McCusker, 2008: 323).

From 2000 there was a shift in policy due to the critique of SLAG and its effectiveness in being successful and efficient in rolling out the land redistribution programme which was envisioned (Hall, 2009: 26). Following six years of land reform under the SLAG model, the second Quality of Life (QOL) survey by the Department of Land Affairs found that 63 percent of beneficiary households received 'some form of waged income' (Hall, 2007: 4). In receiving income for agricultural production and self-employment activities, under 20% of beneficiary households benefited (Hall, 2007: 4). The response with regards to a policy shift was the redesign of the grants formula into the Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development (LRAD) programme (Hall, 2009: 26). The funding mechanisms employed "to deliver state moneys to beneficiaries underlie the main difference between the two land-redistribution programs the SLAG and LRAD" (Moseley & McCusker, 2008: 325).

3.4 Shift to Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development (LRAD) policy

With a 30% target over a period of 15 years (2000 to 2015), LRAD was a response in policy in attempting to reach that target and establishing a class of commercial black farmers (Hall, 2010: 216). This new policy included the farms like Battlesden, which were identified as a great opportunity for rural development. The new policy was therefore designed for people who had capital to invest, and the preference was people that had been educated and had agricultural diplomas (Hall, 2010: 216). This was of course going to be a problem in that SLAG in its policy framework had not created a class of black commercial farmers who had been earmarked to take part in agricultural educational programmes. Therefore in the LRAD having that stipulation had meant that a step had been missed, because there was a significant need still to get black farmers educated. The response of the LRAD programme also meant that "the provision of grants on an individual rather than household basis, and the possibility of leveraging higher grants with own contributions and loans"(Hall, 2009: 26). This new model also ensured something very important, in that beneficiaries or potential land buyers could work with whomever they felt comfortable with and trusted (Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, 2009: 11). This meant that, broadly speaking, land reform projects would be categorised into four types.

The first type is large groups obtaining farms and farming collectively as a single commercial detail (Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, 2009: 12). This model type was not recommended, since there had been problems with the way in which SLAG was redistributing land. The second of the models was large groups obtaining farms and farming individually or in smaller groups (Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, 2009: 12). The third type of model is, "individuals or small groups obtaining large farms and farming them as one commercial entity", with this only being possible with substantial capital contributions, initial debt being at a high level (Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, 2009: 12). The last model relates to "joint ventures between land reform beneficiaries and private sector or state institutions, such as strategic partnerships, equity schemes and contract farming (Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, 2009: 1). Evidence suggests that the fourth type of model is what was implemented by the state, where there are various stakeholders which are involved, with mentorship and assistance coming from these stakeholders at different stages of production. This was done to ensure the participation of private businesses, particularly agribusinesses, especially in those commercial businesses sharing their knowledge to allow for rural and community development.

Considering that the aim of the state was to eventually get black emerging farmers to be commercial like their white counterparts, when this system was implemented in 2000, this sort of partnership made sense in terms of its attack to integrate these small-emerging farmers with agribusinesses which had built networks and markets in various parts of the world. Such an example was evident in the particular case study of Battlesden, where the strategic partner selected was Riverside Packhouse. These strategic partners were supposed to work with the Communal Property Associations (CPA) in planning and implementing the strategic plans for those emerging farmers. The CPA's will also be discussed in terms of what their role is further down, but strategic partners were described "as government-facilitated arrangements between established agribusinesses (strategic partners) and emerging farmers (land reform beneficiaries/ previously disadvantaged individuals)"; part of the purpose of the partnership is also to go into risk sharing in ensuring that increased export market opportunities 'accrue' to black-owned businesses (Bitzer and Bijman, 2014: 173). In various provinces around the country such as the Eastern Cape in particular, these strategic partnerships increased following the policy shift to LRAD.

3.5 Early implementation of LRAD

However further research shows, there is little evidence in terms of the policy in how strategic partners would not only work with emerging farmers but also government structures. This way there would not only be accountability of each of the stakeholders to the other, especially the state protecting the emerging farmers from any form of exploitation that might emerge by agribusiness, but also to help agribusiness hold the state accountable against exploitation or neglect. For the state it would be an opportunity to build a system of monitoring the progress of these emerging farmers, and the effectiveness of the system as a whole. The Eastern Cape for example would have been a great case study because of the farming potential that it has, and because of the amount of rural development that needs to take place. It is therefore important that we take a look at the Eastern Cape and the progress that has been made post-1994.

In May of 2001, the Regional Land Claims Commission (RLCC) announced its intention to roll out a five-year plan to 'fast-track' land claims in the province, promising a total of 2000 claims to be concluded a year (Lahiff, 2002: 15). In planning for this policy shift and to engage with the appropriate stakeholders, a Restitution Indaba (summit) was held in East London in

July of the year 2000; where through one of the resolutions of the meeting it was concluded that within the RLCC, there should be a dedicated Settlement Support and development Planning (SSDP) division (Lahiff, 2002: 17).

Approximately 10 million hectares of land (59% of the province) was owned by 6500 commercial white farmers, who employed 70 000 farmworkers by the year 2000, before LRAD had been introduced as the new policy direction for land reform (Lahiff, 2002: 5). The province has great potential to increase this percentage through harnessing and mentoring small-emerging farmers in the area. The government decided on strategic partnerships as a mechanism to increase production, and especially getting it to an export level for international distribution. Strategic partnerships, which are based on risk sharing to ensure that increased export market opportunities accrue to black-owned businesses in South Africa (Bitzer and Bijman, 2014: 173). The ultimate aim of the partnerships is to turn the emerging farmers into 'independent commercial farmers', by the time the partnership is concluded, which also depends on the contract or agreement between the parties (Bitzer and Bijman, 2014: 174). Within these agreements between agribusinesses and strategic partners mainly, since the emerging farmers were poor and had low levels of education, they were therefore were not able to negotiate adequately in terms of ensuring the contracts were fair all parties involved (Bie'nabe & Vermuelen, 2011:494). Due to the lack of involvement of the state, those contracts would not be reviewed in terms of what progress was made by agribusinesses to ensure that these farmers eventually became independent commercial farmers.

These agribusinesses in their own capacities operate as processors, and/or marketing agents who have their own large-scale production units, therefore their primary task is to share their agricultural and expertise with emerging farmers in order to facilitate the development of successful 'black-run and black-owned farms' (Bitzer amd Bijman, 2014: 174). Agribusinesses, in providing this knowledge, should provide "training, technical assistance, administrative services, production loans and inputs, and ensure that quality, supply and certification requirements of exports markets are met" (Bitzer and Bijman, 2014: 174). The strategic partners in return for their assistance are given the 'exclusive rights' to process and/or market the products, giving them the ability to gain a competitive advantage with regards to maintaining a certain level of consistency while increasing the quantity of supply and having a variety of products to offer to their customers (Bitzerner and Bijman, 2014: 174).

The income that producers and small-emerging farmers receive is not fixed and is a price that is received from the export market, and will deduct the standard marketing fee, which is 6-8 percent which the agribusiness charges, minus all costs that are incurred until the time of export (Bitzer and Bijman, 2014: 174). These agreements would in theory be something that could work efficiently, except strategic partners were seldom held accountable, in that with the accounting records that would be presented to emerging farmers, they did not understand because of the low level of formal education, for example, expenses which were not necessarily as a result of the emerging farmers could be charged on their (emerging farmers) account. However, it was a general consensus is that these small emerging farmers when given the correct resources are efficient, with their products maintaining the same quality of large-scale farmers (Ngqangweni, Kirsten, Degado, 2010:63). Having looked at the relationship between small emerging farmers and strategic farmers under the gaze of the state, it is important that there is a positive socio-economic impact for beneficiaries and their livelihoods. Therefore, in accordance with evaluating the progress that has been made with regards to land reform, there have been a number of studies which have looked to evaluate the impact made on livelihoods, more specifically their improvement.

3.6 Impact of LRAD model on Livelihoods

The Livelihoods after Land Reform (LaLR) study which was carried out between 2007 and 2009, "sought to understand the livelihood and poverty reduction outcomes of land reform in South Africa" (Aliber and Cousins, 2013: 141). The specific aim of the study was to "identify how the livelihood outcomes of land reform are conditioned by policy-makers' and implementers' conceptions of viability" (Aliber and Cousins, 2013: 141). Where there has been the application of the Large-Scale Commercial Farming (LSCF) model with it functioning to some degree, the reduction of poverty benefits are typically insignificant, which reflects how the capital-intensity of the LSCF model is not in sync with South Africa's rural unemployment crisis (Aliber and Cousins, 2013: 141). "More generally, the LSCF model fails to take into account social realities, not least the abilities and aspirations of rural dwellers, and results in 'land reform projects' that are intrinsically unworkable and prone to collapse" (Aliber and Cousins, 2013: 141).

Typical with SLAG projects post-1994 to 2000, part of the policy framework of restitution projects was the formation of Communal Property Associations (CPA), which were constituted

for communities to take ownership of the land, which was stipulated in the Communal Associations Act of 1996 (Aliber and Cousins, 2013: 147). What resulted from the CPA was a committee being elected to run the CPA's affairs and represent the interest of the beneficiaries benefitting from activities conducted by the CPA (Aliber and Cousins, 2013: 147). Even with the formation of such structures such as the CPA, senior government officials have repeatedly asserted that over 90 percent of land transferred is not productive (Nkwinti (2010) in Chitonge, 2013: 2).

Data that was collected also suggests that "a beneficiary household, on average, produces more crops and livestock than an average non-beneficiary household, suggesting that land, in general and land reform in particular, do make a difference" (Chitonge, 2013: 2). This indicates that where land reform benefits the beneficiaries in a community, those beneficiaries are able to grow their own subsistence farming, allowing for self-sustainability of those families. It also highlights the need for the state to be more inclusive with these programmes, and allow for further mentorship of non-beneficiaries who perhaps farm for subsistence and not for income or commercial purposes. Land Reform beneficiaries are particularly, although the 'form and level' of how land is used, may not be the same as before the land transferal, however the majority of households are using land how they can with the resources at their disposal, particularly for crop and livestock production (Chitonge, 2013: 31).

The data, which was collected in the Chris Hani District of the Eastern Cape, makes it apparent that "households in the study are highly differentiated as reflected by the difference in the quantities produced (crop and livestock), even for households in the same project or land group" (Chitonge, 2013: 31). These differences among beneficiaries and other community members aspiring to become a beneficiary, have identified that there is a need for the policy created to take into account the different capacities, 'constraints', level of knowledge, and the various aspirations when designing and implementing programmes (Chitonge, 2013: 31). Part of the problem are 'umbrella' programmes and policies, which do not speak to the different needs and aspirations of diverse communities, and the consequences of this type of policy is seen in the various failures of some programmes, where ultimately the socio-economic impact that was intended is not fulfilled. Case studies that were monitored and evaluated in 2006 with regards to livelihoods post-1994, "demonstrate that dramatic and sometimes unplanned changes in production, including the collapse of production, sometimes ensue- leading to minimal benefits for beneficiaries" (Hall, 2007: 2).

