EVALUATION OF LAND TENURE REFORM APPROACHES IN SELECTED AREAS OF THE NORTHERN PROVINCE

by

NOSIZWE JOYCE ANIM

Submitted in fulfilment of the

requirements for the degree of

M.Admin. (Development Studies)

in the

Faculty of Management Sciences and Law

School of Economics and Management

University of the North,

Sovenga

June 2003

Supervisor: Professor A. de Villiers

DECLARATION

I declare that the Dissertation hereby submitted to the University of the North for the degree of M.Admin. (Development Studies) has not previously been submitted by me for a degree at this or any other university, that it is my own work in design and in execution, and that all material contained therein has been duly acknowledged.

....

Signed Date

.ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my sincere gratitude to my promoter, Professor A. de Villiers, for his valuable comments and suggestions, and for his general direction throughout this study.

Thanks, also to my husband, Prof. F.D.K. Anim, and my two sons, Kwaku and Kwasi, whose patience and tolerance were the support I needed to complete this study.

May God Bless all of you.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the study

Land allocation in South Africa prior to 1994

Land tenure reform takes its roots from colonial and apartheid repression in South Africa. It was a neglected issue at the level of political theory and strategy prior to 1994.

In 1658, Jan van Riebeeck notified indigenous Khoi communities that they could no longer dwell to the west of the Salt and Liesbeck rivers, effectively implementing the first formal act of forced relocation since white settlement in the country's history (Platzky and Walker, 1985).

Land scheduled for African occupation was essentially land reserved for Africans in the four provinces which were collectively amalgamated under the Union of South Africa in 1910. It amounted to about 9 million ha or 7% of all land in South Africa. This meant that the amount of land set aside for African freehold land and not-surveyed state land, long viewed as African areas, was omitted from the schedule. The early governments of the Union of South Africa acknowledged that the amount of land set aside for African occupation was inadequate.

In 1912 however, the post-Union Land Bills hastened the formation of the African National Congress (ANC). The Land Acts which gave rise to rapid urbanisation, however, made the ANC become an urban-based movement. Even in this post-apartheid era, up to 18 million people remain in the rural areas which include the former Bantustan areas, including peri-urban settlements, white farming areas, and rural towns.

The first commission established to look into the problem was the Beaumont Commission, which was instituted in 1913, and reported in 1916, making a number of recommendations about which land should be added to the reserves. It was only in 1936, however, that concrete steps were taken to allocate more land for African occupation, through the passage of the 1936 Development Trust and Land Act. This legislation added an additional 6.2 million ha of land to the reserves and created the South African Native Trust to acquire and administer that land.

According to Keegan (1986) the Trust became the registered owner of most reserve land and tightened conditions under which Africans were permitted to work and live in White rural areas. This legislation also created the framework within which the post World War II apartheid policies of the Afrikaner National Party were developed, and laid the basis for further forced removals of Africans from their land.

The process of forced removals was carried forward through colonial wars of dispossession and colonial government policy into the 20th century and the promulgation of the 1913 Land Act. Land policy in South Africa was shaped by the Act which restricted the area of land for lawful African occupation. In many respects, the passage of the 1913 act signified the culmination of an ongoing onslaught against independent African classes of squatters, lessees or shares on white settled land, and their transformation into a dependent wage-earning class (Bundy, 1979).

The Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 were central to the consolidation of White areas. The Acts also facilitated the speeding up of the process of creating African proletarians, a class of workers who owned little or no property and had to work for wages, especially unskilled jobs in the cities (Keegan, 1986). The Act also prohibited land purchases by Blacks outside of scheduled reserve areas, making these the only places where Africans could occupy land. By preserving reserve areas, the Act also prevented the emergence of complete landlessness among Africans, so that in theory at least, they would be in a position to secure the means of subsistence through agricultural production and others forms of land use such as livestock production.

Forced removals and land dispossession have been central dimensions of oppression in South Africa since the first white settlers landed in the country in 1652. Forced removals took a variety of forms, and included black spot removals, betterment planning removals in the reserves, Bantustan consolidation removals, farm worker and labour tenant retrenchments and evictions and privatisation of state-owned land. The logic of forced removals cannot be reduced to a single causal relation, but included meeting the labour demands of mining, industrial and agricultural capital, as well as the ideology of "separate development" with its drive towards the creation of white and black territories within a single nation.

The full extent of forced removals has not been quantified, although most observers frequently quote a figure of 3.5 million, which emerges out of the path-breaking study undertaken by the Surplus People's Project (SPP) in early 1980s. By their own admission, this figure was likely an underestimation and excluded victims of betterment planning removals in the Bantustans, while it also was confined to forced removals implemented under apartheid policies introduced by the National Party since their election in 1948. In addition, the SPP estimated that a further 1.9 million were under threat of removal, while in 1989, Lipton estimated that 5 million people were under threat (Lipton, 1996). It has recently been estimated that there have been at least 7 million victims of forced removals since 1913, but this may also be an underestimate (De Wet, 1994). It is therefore difficult to accurately quantify forced removals.