One of the central problems in evaluating the socio-economic impact of land reform on livelihoods is the 'paucity' of 'post-settlement' evaluation studies (Hall, 2007: 3). This means that there has been a problem with a lack of data, assessing impact evaluation has been hindered by the lack of baseline data on the 'socio-economic' status of beneficiaries who enter the programme, including the lack of agreed indicators , and the lack of 'longitudinal panel data' (Hall, 2007: 3). In the South African context, "there is little agreement on core indicators of 'success' in land reform projects" (Hall, 2007: 3). There are a few indicators of sustainable livelihoods which apply to the South African context. These indicators for success include more income that is received from marketed produce and wage employment, increased regularity of income, and a more equally distributed income (Hall, 2007: 3). There also should be an increased well-being, including access to clean water and sanitation, improved housing, 'ownership of household items', and access to fuel for cooking (Hall, 2007: 3). Importantly this success includes reduced vulnerability, where there will be improved access to social infrastructure such as schools, clinics, and increased mobility (Hall, 2007: 3). Food security needs to improve, where the nutritional status is also increased, and lastly a "more sustainable use of the natural resource base" (Hall, 2007: 3). The Department of Land Affairs (DLA) through the Quality of Life (QOL) surveys conducted, have attempted to provide insight into how land is used, along with the livelihoods of land reform beneficiaries (Hall, 2007: 3).

The QOL survey was commissioned by the DLA to "investigate the extent to which the objectives of the land reform programme have been met", with the surveys going as far as making the claim that the impact of land reform projects of livelihoods is measured within the actual reports (Hall, 2007: 3). According to recent research that has been conducted, the proactive purchase model means that, "from the moment of transfer, when farms became state property, all commercial operations cease, with profound impacts on farm workers – who are usually also resident on farm" (Hall and Kepe, 2017: 6). A concern of Hall and Kepe (2017: 7) has been the evidence of elite capture, alongside state collusion that has happened with agribusiness. This concern was sparked by two cases which were found where the government had concluded leases with the strategic partners, "rather than with 'beneficiaries' themselves, who therefore neither own the land nor lease it, but remain workers on state farms, working for strategic partners" (Hall and Kepe, 2017: 7).

One of the key conditions for financial support from the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform is that beneficiaries must always have either a strategic partner who will operate the farm on their behalf, or through mentorship, where those farmers are advised on

what to do (Hall and Kepe, 2017: 7). These are the usual circumstances in which these partnerships would exist, however, with these two cases, the agribusiness company itself started the project, in the process of acquiring farms from the state, where it was the farm workers who signed up as beneficiaries who would be registered in the 'official database' (Hall and Kepe, 2017: 7). There are three components where beneficiaries within these strategic partnerships lack control, namely, a lack of control over land, capital and production (Hall and Kepe, 2017: 7).

Although managing operations that were on the farm, this was done under the names of the beneficiaries, where strategic partners would use that farm to supply their own agribusiness(es); yet even worse than that is the manner in which beneficiaries were treated (Hall and Kepe, 2017: 7). The agribusiness was paying them below minimum wage, let alone giving them the income generated from the farm since they were the beneficiaries (Hall and Kepe, 2017: 7). The recent finding by Hall and Kepe (2017: 8), "indicate a contorted reform governed by state officials, consultants and agribusiness 'strategic partners' concerned with surveillance and control of beneficiaries in projects with precarious tenure on subdivided commercial farms now owned by the state" . This then begs the question whether or not there is a lack of 'redistribution of power and wealth' for those who are the beneficiaries, and whether it can be considered to be land reform (Hall and Kepe, 2017: 8).

3.7 The Introduction of the Proactive Land Acquisition Strategy (PLAS) and the Settlement and Implementation Support (SIS) Strategy.

Having gone through various other policy frameworks, including the SLAG and LRAD, it is important to finish the chapter with the latest policy framework which was introduced in 2006. This was following key challenges with the previous frameworks. The introduction of the new policy framework had fallen after the land transfer of Battlesden and Thornsdale, and therefore only certain parts of the policy are able to aid those two farms, if at all. The introduction of the Proactive Land Acquisition Strategy (PLAS) was therefore introduced in 2006, in order to speed up land reform targets because of the immense political pressure the government was under (Williams and van Zyl, 2008:4). There had been a systematic failure of 'post-settlement support' in South Africa, which was identified as major contributing factor to the approximated rate of 50 percent in land reform projects (Williams and van Zyl, 2008:4). Therefore the models

which were being used needed to be evaluated in order to increase the success rate of these projects.

"The essential idea of PLAS is to enable government to take the initiative to acquire land they regard as suitable for land redistribution purposes, whether for an already identified group of beneficiaries, or an anticipation of identifying beneficiaries" (Aliber, Baiphethi, de Satge, Denison, Hart, Jacobs, and van Averbeke, 2010: 9). The idea of this type of model would be for beneficiaries to stay on the land acquired by the government on a 'lease –to-buy' arrangement, where ultimately the land will be transferred to beneficiaries who are able to emerge as successful farmers (Aliber, Baiphethi, de Satge, Denison, Hart, Jacobs, and van Averbeke, 2010: 9). Those who are not able to succeed as emerging farmers (by not paying rent during the leasing process), "will have to move off and make space for new entrants" (Aliber *et al,* 2010: 9). This of course could pose as a significant problem for the model going forward, because if people/ beneficiaries had settled on the land, then questions will be raised where they would move to if the project is deemed unsuccessful by the DRDLR. The second potential problem faced under this model is the evaluation process of project being deemed unsuccessful, especially with mitigating circumstances such as a lack of state support which we have seen with SLAG and LRAD. Williams and van Zyl (2008: 4), emphasize that it is imperative that post-settlement support be prioritized, if the land reform failure rate is to be reversed, with the post transfer support being systematically implemented in order to have accurate results in terms of how successful is the support that is being provided by the state, as well as which areas need more help than others. This process will also help with the monitoring and evaluation process.

The government through the Settlement and Implementation Strategy (SIS) system is looking to ensure that beneficiaries have adequate support from the state, so that the PLAS model is implemented effectively. Concerns have been raised in terms of the adaptability of farmers, where regular external assistance needed, which can be considered a cause for concern because "the farmers' strategy involved not only recruiting external partners, but subordinating themselves to these partners" (Mfuywa, 2012: 53). These is a similar problem which was experienced in the LRAD model. The model itself is relatively new in that it continues to be refined and tested in projects, but there have been little results highlighting its successes and failures.

Chapter 4: Potential positive and negative impact of stakeholders (Agribusiness, NGOs, State)

4.1 Introduction

In the model that was introduced post-1994, it meant that small-emerging farmers would have to compete with commercial farmers, would be impossible. Therefore during the LRAD phase of land reform, since the previous strategy was not working, agribusinesses therefore became an integral part in the mentorship, and guiding the emerging farmers into becoming commercial farmers, like their white counterparts. A lot of work would need to be done in supporting these emerging farmers, through various stakeholders, which include government agencies. The state in particular, like during apartheid, would need to guide and introduce emerging farmers into various markets, but mostly the import market.

This chapter will look to outline small holder farmers or emerging farmers, and their access to the markets. The transition will be outlined, along with challenges that were faced, but more importantly ways in which small-holder access to the markets can be quicker. Through the use of a case study outlined below, the chapter will also give an example of a project in the Eastern Cape where introduction and guidance into different markets has worked.

4.2 Small-holders and access to markets

There has been moments of potential, where with the correct influence, small rural farmers can thrive. With government policies and state programmes being unclear in the direction they are wanting to head, "private companies, commercial farmers, and commodity associations have increased efforts to incorporate smallholder farmers into supply chains (Okunlola, Ngubane, Cousins, and du Toit, 2016: 7). Non-governmental organisation (NGO) and 'university-based initiatives' have continued to explore small-scale innovations with the potential to 'scale-up', with researchers looking to document lessons from practise (Aliber *et al* (2011) cited in Okunlola, Ngubane, Cousins, and du Toit, 2016: 7). The private sector in particular, have both political and economic reasons to support black farmers; with the political reasoning being that both farmers and companies have recognised that they are 'vulnerable' to accusations that they are in support of the status quo remaining intact, therefore they have found it in their best

interests to be seen as 'doing something' in order to advance transformation in the sector (Okunlola *et al*, 2016: 7). From the economic perspective, compliance with government programmes such as Agri-BEE alongside other programmes, provide access to 'public procurement channels' and financing (Okunlola *et al*, 2002: 7-8). " In addition, in some cases small-scale production in labour-intensive niches may even prove more profitable than large-scale production, opening opportunities for lucrative partnerships and linkages, for example through decentralised processing, storage and distribution arrangements" (Okunlola *et al*, 2016: 8). It has therefore been important that the state assists in aiding and nurturing these relationships, where diversification, in terms of market integration, is applied.

One of the most important differentiating factors, when it comes to small-scale black farmers, is the character of the various chains and markets in which they supply or have the potential to supply (Okunlola *et al*, 2016: 25). The markets that small-scale farmers are able to reach are both formal and informal markets, such as 'wholesale and fresh produce markets', and large-scale and small-scale retailers (Okunlola *et al*, 2016: 25). With the restructuring of agrifood markets, they have increasingly become more consumer-driven and vertically integrated (Freguin-Gresh and Anseeuw, 2013: 79). The restructuring has led to an increase in 'centralized procurement and supermarkets' in developing countries, where the market integration is "seen as an opportunity for smaller farmers as it represents a possibility to access new restructured markets, while reducing transaction costs and increasing their production and farm income (Reardon and Timmer (2007) cited in Freguin-Gresh and Anseeuw, 2013: 79).

What has worked most effectively, especially in receiving a greater income, has been small-scale farmers who have supplied concurrently for both the informal and formal markets (Okunlola *et al*, 2016: 25). This ensures that the small-scale farmers do not simply rely on one form of income, especially if a loss is made in that year. One of the most important trends in the South African food system has been the increasing domination of supermarkets in food retailing, where "the central position and market power of these supermarkets have given them the ability to create vertically integrated value chains in which they act as 'lead firms', setting the terms for other value chain actors' participation" (Okunlola *et al*, 2016: 25). There has been greater opportunity for small-scale farmers to improve income and livelihoods through vertical integration in that supermarkets have looked to bypass wholesale and fresh produce markets, where they have opted to set up 'highly centralised', 'direct procurement arrangements' (Okunlola *et al*, 2016: 25).

South Africa has had an export market which has gradually grown since the democratisation process in 1994. One of the export markets which South Africa have looked to take advantage of is fruit, specifically citrus, which has grown favourably in the South African market. The Eastern Cape is the second biggest producer of citrus in South Africa, with statistics in 2009/2010, indicating the citrus sector produced 86 million tonnes yearly on 58 000 hectares, and contributed ZAR4 720 million (rand) (Freguin-Gresh and Anseeuw, 2013: 81). There has been an opportunity since the 2010 period to fast track the integration and influence the livelihoods of farmers and beneficiaries (Freguin-Gresh and Anseeuw, 2013: 81). Contractual agreements between agribusinesses and smallholder farmers can have both a positive and negative influence on the socio-economic standing of beneficiaries, especially relating to their livelihoods, depending on the measures put in place to ensure accountability on all fronts.

The contracts or agreements that smallholder farmers or CPAs sign with agribusinesses are an important component of ensuring a healthy and mutually beneficial relationship over a prolonged period of time. In contracts dealing with specialised legal matters and terms, it is important that both parties understand the role they each have to play. Due to the fact that emerging farmers are under resourced, they are at a disadvantage pertaining to contract negotiations, especially with the state not being as involved as they should be in the process. This could come in the form of having state attorneys helping farmers with contracts, especially in understanding the various stipulations in those contracts, in order for the agribusinesses to be accountable for emerging farmers. Contracts are important especially in continuing skills development programmes in the local rural communities, especially for the youth and local schools in the area. “In a context where high-value crops necessitate input levels exceeding the financial resources of smallholder growers, and where the state has withdrawn from direct support, contract agriculture can play an important role in smallholders’ empowerment, and their access to resources, services and capital” (Freguin-Gresh and Anseeuw, 2013: 91).

This is important for smallholder growers, especially when attempting to enter the market; and contracts further enabling smallholders to have access to quality seedlings while providing ‘sufficient varieties in quality fruits’ (Freguin-Gresh and Anseeuw, 2013: 91). Contracts have allowed smallholder farmers to access funds, especially with the inconsistency of the state and state agencies in this regard, it is easier to grow as a business “through direct provision of loans from agribusinesses or their guarantees to banks” (Freguin-Gresh and Anseeuw, 2013: 91). Most importantly perhaps, contracts are able to involve capacity building and transferring skills which are invaluable to farmers in being able to generationally transfer those skills to the youth

of the local community, and sustaining over a long period the income for beneficiaries and the socio-economic impact on their livelihoods (Aliber and Hall, 2012: 553). However as indicated earlier, there are also some negative aspects of contracts, especially their impact on livelihoods of the co-operative and the community.

The characterisation of contract farming is through the transfer of decision rights, which rests on the degree of integration (and therefore risk sharing) (Freguin-Gresh and Anseeuw, 2013: 92). The agribusinesses, from their point of view are presented with an opportunity to 'expand their activities', access resources and manage production at the farm level, whether it be directly or indirectly (Freguin-Gresh and Anseeuw, 2013: 92). The result of this is agribusinesses having major control over production, resulting in smallholders losing control over the broader production-related decision processes. This means that over time, the decisions that may be made will not necessarily benefit the beneficiaries (Aliber and Hall, 2012: 556). The technical capital generally does not belong to smallholder farmers, but rather is made available by management companies, which not "only creates a subordinated position but also develops a dependency situation, since smallholders are unable to withdraw from these relations without losing access to the necessary finance and input" (Freguin-Gresh and Answeeuw, 2013: 92).

This situation highlights the need to interrogate the interests and motivations of actors involved, as well as their expectations; but most importantly it is to "question the sustainability of contracts, economically, politically and socially, as well as the relevance of the "empowerment" process (Freguin-Gresh and Answeeuw, 2013; 92). Therefore it is important to note that contracts that are based on a "business plan" in order to generate profits and short term profitability. Case studies that are evaluated indicate that they are rarely successful and appropriate especially concerning the subject of sustainability (Aliber and Hall, 2012: 550). This indicates that the system which is employed is compromising the growth of emerging farmers and increasing the growth of agribusinesses. The potential exploitation which has been indicated, gives the state an opportunity to take more of a lead within rural development, particularly with the transferal of land to communities.

An example of what has been mentioned can be found with some case studies in the Eastern Cape. The Eastern Cape government has looked to target a number of district municipalities to work with, one of these has been the Amathole district municipality. Through its Local Economic Development (LED) agencies such as Aspire Amathole, it has managed to create a

corridor where it is able to execute LED activities such as 'small town regeneration', and agricultural projects in bamboo, essential oils, citrus and berries (Okunlola *et al*, 2016: 41). In the Berry project for example, Aspire works with the Upper Gxulu co-operative (with 60 members, 18 of whom work on the farm), ATS Consulting, the Eastern Cape Development Corporation (ECDC), and the Industrial Development Corporation (IDC) (Okunlola *et al*, 2016: 41).

The berry farm which is situated in Keiskammahoek is funded by the ECDC and IDC, through Aspire, and hired a consultant (who is a white commercial farmer by the name of Martin Ferguson) from ATS Consulting to 'manage' and 'oversee' the farming operation, which is on communal land (Ukunlola *et al*, 2016: 41). The farm is 20 hectares, producing six different types of berries, and is linked to Amathole Berries, which is a private berry producer, packer and marketer which is located in Stutterheim (Okunlola *et al*, 2016: 41). Amathole buy berries from the farm, and pack and distributes these berries, along with their own, to several Spar stores in the surrounding area; but are not only limited to those markets as they also sell to the local community and so are able to utilise the informal market (Okunlola *et al*, 2016: 41). The way that livelihoods and the community at large benefit is that the company is jointly owned by the ECDC and the Upper Gxulu community, with a 30% and 70% 'share ratio' respectively (Okunlola *et al*, 2016: 41). Major decisions are made by the company board, with Mr. Martin Ferguson managing the farm, and profits divided with 30% reinvested into the farm, and 70% being distributed to members of the Upper Gxulu co-operative (Okunlola *et al*, 2016: 41). This is an example of how a strategic partnership can work when there is a clear strategy, but also state support through its various agencies.

There was the Comprehensive Rural Development Plan (CRDP), which was adopted by Cabinet in 2009 under the leadership of former president, Jacob Zuma, serving "as the overarching policy trajectory and strategy for the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform (DRDLR), which looked to counter the challenges which land reform was experiencing (DRDLR, 2014: 4). In practice this strategy entails, alongside other things, a 'integrated and strategically' planned rural development programmes; with an enhanced land reform perspective with regards to the conceptualisation, institutionalisation, and implementation of the programme (DRDLR, 2014: 4). The formulation of the policy on CPA's forms part of Government's initiative in reviewing all land reform policies as detailed in the 2011 Green Paper on Land Reform (DRDLR, 2014: 6).

Chapter 5: The role of Communal Property Associations decentralisation within Land Transfers post-1994

5.1 Introduction

With the introduction of the various models, started with SLAG, then LRAD, and finally PLAS in 2006, all had CPAs as the central focus of land transfer projects, because they were a legal entity, which would give the community collective power of land, which would make it easier to carry out legal actions for the benefit of the community.

In this chapter I discuss the objectives of what was envisioned for communal property associations, according to the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform. Secondly the chapter will look to outline the process of devolution, specifically giving more power to local level institutions such as communal property associations, with national government moving towards a system of decentralisation. Finally the chapter will look to outline problems and promises of communal property associations over their existence during this period of democracy, along with recommendations on how they can work more effectively to achieve the original objectives.

5.2 Communal Property Association Objectives

Communal Property Associations (CPAs) were established in line of the Communal Property Associations Act, which was Act 28 of 1996 (DRDLR, 214: 7). The objective of the Act is "to create a new form of juristic person to allow disadvantaged communities to acquire, hold and manage property in common" (DRDLR, 2014: 7). Therefore in the event of a community qualifying in terms of the Act, with the basis of an agreement that is contained from a written constitution, a legal entity (the CPA) is formed where they are owners of property, including land, through the CPA (DRDLR, 2014: 7). The principle of how CPA's were designed was in serving the needs of disadvantaged groups, more specifically those who are having land transferred to them under the redistribution programmes or under the 'Restitution of Land Rights Act' (DRDLR, 2014: 7). The implementation of the Act with regards to CPAs has risks which have been identified.

The five main risks which have been associated with the implementation and management of CPAs has been "adequate compliance with all provisions of the CPA Act and associated monitoring, specifically in relation to" CPAs applications being registered, with CPAs thereafter maintaining records, and there being measures for dispute resolutions (DRDLR, 2014: 8). Other risks associated with the implementation of the Act include there being adequate and compliance with regards to reporting by CPAs, 'governance failures within CPAs, financial accountability and management (DRDLR, 2014: 8). It is important that there are clear roles and responsibilities of governance structures where community members are represented within those structures negating a negative impact on proposed development initiatives (DRDLR, 2014: 8). The department along with these risks has also proposed Risk Mitigation Strategies which they would have to implement. These include the improvement of monitoring with regards to compliance of the CPA Act as well as departmental policies through, "the establishment of the Communal Property Associations Office and the appointment of a registrar of CPAs (decentralised model is envisaged with provincial offices of the Registrar being established)" (DRDLR, 2014: 8).

With the establishment of these CPA offices and the appointment of a Registrar of CPAs, there will be assistance with the regards to strengthening the advisory capacity of these offices in order to ensure capacity building, while strengthening compliance of CPAs and the state (DRDLR, 2014: 8). Through these offices another mitigation strategy is accountability where community involvement in decision making is monitored through the introduction of a "substantive quorum requirement of 60% of households participating within the CPA (DRDLR, 2014: 9). Some of the solutions such as the CPA offices are important solutions to the problems at hand, but require commitment and planning from the government. At the nearest town of these rural places, there are DRDLR offices, therefore no new infrastructure would be needed in order have an office with a CPA Officer within the department. In rural areas where there is farming potential and land transfers are a possibility, with the DRDLR offices not present, offices must be established to further widen the presence of the state where rural communities and emerging farmers need them.

In 2014 The Communal Property Associations Bill was proposed in order to address the shortcomings which have been mentioned above and to improve the application and implementation of the Act (DRDLR, 2014: 9). Some of the objectives of the Bill are to establish a CPA office, as mentioned, give power to the Minister in appointing the Registrar of the CPA, where the functions of the Registrar will be outlined - and also provide a formation of CPAs

with regards to land restituted to 'labour tenants' (DRDLR, 2014: 10). Therefore this Bill looks to improve and learn from the lessons since the inception of democracy in 1994 where there is rural development and Agrarian Transformation through a plan such as The Rural Economy Transformation Model (DRDLR, 2014: 11). The DRDLR has also looked to establish a framework of how CPAs will work in the event of Traditional Authorities being present, and how the department intends to aid with regards to the relationship and tensions between traditional authorities and community members forming part of the CPA. Over the past 20 years the CPAs reflect an attempt in the devolution of power from the state to different communities, and an assessment of this devolution is important.

5.3 Devolution

The idea of devolution post-1994 and once the market was liberalised was to create a paradigm shift in conservation and "natural resource management (NRM) away from costly state-centred control towards approaches in which local people play a much more active role" (Shackleton, Campbell, Wollenberg, and Edmunds, 2002: 1). Across most sites in Asia and in Southern African countries, local people's views on the devolution that has taken place have concluded that the policies on devolution yielded limited benefits for them (Shackleton, Campbell, Wollenberg, and Edmunds, 2002: 2). Therefore part of the process of devolution is decentralisation of the state so that local government can have more power to allow for more local participation to accommodate further development more effectively (Galvin, 1999: 88). The financial benefits from 'devolved management' usually fell short of local expectations, where income distribution shares were decided at a 'central level', with governments often failing in delivering on their promised share of income, or returns falling well below expectations and resulting in an inadequate ability to maintain local enthusiasm (Shackleton *et al*, 2002: 2).