State land

It has been estimated that only 600 000 hectares of state land could be suitable for crop production (LAPC, 1993). In the former Black homelands some 43 percent of the area is under wood and forest (Kassier and Groenewald, 1990). The above figures make the skewed distribution of land tenure more obvious if the population composition of 74,2 % Black, 14,4% White, 8,7% Coloured, and 2,7% Asian is taken into account (DBSA, 1991).

If it is accepted that the former homelands have few areas which may be designated "metropolitan", then it indicates severe over-population and pressure on land. Grazing practices (largely overgrazing) have characterised both White (largely commercial) and Black (largely subsistence) agriculture. According to Kassier and Groenawald (1990), cultivation practices have depleted environmental resources.

Soil erosion is a serious problem in the former homelands and annual average soil losses have been estimated at three tonnes per hectare, as compared with more than 30 times lower rate of soil formation (Kassier and Groenewald, 1990). In South Africa, dongas occupy about three million hectares which could have had an asset value of R1 500 million. Dams are gradually being silted up and desertification is moving from west to east at an alarming rate (Kassier and Groenewald, 1990).

Land for agricultural use

A survey conducted by the Land and Agricultural Policy Centre (LAPC) in South Africa's nine provinces showed that in the Northern Province (using a sample of 210 respondents) 72 per cent of Blacks in rural areas wanted more land for farming purposes. The result indicates that there is a high demand for land among Blacks in the Northern Province. The respondents were of the opinion that the state should give it to them. Half of those who wanted land were prepared to move to acquire it and over 70 per cent knew precisely the amount of land they required (LAPC, 1995).

The purpose and implementation strategy of land reform programmes are explained in the White Paper of the government. The land reform programmes comprise the following:

Land redistribution;

Land restitution; and

Land tenure reform (DLA, 1997).

According to the Department of Land Affairs (DLA), the purpose of the redistribution programme is to provide the poor with land for residential and productive purposes in order to improve their livelihoods. In this programme, the government provides a single, yet flexible, redistribution mechanism which can embrace the wide variety of land needs of eligible applicants. Land redistribution is intended to assist the urban and rural poor, farm workers, labour tenants, as well as emergent farmers. It enables eligible individuals and groups to obtain a settlement/land acquisition grant to a maximum of R16 000 per household as from November 1999, for the purchase of land directly from willing sellers, including the state.

The land restitution programme on the other hand is aimed at restoring land and providing other remedies to people dispossessed by racially discriminatory legislation and practice (DLA,1997). The programme is implemented in such a way as to provide support to the process of reconciliation and development, and with regard to the over-arching consideration of fairness and justice for individuals, communities and the country as a whole. The government's policy and procedure for land restitution is based on the provisions of the constitution of South Africa and the Restitution of Land Rights Act, 22 of 1994. Four areas are elaborated in the White Paper, namely:

(i) qualification criteria;

(ii) forms of restitution;

(ii) compensation for both claimants and landowners; and

(iii) urban claims (DLA, 1997).

A restitution claim qualifies for investigation by the Commission on Restitution of Land Rights if the claimant was dispossessed after the first Land Act of 1913, as a result of racially discriminatory laws, or was not paid just and adequate compensation. Claims arising from dispossession prior to 1913 may be accommodated by the Minister in terms of preferential status in the Land Redistribution Programme providing that claimants are disadvantaged and will benefit in a sustainable manner from the support.

Land tenure reform which this study addresses, is a particularly complex process. It involves interests in land and the form that these interests should take. In South Africa, tenure reform is supposed to address difficult problems created by apartheid. According to the White Paper on South African Land Policy, the solutions to these problems may entail new systems of land holding, land rights and forms of ownership, and may therefore have far-reaching implications. For these reasons policy in respect of land tenure reform has to be developed with extreme care. In order to ensure this, a two-year period was set aside for consultation on land tenure policy, for the implementation of test cases and for the preparation of legislation. In the interim, a number of measures were introduced to deal with urgent and pressing matters. A separate Green Paper on Tenure Policy was released at the end of 1997 (DLA, 1997).