It is important to understand that "in reporting people's perceptions of benefits, we note that views were strongly shaped by historical context, mainly related to the degree of access people had to natural resources prior to devolution and the length of their experience with devolution policy" (Shackleton *et al*, 2002: 3). Part of the process of devolution is providing local bodies with authority to make decisions, providing those local bodies (farming co-ops, CPAs) with autonomy, and allowing the national government reach to be 'closer to the ground', but weakens the local authority of the central government (Galvin, 1999: 89). A newly elected

democratic government did not want to do that because it would not be able to handle the process of democratisation which is key for any elected new government. In countries such as China, most of Philippines, and most of Southern Africa, initially these communities reacted in an enthusiastic manner to the new 'NRM approaches', as these new approaches meant progress and considerable change (Shackleton *et al*, 2002: 3). However a disillusionment has been setting in as a result of failed targets in the redistribution of land, as well as bureaucracies failing to meet promised obligations which were set in the new policy that was drawn up (Shackleton *et al*, 2002: 3).

Such as in the case of traditional leaders, "local government had a mixed role in promoting positive outcomes for local people from devolved NRM" (Shackleton *et al*, 2002: 4). In places such as Zimbabwe, Zambia, South Africa, and the Philippines, 'districts or local councils' were not very involved in devolved NRM, resulting in community-based organisations such as CPAs having to function and operate in isolation from the broader district planning (and provincial planning) that is happening, often resulting in their downfall especially in working efficiently (Shackleton *et al*, 2002: 4). Devolution having been considered the most popular form of decentralisation because it is considered to be the most beneficial to development; by bringing decision making closer to grassroots central problems such as improving applicability to local conditions, removing corruption, and improve accountability to beneficiaries (Galvin, 1999: 89). Power and influence is shifted to government and local elites who have corporations which dominate the market in those respective local industries, but who also have power and influence in 'joint committees', with community representation and their input heavily diluted. Private operators, who aligned in local communities as strategic partners played an important role in income generation especially in devolution initiatives, as it was able to firstly provide capital, secondly their expertise pertain to having acted in the market pre-1994 during the Apartheid era, and thirdly providing market access (Shackleton *et al*, 2002: 5). The reason therefore for this type of development is to involve these stakeholders because development "needs flexibility, accommodation, adaptability, and learning" (Galvin, 1999: 89).

What became a cause for concern was the fact that there were many examples in which it was evident that local people were marginalised and benefited very little from private sector involvement, predominantly in cases where the state received revenues or had decision making power with regards to private sector involvement (Shackleton *et al*, 2002:5). Therefore the private sector has had the ability to 'shift' the power balance away from local communities, and in a way shifting that power away from the priorities that particular community may have

(Moseley, and McCusker, 2008: 327). “These powerful actors tended to ignore local regulations and controls, undermining the authority of community institutions and appropriating the resource base at the expense of local community members” (Shackleton *et al,* 2002: 5). An example of such a community institution would be a CPA, where knowledge coming through those institutions from members of the community are undermined because of their regard as experts in the field. This undermining may also come from an inherent paternalistic attitude which was developed during apartheid, with these communities farm owners instead of simply farm workers. It becomes easier to take advantage of these communities knowing the poor level of education that exists within those communities. It was when the local people of communities were aware of the rights, having enough knowledge of the constitution especially with regards to NRM institutions such as CPAs, that they were able to effectively challenge elitists who were exploiting these communities / committees (Shackleton *et al*, 2002: 5).

For all stakeholders to be able to hold each other accountable, it is important that there is certain level of education, especially for local communities, otherwise the state will find it difficult to hold elitists to account, and orchestrate nation building which is similar throughout the country (Galvin, 1999: 90). Equally when the local people had strong ‘tenure rights’ as well as when they were able to influence how devolution was implemented and in how it was designed (Shackleton *et al*, 2002: 6). “One consistent pattern was that state officials and local people had different expectations of what devolution was supposed to achieve and how”, therefore resulting in the objectives of these two stakeholders not quite aligning and therefore resulting in broken communication (Shackleton *et al*, 2002: 6). This indicating a need for the realignment through dialogue and planning of how these two stakeholders can reach a consensus in terms of expectation of each party, and how to move forward in unison in terms of the vision of rural development and the type of policies and governance needed to ensure that land transfers are successful. Ultimately it is important to consider that national government will not be settled because of the fear of new leaders and potential opposition, therefore African countries have chosen de-concentration, which “refers to passing authority to a field office of the central government”, rather than devolution (Galvin, 1999: 88).

5.4 CPA problems and promises

At the National Land Tenure Summit which was held in 2014, the Centre for Law and Society at the University of Cape Town, led by Professor Ben Cousins, submitted a paper describing CPAs in South Africa, including the challenges CPAs have experienced, and recommendations to remedy those challenges. It is important to firstly note that CPA's were designed democratically, "with each member having a vote" (McCusker, 2002: 114). An executive committee consisting of a chairperson, vice-Chairperson, secretary, treasurer would have the duties of conducting the daily tasks and the administration of the body (McCusker, 2002: 114). Some of the noteworthy challenges include CPA's being under-resourced as legal entities in comparison with 'sectional title estates' along with other companies, even though they operate in a number of different social contexts (Cousins and Centre for Law and Society (UCT), 2014: 1). The government has provided support and oversight which has been limited, as it was not supported by the lack of communication which exists between officials and CPAs (Cousins and Centre for Law and Society (UCT), 2014: 1). "In some CPAs there is abuse of power by the committee and powerful CPA members and neglect or abuse of ordinary members", with committees not being as accountable as they need to be because of the lack of clarity to members of the CPA who they may appeal to if abuse occurs within the CPA (Cousins and Centre for Law and Society (UCT), 2014: 1).

The historical patriarchal nature of rural societies in South Africa, even in post-1994 democracy, has meant that 'Women's land rights' most of the time are vulnerable and insecure because of the lack of clarity in how CPA members 'substantive rights' are specified (Ntshona., Kraai, Kepe, and Saliwa, 2010: 358). The constitutions which some CPAs use are copied and pasted from other CPAs, resulting in them being out of touch with the practices of local land tenure (Cousins and Centre for Law and Society (UCT), 2014: 1). Lastly, "the processes by which CPAs are set up and offered assistance pay little attention to land tenure realities and dynamics on the ground", in turn creating rules and policies which are impossible for people to comply with because of how out of sync these two stakeholders are with each other (Cousins and Centre for Law and Society (UCT), 2014: 1). These challenges which are specific in nature, also fit into the broader challenges that are affecting the sector. All of the challenges which are mentioned, do have workable solutions which can be implemented with the correct application and consultation by all stakeholders involved.

Alongside the challenges which existed, there were recommendations which formed part of the possible solutions to the challenges that were raised. In the first recommendation that was made, it is suggested that the DRDLR ensures that in setting up CPAs, part of the process offers a skills facilitation workshop, which would not only highlight the CPAs' legal compliance to the CPA Act, but also explicitly make amendments to the act outlining the support that would be provided to ensure CPAs not only function, but function well (Cousins and Centre for Law and Society (UCT), 2014: 1). There has been a need for institutions to be established within DRDLR which would have the capacity to support CPAs, therefore the suggested policy amendment which were suggested in the DRDLR Policy Paper, stipulating the establishment of a CPA office and a Registrar of CPAs in the office, shows a policy shift which is moving in the right direction in attempting to rectify these problems (McCusker, 2002: 357-358).

In the same breath, the CPA office as well as the CPA Registrar should be held accountable not only by Parliament, but by the CPAs themselves, so that it is the people that are also holding parliament accountable and vice versa (Ntshona., Kraai, Kepe, and Saliwa, 2010: 358). What has been a weakness of CPA policy in that it has not worked empirically is the representation of households within CPAs rather than individuals. Therefore it is important moving forward that individuals are defined as members, rather than it being households because when it comes to CPA decision making, it should be adult individuals making those very important decisions (Ntshona, Kraai, Kepe, and Saliwa, 2010: 358). As the DRDLR's Policy Paper suggests in 2.1.3, "businesses and economic entities must be separate from CPA committees…to ensure that when a business is to be established on CPA land, it operates through a separate legal entity, whether individuals or independent companies" (Cousins and Centre for Law and Society (UCT), 2014: 2). With these policy suggestions that are made, it is important that officials are trained in workshops in order for them to help deal, adequately help deal communities especially in identifying potential problems that may occur at different sites. Therefore the recommendations that are highlighted speak directly to the challenges around the political economy of land reform in South Africa which has historical structural problems preventing land reform which is done under one united umbrella.

In understanding how institutions such as CPAs need to function, the traditional structure of these rural areas needs to be understood. "South Africa's agrarian structure is 'dualistic' in the sense that it comprises, in the white former 'white' rural areas, a capital-intensive commercial farming sector engaged in large-scale production and strongly linked to global markets"; whereas in the former 'black' homelands you may find a sector which is riddled with poverty

with low-input, but labour-intensive in its nature because subsistence production is the main source of livelihood along with state pensions (Hall, 2010: 213). Therefore a structural basis for 'broad-based pro-poor development' needs to take place in order for institutions like CPAs to be effective, using the programme of rural restructuring as the centrepiece of this development (Hall, 2010: 214). It is important to understand that while successes on the ground in providing basic services and housing for the majority of the country, this success does not necessarily add up to structural changes which were envisioned in the RDP (Hall, 2010: 225).

It is common wisdom that tells us our policies, upon reflection after more than 20 years into democracy, were not assertive and inclusive enough in post-Apartheid South Africa for the rural poor which included black emerging farmers. Part of the reason is it was constrained by terms of negotiation in the transition period, and with this came compromises which 24 years into democracy we are seeing play themselves out through the lack of rural development and reform which was supposed to take place (Hall, 2010: 225). One of the ways which these compromises are play itself out is the "reliance on the market and on the willing sellers to make land available for redistribution, and a relatively 'hands-off' state, means that land reform falls short of confronting and transforming entrenched forms of exclusion and marginality" (Hall, 2010: 225). Therefore it is important for the state to firstly play more of a role in protecting communities so there is accountability on all sides, because for example no one besides the communities is holding strategic partners accountable, moreover these communities already do not have a lot power within those 'partnerships'.

5.5 Conclusion

The chapter was able to outline the role and importance of CPAs, within the project of rural development, and not just land reform. It was highlighted how these institutions have been underutilised in terms of their intended original purpose. This has been as a result of a lack of planning and accountability from the state, in ensuring there is continuous communication between all stakeholders. But the communication can only be created if the state acts as a facilitator, where they are insuring that agribusinesses are interacting with CPAs, or other government institutions such as the IDC.

Going forward it is important that the state broadens its horizons in terms of getting ideas in running such institutions, especially with the amount of research and time that institutions of

Higher Education have put in identifying problems, and coming up with recommendations. The implementation process of these recommendations will also need the various stakeholders to be involved, more especially in the planning stages, so that each stakeholder is aware of their role, and are given time to implement plans effectively.

Chapter 6: Data Analysis Section

6.1 Introduction

The data analysis section, of this dissertation is perhaps the most crucial chapter because it addresses the title of the dissertation, and more importantly directly responds to the aims in which the study seeks to achieve. The different theories which were highlighted in the throughout the theory subsection, and to some degree in the theoretical framework, are compared through the data analysis chapter, in order establish whether similar themes that were in other studies, can be found in this particular research. In the theory section it was highlighted that the theory used in South Africa is Market-Led Agrarian Reform which was strongly advised by the World Bank, more specifically in the post-1994 period, where there was a liberalisation of the market. This was done in order to seemingly integrate local industries, specifically farmers, into the global market. This approach was a direct pro-market critique of state led approaches to agrarian reform. Part of the problem with a full pro-market approach to agrarian reform is the occasional harsh critique of state-led approaches, especially because the pro-market approach through MLAR did not look to adopt positive aspects of the state-led approach. Some of these positive aspects include: accessibility to funding opportunity, general support provided by the government to help keep farmers protected from exploitation, both locally and globally, as well as ensuring that skills development takes place.

Data analysis therefore aims to evaluate the literature with the empirical results from the main themes which were derived from the field work, revolved around the aim of the study. The different themes or subsections which will appear in this chapter include the demographic information of the research participants, to give the reader a better perspective of the nature of information, such as age, gender and race. This demographic information is followed by a table which shows the sample of people who were interviewed. Finally the data analysis chapter illustrates the actual responses of the interviewees involved in the questionnaire. The different themes that are teased out through subsections in the rest of the chapter are family history, an evaluation of the land transfer through CPAs, the business plan, agribusinesses/ Riverside Pack shed, the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform, community initiatives, and the working history of research participants and their families on the farm.

6.2 Demographic information of research respondents

The purpose of this section to provide an overview with regards to the demographic information of the research participants. As highlighted throughout the dissertation, the aim is to highlight the impact of a land reform project in the post-1994 democratic era, as well as the lessons that can be taken from such projects, especially when trusting more black farmers to develop their communities in rural areas.

The range of the age of research participants was from 20 - 79 years old. The average age of the 16 research participants was 48 years. All the research participants were black. There were four female participants, and 11 male participants. A total of 10 participants stated that they were single, while four were married and one was a widow. Perhaps the most interesting section of information regarding demographic information was that 11 of the participants were born on the farm, while the youngest participant who was 20 years old had spent the least amount of time on the farm, which was 15 years. The person who had stayed the longest was 79 years old and was born on the farm, but more interestingly, her family had been on the farm for over a 100 years.

6.3 Sampling

Respondent numbers	**Age**	**Gender**	**Race**	**Date of interview**	**Marital Status**	**Years living on the farm**
Participant 1	57	Female	Black	08/10/2018	Single	Born on farm
Participant 2	27	Male	Black	10/10/2018	Single	Born on farm
Participant 3	60	Female	Black	10/10/2018	Single	Born on farm (family since 1930s)
Participant 4	20	Male	Black	09/10/2018	Single	15 years
Participant 5	36	Male	Black	09/10/2018	Single	Born on farm
Participant 6	49	Male	Black	10/10/2018	Married	40 years

Participant 7	79	Female	Black	09/10/2018	Widow	Born on farm (family has lived on farm since late 1800s)
Participant 8	48	Male	Black	11/10/2018	Married	Born on farm
Participant 9	70	Male	Black	09/10/2018	Married	Since 1960s
Participant 10	53	Male	Black	09/10/2018	Single	Born on farm
Participant 11	30	Male	Black	10/10/2018	Single	Born on farm
Participant 12	40	Male	Black	08/10/2018	Single	Born on farm
Participant 13	42	Female	Black	10/10/2018	Single	Born on farm
Participant 14	32	Male	Black	08/10/2018	Single	Born on farm
Participant 15	77	Male	Male	11/10/2018	Married	Since 1958/9

6.4 The history of research participants and their families

This component of the research is important because it lays the setting and foundation for the study, in that it establishes the historical context and circumstances which the research participants were born into. For the participants to become beneficiaries of land, the historical context and the family's history on the farm highlights how long the respective participants and their families have been living on the farm, and why it is important that they benefit from the production of the farm. A clearer picture, illustrating some of the original reasons why the participants and their families were originally on the farm is drawn, further highlighting the importance of why these emerging farmers need to be supported by all stakeholders involved. The theme of family history was concerned with two main sub-themes; the first being how many years their (research participants) families had been living on the farm, and secondly a description of the family's history on the farm in relation to the previous owners of the farm.

Firstly it is important to note that, all of the participants which were interviewed for this study had indicated that their respective families had been living on the farm for a period of more than 30 years, with the amount of time varying from family to family. Participant 3, a 60 year

old woman, indicated that her family had "been living on the farm since the 1930's" (Participant 3, 2018). She then indicated that at the time that her parents decided to move to the farm, they had the intention to work on the farm, which at the time was a dairy farm. Subsequently when participant 3 and her siblings were 'old enough', they had to earn a living and go work on the farm immediately (Participant 3, 2018). The oldest research participant, Participant 7 (79), indicated that her parents were born here during the late 1800s, with her family having lived on the farm for over a hundred years (Participant 7, 2018). All the participants indicated that the reason for their family moving to the farm was for the purpose to work on the farms. More importantly all their family members, particularly the generation before them, worked as casual labour. When the farm had begun to go into a decline post the land transfer, a lot of the farm workers began working at local surrounding enterprises, such as Schenk Enterprises in order to get an income. Schenk Enterprises is a local factory which manufactures wood pallets in order to transport the citrus that is grown in the area, as well as any other commodity that would use wooden pallets for transportation. With all the participants that were interviewed, there were at least two generations which had lived and worked on the farm. A number of the families had three generations of family members who had lived and worked on the farm.

Left photo: Photo of one of the gravel roads in the village Right photo: Orange trees that have fruit exported –Phtographer: Prof. Monty Roodt

6.5 Functioning of Communal Property Association

When the land transfer was in process, one of the key roles of the consultants and facilitators in charge of the transition process, was to set up a CPA. The importance and functions of CPA's, especially in the context of land transfers, have been highlighted in the previous chapter, and was identified as one of the key institutions which would help in the success of

the land transfer. Along with setting up a committee for the CPA, the consultants also set up a constitution which the CPA would have to abide by (Kingwill and Roodt, 2001). This constitution would govern the way that the farming operations are run in order for them to firstly benefit the community, and secondly as a way for their communities to express their opinions about concerns and suggestions they have. These would then be passed on to either farm management or state, depending on who the problem is directed at. The CPA would also be a platform to provide mentorship where there would be skills development and where knowledge could be passed down from the older generation to the younger generation, with the idea of a succession plan and leadership regeneration within the CPA framework, with a fair balance of youth and experience.

Firstly all 15 participants who were interviewed indicated that they had knowledge of the CPA's existence. Secondly all 15 interviewed participants had attended multiple CPA meetings, where the only variant was the frequency in which participants attended the meetings. Participant 6 (2018) described that he had observed that "the farm worked on a fortnight rotation for its casual labourers (which make more than 90% of the workforce), because there is not enough work for everyone at the same time. Meetings are therefore called regularly to make this rotation". This platform makes it easier to communicate who is available to work in that fortnight period, especially during the season where citrus needs to be picked. There was also a consensus in terms of the participants acknowledging that the CPA provided a platform which community members could express themselves openly and freely if they had suggestions relating to existing problems faced by the community.

Although the community members have been able to engage in these meetings when they are held, thus fulfilling their roles in terms of how the CPA is supposed to function, there were a number of complaints with regards to a few issues. One of the sentiments that arose was that not as many people attended the meetings. Another recurring theme was that although there was an opportunity to discuss items which were on the agenda of a meeting, there had been a lack of accountability mainly with finances of the farm, and projects that were said to have been done.

Participant 5 (2018) describes how:

> "There have been meetings which have been held where everyone can express suggestions. However there has not been regular communication in terms of reports

> and financial statements of before and after the season, as to evaluate how the farm is doing".

Participant 14 further irritates this point by saying:

> "Yes we do get a chance to discuss things on the agenda in meetings, but there is a problem in that there is a lack of accountability in terms of finances and things that were concluded that would be done".

An overwhelming portion of the participants (12 out of the 15 interviewed, excluding the 3 in farm management), indicated that the main reason that the CPA could be deemed to be non-functional is because of the lack of report backs. As mentioned before, the financial status of the farm, depended on reporting back on how much the farm was making in terms of income, compared to the expenses. Therefore the financial books of the farm were not available to the community to engage with and have any input. Other suggestions and concerns that were expressed by the community during CPA meetings, such as the need to fix roads, the nursery, the bridge, lack of farm equipment and kick start certain projects which the state had promised, were not followed up with feedback. This was done in the form of updates on how the matters mentioned, were taken up with the various stakeholders. Participant 15 (2018) says:

> "Yes we have meetings that do function and where the community voice their suggestions and concerns. They have not been helpful because promises that are made, such as a bridge being built, or them fixing the road and nursery have not happened".

Participant 10 (2018) reiterates a similar point by saying:

> "Yes the CPA has been able to function properly in terms of being able to communicate concerns and suggestions, but have struggled to solve problems such as the problem of theft, where better security like fencing is needed, but still has not been done".

The little progress and communication from farm management and the elected executive of the CPA is perhaps a reason for the increasing interest in participating in the CPA. Even perhaps more than that is the realisation of the lack of effectiveness the CPA has been in terms of delivering on sentiments and pressing concerns held by the community members. The CPA was designed to be a strategic point of communication between the community and the state. Although the state has come to deliver some pesticides and fertilizers for the farm, it has not attended CPA meetings where it would be able to make assurances to the community regarding what can be done within certain timelines. The state, in particular the DRDLR, should be

monitoring the functioning of the CPA in order to provide it with assistance where necessary, especially in terms of skills development. This is of a particular concern due to the lack of skills amongst the youth.

6.6 Role of Business Plan post Land Transfer

The business plan that was drawn up, intended to play a significant role in terms of providing a business model that the farm would adopt for the post-land transfer period. The business plan would then outline important components for the farm to reach its maximum potential, such as possible funding and where it could be sourced from. It would also highlight how, with the amount of agricultural potential the farm has, it could eventually run to its optimum capacity and the community would independently manage and run operations on the farm. Having gathered data of the farm's previous potential and the various ways it could be used with vegetable gardens, poultry, dairy, as well as citrus, it would eventually, if working at maximum capacity ensure that employment for everyone in the community is more regular and permanent. Apart from the community members' ability to earn a more stable income through this type of employment, the profit that is generated for the farm would help with community development and initiatives, such as a community hall, helping local students with registration fees for tertiary institutions, and basic necessities.

Of the 15 participants which were interviewed, there was a total of six participants who knew about the existence of a business plan. The rest of the participants did not have any knowledge of an existing business plan, and submitted that there had never been mention of its existence at CPA meetings. Of the 6 participants who knew, three of which were part of the farm management team, submitted that although they had knowledge of the existence of the business plan, they did not have it in their possession at all. All 15 participants indicated that they had never had the business plan explained to them through a step by step process, as during the transfer, it was given to the strategic partner who would have to mentor and guide them through the implementation phase of the business plan. Apart from four participants who would have been too young to have known about the business plan; Participant 14 (32), Participant 11 (30), Participant 2 (27), and Participant 4 (20), all the other participants had been working from the beginning of the project, and were present when Riverside Pack shed became a strategic partner in 2003. The one part of the business plan that was discussed was the possibility of getting

money from IDC, and this, according to Participant 12 (2018) who is on farm management, was at the very beginning of the land transfer project in 2003 and 2004.

The CPA was therefore not used as a platform to communicate and possibly get input from community members of the business plan through the CPA. This would be the best strategic point for the strategic partners to communicate and engage with the community in terms of what they would like to see, with regards to farm management, thus was important as the project would eventually need to have the community handling operations with the systems that would be put in place with the help of the strategic partners. The participants, having been asked if the implementation of the business plan was successful, answered that the implementation of the business was not successful, with some of the reasons being that "most of what was supposed to be achieved has not happened" (Participant 1, 2018). Another participant commented that:

> "No, I do not think the implementation of the business plan has happened because we are still dependent on Riverside, furthermore everyone should of been employed and trees should have been planted in all the fields which has not happened" (Participant 10, 2018).

Participant 8 (2018) also reiterates this point by saying:

> "They have not implemented the business plan, where for example there was soil preparation but there has not been any planting that has happened. It has also not been inclusive".

There was a problem of projects beginning as the soil preparation was not followed through, and as result those fields, which were allocated and prepared for farming have eroded and have caused huge trenches (Participant 9, 2018). Finally participant 15 (2018), who is part of the farm management of three people, has highlighted that the implementation process of the business plan "has not been successful because of the lack of support from stakeholders helping us".

A number of issues are raised as to why the successful implementation of the business plan has not been successful. These issues were a common theme in all the interviewees, and highlight a problem of communication, as well as the stakeholders not immersing themselves within the community, in order successfully implement this crucial part of the land transfer.

6.7 Contribution of supporting Agribusiness-Riverside Pack shed

It was with the implementation of the LRAD model after 2000 that it was identified by the state that the inclusion of strategic partners or agribusinesses would benefit emerging black farmers through a process of mentoring and partnership, especially in the cases where land with commercial agricultural potential was transferred to the local community. This, with the intention of those farms having market access through agribusinesses, performing at their optimum level to increase employment in the area as well as rural and community development. Secondly, the intention was for those farms to be independent so that the communities who are farm owners are in charge of the operations of the farm, and it benefits the community from top to bottom. Riverside Pack shed was the local strategic partner which was identified as one that fulfils this role, having processed citrus and exported it overseas, as well as to the local market.

13 of the 15 participants who were interviewed, indicated that they were aware that the farm was getting assistance from Riverside. There are a number of views which participants expressed with regards to how successful Riverside has been in helping with the sustainability and success of the business (farm). Participant 15 (2018), who as mentioned before, is part of farm management, says

> "Yes they do help a bit but are not quick in helping us. For example we need to fix the tractors because both of them are not working and there is work to be done on the orchards. They have mechanics but have not sent one in two days since we reported the last working one had broken down. They will not send their mechanics but instead outsource it to a mechanic in Fort Beaufort where we will be charged an exorbitant amount of money, and we will end up in more debt".

A recurring theme in the interviews was that the farm conditions were in fact getting worse rather than improving because of unemployment and people leaving the farm to get employment elsewhere was increasing. Participant 9 (2018) said:

> "No it has not helped in any success because the farm has been a failure. I have not seen what they are meant to do because we are unemployed. For example they came and broke pipes which they said were old and were going to be replaced, but did not do this or plant anything on those fields".

One of the orange fields with overgrown grass and weeds, Photographer: Prof. Monty Roodt

Other reasons that were cited by the participants, for what they described as a decline of the farm under the mentorship of Riverside, was the lack of equipment to clean the orchards. One of the reasons given for the lack of equipment was the increasing crime on the farm, especially in terms of theft. Some of the equipment cannot be stored in a secure place because the infrastructure is not there, such as fencing around the main office area, as well as burglar bars in the windows. Sustainability is measured according to a long term basis, where there is continuity and consistency being practised which the participants have not seen, and they express how the support is short term with items such as diesel, if they happen to run out (Participant 8, 2018). Participant 4 (2018) expresses how "it has assisted the farm with basic needs", but does not believe it has been helpful in helping it succeed and ensuring that it is sustainable. Participant 2 (2018) thinks "it (Riverside) has not been able to help us because the citrus project is not going anywhere, and there is no equipment to clean the orchards amongst other things". Farm management indicated that what they did help with has been providing pesticides and fertilizers when the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform (DRDLR) has failed to do so. Although they are able to help with immediate relief like providing them with fertilisers and pesticides, these are charged onto the farm's account which increases the bill owed to Riverside.

The lack of success of the project and the level of unemployment has resulted in a lack of faith from the community in Riverside in terms of its ability to execute and fulfil its mandate to help with the transition process of the land transfer. More than a mentoring role, they have acted

more as gatekeepers where even farm management have limited power because of their dependence on Riverside and their lack of resources.

6.8 The role of the Department of Rural Development and Agrarian Reform post-Land Transfer

The DRDLR for land transfers can be considered to be the most important strategic partner that the community has because of its influence in policy and resources it can and should provide to local communities. The DRDLR are the first point of call for these emerging black farmers because of the power which they yield. Following the land transfer in 2001, the role that the DRDLR has played will have contributed significantly in the success or failure of the farm. It is therefore important that most of the burden of responsibility for the community should be placed on the state, because it is their duty as a department of the state to ensure that the community's interests are put first. This should be done in the form of the planning process before the land transfer process and during the transfer, as well as monitoring the progress that has been made after the land transfer. The monitoring process especially with the introduction of a new policy with the partnerships of strategic agribusinesses, should ensure that they are on the ground to listen to the community through community structures like the CPA.

The participants in the questionnaire were asked the same questions as the strategic partners, of Riverside. These questions which are concerned with the sustainability and success the department have been able to influence the community. All the participants, except one, were not aware of the fact that the DRDLR were assisting the farm, or are supposed to assist the farm in any way possible. It is important to highlight first of all that the department had promised a number of services that would be provided to the community. These included, fixing of the road, supplying electricity, fixing the bridge due to safety reasons, and providing support for the farm through pesticides and fertilizers, skills development programmes, and funding through various government agencies like the IDC. Visibility of the department has been important in the community members ability to know that government support is available, but more importantly to give regular updates regarding whether progress on the farm is made or not, in order for immediate solutions to be made to ensure development on the farm. If this does not happen and government visibility is low, then with the amount of problems and issues the farm faces daily will be compounded over a period of time and resulting in regression

in terms of development, such as important equipment being stolen or the constant problems with tractors.

Four out of the 15 participants believe the DRDLR did help with the project. Two of those participants could not express exactly how the department was able to help. Participant 10 (2018) says "yes they have been helpful in terms of providing fertilisers for us", with Participant 12 (2018) also concurring in saying "yes because they give us subsidies for the various inputs such as fertilizers, and other needed inputs on the trees, as well as helping with providing the initial fencing on the farm". Participant 14 (2018) concurred that:

> "Initially they were very helpful in the fencing and visited regularly. Recently they have not come that often, but when they have, they have provided us (the farm) with training".

This indicates perhaps since the land transfer there has been a steady decrease in the involvement of the department on the farm, and have not been able to provide more consistent and sustainable support. This is evident in that 73% of the participants answered by saying that the government has not provided sufficient support for the success and sustainability of the farm.

One of the fields which have over gown grass, weeds, and bushes- Photographer: Prof Monty Roodt

Participant 8 (2018) says:

> "No it (the DRDLR) has not been successful because we expected more support from them and a greater visibility and presence in ensuring that all needs are taken care of".

There was a general sentiment of inconsistency with their presence on the farm, where over a prolonged period of over a year they sometimes will not be seen. Participant 6 (2018) expresses how he does not:

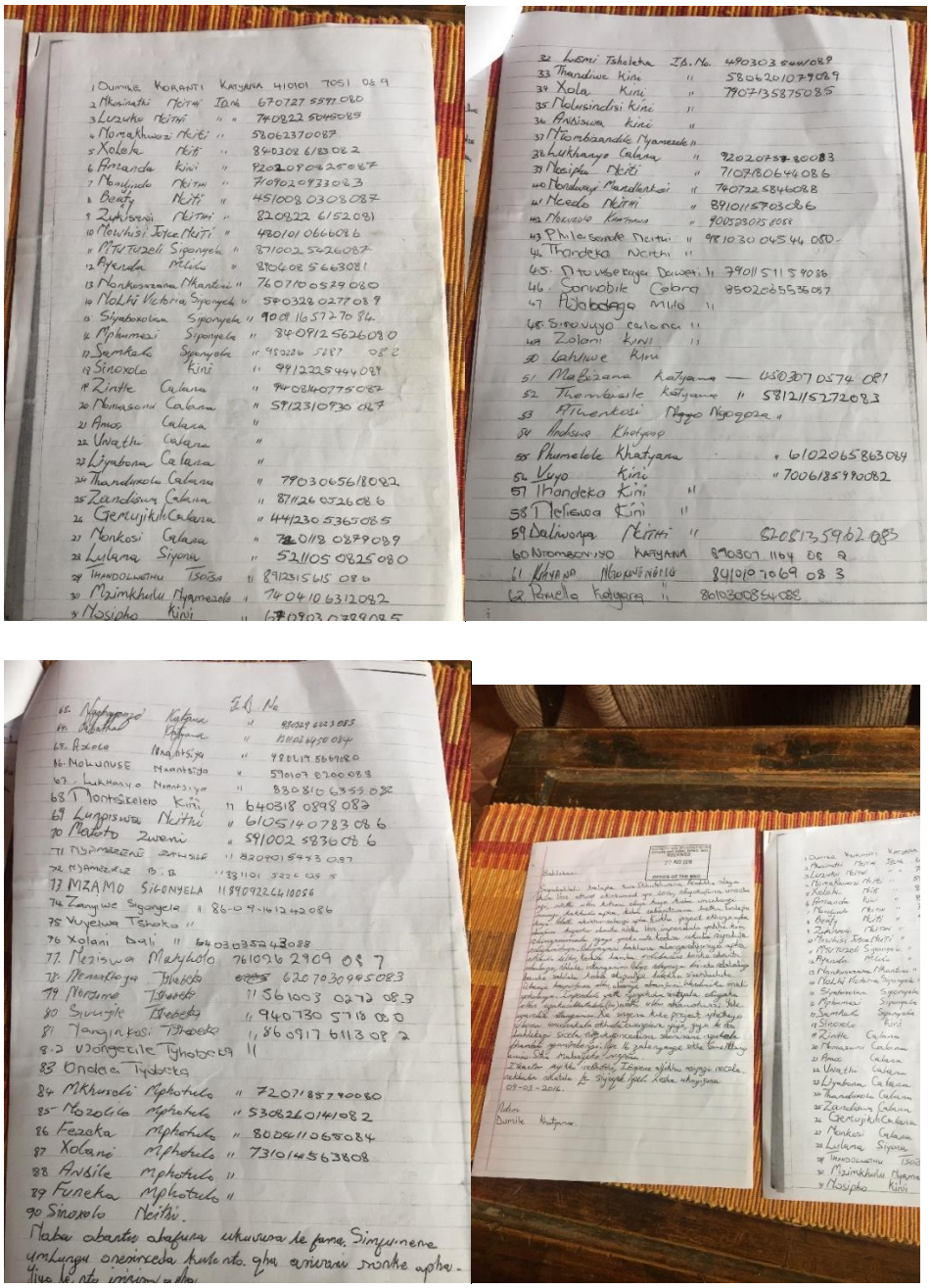
> "Think the departments are helping with the farm because I do not see them at all here, so how do they know what problems we have".

This elaborating a point made in the introduction that if there is not a regular presence, there is a de-attachment that is created in the department not being then able to deal with the compounded problems of the farm and community. Perhaps the participant, who had been most concerned about the state of the farm, and quite vocal about the roles played by the state and agribusiness, participant 9, who has lived on the farm for 60 years (since 1958/59), carrying with him a number of years of experience in farming and watch Battlesden in particular thriving at a particular stage.

Participant 9 (2018) says:

> "The department has not been able to help in that we have been struggling on the farm for employment. I have gone to them personally over a month ago so they can intervene and help us, but they have not come to check on us and hear our grievances".

He further explains in the interview how he had gone to local office in Alice of the DRDLR, where he was redirected to the neighbouring town of Dimbaza (Participant 9, 2018). Part of the reason he wanted to go to the department is because he highlighted how the partnership with Riverside pack shed had not been working and how the state of the community and the farm had been in a state of great decline after their mentorship. Before going to these offices he had drawn up an affidavit with a list of 90 members of the community from a majority of the homes asking for assistance to remove Riverside as the partner of the farm (Participant 9, 2018). The office at Dimbaza directed him to Bisho at the office of the MEC of Rural Development and Agrarian Reform, where he met the Chief Director of Farmer Support and Development, who assured him they would look into the matter following the submission of the affidavit (Participant 9, 2018). They went on to stamp the letter and affidavit with the MEC's office stamp. After following up with Participant 9, he maintains that the government still has not come to look at the condition of the farm and the poverty it is experiencing.

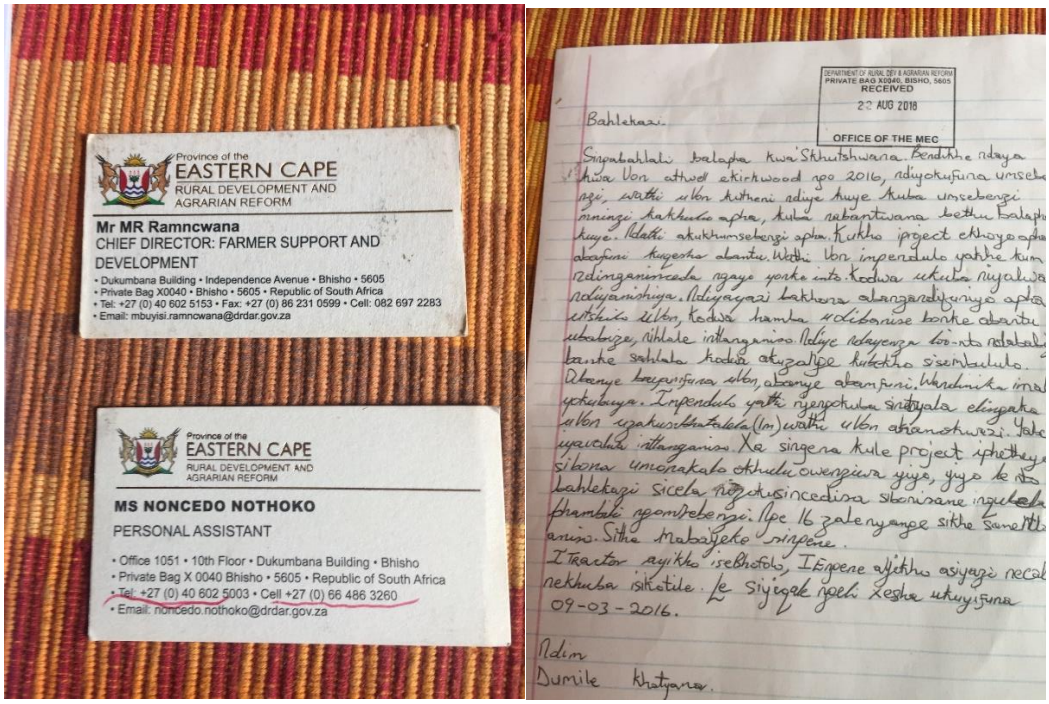


Bottom right: Affidavit from community members to government, with Office of the MEC stamp; Rest of pictures: 100 names of community members who signed the affidavit, Photographer: Mr. Langa Nyanda

It is evident that the state has not had a plan in terms of being able to evaluate the shortcomings that the project may have, particularly with evaluating the state of the relationship between the farmer and the strategic partner, which has exposed the farm to exploitation through the ever increasing debt that the farm has experienced.

Finally in its lack of support, two of the three members of the farm, expressed how they were subjected to elements of racism and disrespect from Mr. Botha (Riverside) and the mechanic from Fort Beaufort who fixes the tractors, who are both significantly younger than these two

gentlemen. The oldest member of management and the person who was part of the eight men who maintained the farm after ULIMOCOR folded, participant 9 (70) (2018), expressed how at times he felt like a "labourer when there was still a racist farm owner". With incidents such as this occurring with a toxic paternalistic fibre, it becomes more imperative that the DRDLR is present and able to protect the community and the farm from that.



Left photo: Contact details of officials which were met at Bhisho (Head office), Right photo: Affidavit of community members who were unhappy with the project. Photographer: Mr. Langa Nyanda

6.9 Impact of Community Initiatives

At the heart of what the project was obligated to achieve, was the development of the community as a whole through skills development amongst other community initiatives. These community based projects were specifically targeted at woman, who had been disadvantaged due to not being hired on a permanent basis or included in the management of the farm. Before land transfer there a Women's Vegetable Garden. After women, the skills development programme also targeted youth projects, equipping them with skills and training, especially agricultural based so that that the farm can have a balanced mix of youth and experience, with the addition of skilled workers who are from the farm. Along with the commercial farming aspect, the initial plan given by the DRDLR was to initiate a project for subsistence farming for community, such as poultry, dairy, pigs, and the vegetable garden initiative. The skills

development programmes would initially be facilitated by the DRDLR and the agribusiness which would be in charge of mentoring the farm.

Following the post land transfer, there has been limited access to basic services which have been provided by the DRDLR. Electricity on the farm for the community only arrived on the farm in 2010, and flushing toilets with water was implemented, even later than that. Besides for those basic services being provided, there has been a lack of progress in terms of addressing other issues such as infrastructure (bridge) and roads. If it rains heavily, because the bridge is an old design, it is prone to being flooded, which means students who are in high school cannot get to school, with the nearest high school being at a village next door. People were promised better housing through the department, yet one can still find the area still littered with mud houses. All the participants based on the availability of these basic services and necessities concluded that there had not been a fundamental change in the Battlesden community, especially with regard to living conditions. Participant 1 (2018) says:

> "No there has not been an improvement in the living conditions because we were promised houses years ago which has not happened. There is water and electricity, with a few houses which have been able to get toilets, while the rest do not have".

Another participant describes how the:

> "Roads are very bad and the bridge was promised to be fixed, and these things have not happened. Electricity only came in 2010, so progress has been slow" (Participant 5, 2018).

There was a general consensus amongst participants that apart from the basic services which were provided, there has been very little other improvement elsewhere, in that a lot of the problems which people have experienced in terms of poverty and unemployment still exist.

The only projects which have benefited the local school has been an initiative where farm management started of donating one or two bins of oranges to the local school. With these oranges they are packaged and sold to locals, where the school is able to fundraise money for the school through the sales generated from those oranges. The local school also has a garden which they use to plant vegetables (Participant 10, 2018). The participants besides agree that besides these two projects, there has not been any other projects which have materialized, where there has been more planning and suggestions of a multitude of projects which have not culminated into anything. In terms of youth projects, which would target the youth of ages

between 18 and 25 years have not happened all, especially with regards to providing agricultural skills, in order to maintain the longevity of the farm.

Participants were finally asked about possible future community initiatives they are aware of which have been discussed, and that have been set to be implemented. At the various meeting which have been held over the years, more especially at the beginning of the project, an important initiative which was promised by the DRDLR was subsistence farming which help community members to not only depend on the farm, but also have another means to help with their livelihood, and perhaps create another income stream, through selling that subsistence produce and animals locally. Participant 3 (2018) mentions in her answer in the questionnaire how:

> " there were projects which were intended to happen where there are goats, poultry, dairy, and vegetable farming", but the talk and suggestions have not culminated to anything.

Participant 13 (2018) describes how:

> "We (the community) did training because they (the state) told us there would be a dairy and pig farm, but this did not result into anything".

6.10 Working history of participants and relatives on the farm

For well over a century there has been history been history of the black people living in the community being labourers on the farm from generation to generation. This history of labour has for many years been that the people of the community especially those working on the farm, have been subjected to seasonal and casual labour which has limited the ability of these community members to earn a living wage. Until the land transfer where there was hope of the creation of more permanent employment for community members, as well as them being beneficiaries on the farm.

With this being said, all the participants were asked if they had members of their household, who either work or have previously worked on the farm. All of the participants had a positive answer of yes to the question. Following that question, participants were asked if they had family members working on the farm, firstly what work they were doing, and whether they were employed on a permanent or seasonal basis. Out of the 15 participants, 13 indicated to having family members that were seasonal, and that did not have any family members who

were employed on the farm on a permanent basis. The seasonal work which was described by the participants was work in picking the oranges, working as sprayers and putting in fertilizers in the off season, doing grading work, tractor driver (works on a temporary basis, and cleaning the weeds in the offseason. This work is very temporary and as a result of having to rotate who can work every fortnight, it is not nearly enough to sustain livelihoods and alleviate the poverty and unemployment that exists in the area. The two participants who indicated to having family working permanently, both have family members who are part of the three man management team, who currently are the only people on the farm working on a permanent basis.

This signals the lack of progress that the farm has made, particularly in looking to absorb more members of the community in different households on a more permanent basis, where there is a shift and improvement from the previous decades in which members have been living on the farm.

6.11 Women's Vegetable Garden

In the period between 1997 and 2001, the women of Battleden had started a vegetable garden through the ABET, As mentioned before, this was to give a platform to the women of the community to be able to earn an income outside of the income generated from farm employment. It was to empower women, a gender which has been marginalised the most during apartheid times, where it was seldom to find a women who was permanently employed on farms. The vegetable garden was therefore a mechanism to empower the women of this community to have a project which was theirs, with a certain portion of land which was assigned to them.

In the original report by Kingwill and Roodt (2001), the vegetable garden had been still operational, and was identified to be doing well, with different vegetables being grown and flourishing, including beetroot, onions, butternut, and cabbage. All the participants had agreed and informed me that the woman's vegetable garden was no longer operational and had in fact been abandoned. The natural next step was to investigate the reason why a crucial initiative which was doing well would suddenly stop. Of the 15 research participants, only 3 participants could give a reason as to why the project eventually stopped. How the project would make money is, everything that was grown on the farm and harvested would be sold at the local market in Alice, and the profits from that would be distributed amongst the women. The seeds that were used to plant these vegetables were supplied by the DRDLR after the land transfer

had taken place. The equipment and the supply for seeds was there but there was a break down in the relationship and trust the women had in each other. In the vegetables being sold in town, not all the women would go sell the vegetables, and according to Participant 13 (2018), "what happened is the project was well underway, and the vegetables had been grown where they were sold in town. Thereafter it stopped because not everyone who worked got money for the sales". These other women who she refers to did the initial work through the ploughing, planting, and harvesting process.

Although the project had potential there was not adequate planning and structures in place to ensure accountability and transparency from all members. Although the in the initial stages of the garden it was doing relatively well, to ensure sustainability and longevity, sufficient and effective planning by state departments for these kind of projects needs to be clear and precise. This could be done through working with ABET, as well as have someone from the department to monitor the process and mentor them through that process especially when it comes to the handling of administration and financial matters.

Photo of operational field, and one that is not operational, with the backdrop of the village, Photographer: Prof. Monty Roodt

6.12 Conclusion

This chapter has been able to show a number of perspectives from beneficiaries of a land transfer, following the shift from SLAG to LRAD, and eventually PLAS. Through a genealogy of the history of the participants and their claim to the land, with their family's initial purpose

and contribution to the land, a number of themes have been teased out. It is clear that the participants required an outlet to express their feelings and frustrations with how the land transfer has developed since 2001.

The data reveals some of the initial mistakes that happened post the land transfer, during a period which required substantial support, and a commitment from all parties involved. One of the advantages of state-led agrarian during apartheid was the visibility of the state in various farms, and their protection of these farmers, while being able to assist immediately with problems which would arise. They were able to track how many farms there were, and identify the needs of all farms, in order to get a consensus in terms of creating a model that will be implemented through an action plan which was concise and precise. Market-led reform has given the state an opportunity to take a step back, and give a chance to agribusinesses in leading the reform on these farms while 'mentoring' the emerging farmers through the process of commercialisation. However the problem the case of Battlesden in particular was a lack of planning from various stakeholders but especially the state, in terms of ensuring firstly there is adequate skills development and education for firstly, farm management, and then the rest of the beneficiaries. Even after 17 years since the land transfer, and 15 years in Riverside mentoring farm management and consulting on the farm it was evident that they were still heavily dependent on Riverside for assistance, even more because of the debt they had accumulated from Riverside which resulted in a lack of cash flow. Riverside as a strategic partner for the whole farm has not looked too engaged with the community and therefore participants expressed the lack of contribution to their livelihoods from Riverside. They do not understand the role Riverside is supposed to play in the land transfer process.

Finally the lack of state support in the matter by the state and its neglect of the farm has left the farm and beneficiaries vulnerable and exposed to potential exploitation. not enough subsidies have been provided consistently especially at the beginning of the project so that it gets to a point of being self-sufficient, in which case there will be less monitoring and input from the side of the state. Without the equal involvement of both agribusiness and the state, because the agribusiness also wants to make profit, it cannot invest as much time and money needed for the farm to be independent. Therefore an imbalance and vacuum is created and is evident in the lack of development and dependency created since the land transfer.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

The main goal of the research was to document the progress or lack of it, in a land reform project on Battlesden farm in the Tyhume Valley. This project was implemented after a land audit was carried out under the auspices of the Department of Land Affairs at the time, which included the setting up of a CPA and the drawing up of a business plan. The model which was adopted by government to carry out land reform after SLAG had failed was the LRAD model. The evaluation of the land reform project was given 17 years before the evaluation took place. The LRAD model includes strategic partners, in particular agribusinesses for mentorship, with the study therefore including how that relationship has developed since the Riverside pack shed was given this responsibility.

Having explored the findings from each individual participant, the results reveal recurring themes from the participants. The CPA was dysfunctional, where the constitution which was drawn up by Kingwill and Roodt (2001), was used to govern the work of the CPA. This meant that constitution obligations such as elected new members to be a part of the CPA had not been in effect for a prolonged period of time. Members of the community had begun to lose hope in what the CPA was supposed to do, because it was seen as space where the community expressed themselves, but this had not resulted in anything tangible. This also affected attendance to CPA meetings, especially those that had to do with ways the farm can improve. CPA meetings had been reduced to figuring out roster schedules because the work was only available every fortnight, where members of the communities had to be rotated because there was not enough work for everyone.

The CPA executive also did not have a way of resolving issues that community members had because the DRDLR along with other departments which had visited the farm was not in regular contact with the executive, which created a distrust between members of the community and the CPA executive. The three members who formed part of the farming operations management team, who were the ones in direct contact with Mr. Botha from Riverside, had also been in those positions since the inception of the project. They had the most experience in farming operations, and the treatment of the citrus trees, therefore it would be hard to ask them to step down especially because the CPA was dysfunctional. A system where farm management could rotate, could not be executed because of the lack of support that needed to be provided

by various stakeholders. There were not enough workshops that were conducted to educate committee members about managing a CPA structure and farm structure.

The participants, especially farm management, revealed their awareness of a business plan existing, but were never consulted by Riverside and the DRDLR on how the business plan would be executed. At times they would see things happening like when the original fencing was put in, or when the land was being prepared for planting, but were not part of the decision making process. This they felt undermined their role in the farm because they were not able to relay messages to the CPA and the broader community about developments that were happening on the farm. According to farm management they were very much still dependent on Riverside to give them direction in running the farm.

It was clear from the sentiments of farm management and participants that Riverside were in charge of operations on the farm, top to bottom. Farm management revealed that everything that was financial was handled by Riverside. This included their salaries as the only permanent employees, Mr. Botha would give them the wages to hand out to workers. They were not aware from season to season how much the farm was making, but were made aware of the debt the farm had to the pack shed. A dependency of the 15 years Riverside had mentored them was therefore created, which also meant that development on the farm would depend on the will of Riverside. It is important to note that Riverside is its own business first and has no obligation or incentive perform all the required duties of this mentoring process, and this was evident.

The need for state intervention was evident in how members of the community were complaining about unemployment and how the project was not working in the way it was intended. This is also evident in the petition that signed by community members, asking the state to please intervene. The community was powerless in determining their own fate, and inherited a farm which yielded no improvement in livelihoods such as income and employment. With improvement coming in the form of basic services such as water and electricity. There were no community initiatives taking place at the farm, which was a reflection of the project, and its lack of positive change in the community. There was especially a high level of unemployment amongst the youth, between the ages of 18-30, which also resulted in increased crime levels on the farm since the project started. Equipment such as the tractors had not been changed in decades and affected the productivity and daily functioning of the farm.

Thorndale was not operational at all, and had been abandoned, a part from a few households using the plot for subsistence farming, which spoke to the general neglect of the state in

developing the area and achieving rural development for the surrounding communities. Poor planning and a lack of evaluation has meant that the project is on its way to stopping its operations which would be devastating for this community who have for the most part last faith in being able to improve their livelihoods.

7.1 Limitations and Improvements

While I was able to achieve all the aims of the study, along with providing individuals a chance to express themselves in terms of the project their feelings of the project after 17 years, as well as what they envision the project being.

If I were to continue with this research I would include the other stakeholders in the project to comment in detail about the project and why they think it has not worked. From these various perspectives, perhaps what could be revealed is the importance in all stakeholders being involved with better planning from the state in giving direction to the strategic partners and other government agencies.

List of Interviewees

Participant 1. Interviewed by: Nyanda, L.M. (8 October 2018).

Participant 2. Interviewed by: Nyanda, L.M. (10 October 2018).

Participant 3. Interviewed by: Nyanda, L.M. (10 October 2018).

Participant 4. Interviewed by Nyanda, L.M. (9 October 2018).

Participant 5. Interviewed by: Nyanda, L.M. (9 October 2018).

Participant 6. Interviewed by: Nyanda, L.M. (10 October 2018).

Participant 7. Interviewed by: Nyanda, L.M. (9 October 2018).

Participant 8. Interviewed by: Nyanda, L.M. (11 October 2018).

Participant 9. Interviewed by: Nyanda, L.M. (9 October 2018).

Participant 10. Interviewed by: Nyanda, L.M. (9 October 2018).

Participant 11. Interviewed by: Nyanda, L.M. (10 October 2018).

Participant 12. Interviewed by: Nyanda, L.M. (12 June 2018).

Participant 12. Interviewed by: Nyanda, L.M. (8 October 2018).

Participant 13. Interviewed by: Nyanda, L.M. (10 October 2018).

Participant 14. Interviewed by: Nyanda, L.M. (8 October 2018).

Participant 15. Interviewed by: Nyanda, L.M. (11 October 2018).

Botha, BD. Interviewed by: Nyanda, L.M. (11 June 2018)

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

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Participant Consent form (Interviews)

Name of researcher: Langaliphumile Mbasa Nyanda

Brief description of the research topic: This study is exploring the experiences of farm owners who used to be farm-workers at Thorndale and Battlesden farms in Alice, Eastern Cape. I am interesting in finding out the successes and challenges that you have been experiencing since taking ownership of this farm. For example, I would like to know if this particular land reform project has been able to bring a better quality of life to yourself and the community.

Declaration

l. I confirm that the purpose of the research and the nature of my participation have been explained to me verbally or in writing;

2. I also confirm that I am a co-owner of this farm and give permission for the study to be conducted;

3. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason. However, I commit myself to

full participation unless some unusual circumstances occur, or I have concerns about my participation which I did not originally anticipate;

4. I understand that participating in this study may cause me some emotional stress when talking about the challenges of running the farm as a co-owner;

5. I understand that talking about the challenges involved in running the farm with the research may also benefit me emotionally;

6. I understand that data collected during the study, will be used by the researcher and that my personal details gathered during this research, especially my name or identity, will be kept private;

7. I agree to be interviewed and to allow audio recording and transcription to be made of the interview;

8. I have been informed by the researcher that the interview transcript 'Will kept by supervisor in the Department of Sociology for 5 years.

Signature of participant:

Signature of researcher:

Date:

Appendix B

Name: **Sex:**

Age: **Contact:**

Household Questionnaire

1. Family History

1.1 How many years has your family been living on this farm?

1.2 Provide a short description of your family's history on the farm in relation to the previous owners of the farm:

2. Evaluation of Land Transfer

2.1 Are you aware of the CPA that exists?

2.2 Have you attended any CPA meetings which have been held?

2.3 Do you think the CPA has functioned well in being a platform to communicate ideas in terms of possible projects which could be started, suggestions, and concerns for beneficiaries?

2.4 Are you aware of the business plan which was drawn up at the beginning of the land transfer?

2.5 To what extent has this business plan been communicated by the CPA in how it would be implemented?

2.6 Do you think this implementation process has been successful and been inclusive?

2.7 Are you aware that the farm gets assistance from Riverside Pack shed as well as the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform, and the Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries?

2.8 Do you think Riverside has been successful in helping the sustainability and success of the business?

2.9 Do you think the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform has been successful in helping the sustainability and success of the business?

2.10 From your perspective, have you seen an improvement to the Battlesden community? This can be through better living conditions, availability of basic necessities.

2.11 With the introduction of the project, has there been community initiatives which have looked to develop the youth, or have benefited the local school?

2.12 Has the introduction of the project been able to educate the youth who may be in school, but also those between 18-25 years about agricultural skills and perhaps introduced them to programs in order to ensure the sustainability of the project?

2.13 Are you aware of any projects that are planned in the future for subsistence farming? E.g dairy, chickens, vegetables etc.

3. Working History

3.1 Are any members of the household working on the farm, or have previously worked on the farm?

3.2 If there are any members who have worked on the farm or are working on the farm, what do they do?

3.3 Were/ Are they working on a permanent or seasonal basis?

3.4 Are there any projects that you are aware of in terms of ensuring women are also involved, through management structures?

3.5 There was a women's vegetable growing project when the land transfer happened, is that project still operational?

3.6 If not, what have been the reasons for the vegetable garden not continuing to happen?