The principles guiding the policy development process and the programme of action that is being undertaken can be summarised as follows (DLA, 1997):

(i) tenure reform must move towards rights and away from permits;

(ii) tenure reform must build a unitary non-racial system of land rights for all South Africans;

(iii) tenure reform must allow people to choose the tenure system which is appropriate to their circumstances;

(iv) all tenure systems must be consistent with the South African Constitution with regard to basic human rights and equality;

(v)a rights-based approach and adjudicatory principles have to be adopted which

recognise and accommodate *de facto* vested rights;

(vi) new tenure systems and laws should be brought in to line with the situation as it exists on the ground and in practice.

The White Paper on South African Land Policy points out that, under the Bill of Rights in the new Constitution, the government is obliged to develop laws which set out the type of vested interests in land which were undermined by discriminatory laws and the measures necessary to ensure that such interest in land are legally secure (DLA, 1997).

The main tasks for developing Land Tenure Reform Programmes are set out in Section 4 of the White Paper (DLA, 1997). Rights of affected land holders are formalised only in response to requests. A programme of forced land titling is not be undertaken. There is also limited capacity within government to respond to urgent requests which are being made. Because there were extensive areas where tenure reform may not take place for many years, interim measures that entail limited reform of regulations governing access to, and control over land, were established.

The DLA offers a set of grants in support of the Land Reform programme, applicable to each of the three principal programmes, namely: restitution, redistribution and tenure reform. Relevant to this study is the settlement/land acquisition grant which is set at a maximum of R16 000 per beneficiary household, to be used for land acquisition, enhancement of tenure rights, investments in internal infrastructure, and home improvements (DLA, 1997).

In the land tenure reform programme, projects where the capacity exists to implement quickly and effectively are given priority. In such cases, the viability and sustainability of such projects must be demonstrated. The geographical spread of projects and a diversity of project types are also taken into consideration. These cover different beneficiary sectors, different land uses, and different tenure arrangements (DLA, 1996).

Priority is not given to people or groups who indulge in land invasions, and that threats of land invasion are not entertained by special treatment. Instead, the government works with organised groups of landless people to specify a commitment and time-frame for addressing their land needs. As part of the preparatory research for the formulation of land policy, a study was made

in 61 case study areas, of the demographic and socio-economic profile of potential land reform beneficiaries (DLA, 1996). The study demonstrated the very real problems in qualifying for the `demand for land'. The Bill of Rights in the South African Constitution which outlaws discrimination against women is upheld. It is envisaged that within the redistribution programme, the removal of legal restrictions on women's access to land will be required.

Furthermore, the use of procedures which promote women's active participation in decision making, and the registration of land assets in the names of beneficiary household heads are also to be considered (DLA, 1996).

The Department of Land Affairs (1996) is assisting farm workers preferably in settlement off the farm in agri-villages or towns, or in a range of possible schemes on the farm where they are employed. The conditions of the Labour Tenants Act of 1996 have also received attention. The objectives of this Act are, firstly, to provide for the protection of existing land rights, and, secondly, to provide for the use of Settlement/Land Acquisition Grant by labour tenants to acquire either the land which they use and occupy or to acquire alternative land (DLA, 1996). According to the DLA, within the selected districts in the whole country, an estimated 13 500 households were expected to be beneficiaries of the Settlement/Land Acquisition Grant by the end of 1997 (DLA, 1997).

1.2 Problem statement

The importance of land reform in South Africa arises from the scale and scope of land dispossession of Blacks by White colonizers. For most of this country, since the Natives Land Act of 1913, the rights to own, rent or even share-crop land in South Africa depended upon a person's racial classification. It has been argued that the motives for the acts were to support White farming and industrial interests by increasing the supply of Black wage labour, reducing Black migration to urban areas, and reducing competition from Black commercial farmers (Low and Kendall, 1986). These objectives were successfully achieved by limiting the availability of land for Black occupation.

As a result of government policy, roughly 60 000 commercial farmers in Southern Africa came to own virtually twelve times as much land as 14 million Blacks (DLA, 1996). Land is our most precious resource: it houses people, sustains animal and plant life, provides water, contains mineral wealth and is a means of investment in the economy of the country. Land does not only form the basis of man's security, pride and history (Letsoalo, 1987); its ownership and use have always played an important role in shaping the political, economic and social processes in most parts of the world, and South Africa is no exception. It has been argued that past land policies were a major cause of insecurity, landlessness, homelessness, and poverty in South Africa (Benbo, 1976). Kirsten (1995) argues that the effects of such policy changes on land are felt long after their implementation.

Land tenure reform aims at giving poor people ownership rights or permanent cultivation rights to specific parcels of land. It makes sense when it increases their income, consumption, or wealth, and it fails when their incomes do not increase or are reduced (Binswanger and Elgin, 1984). There has been considerable research recently on land tenure reform in Southern Africa, encouraged by the attempt to develop a small-scale agricultural sector and to promote a more equitable land distribution in Southern Africa (Feder and Norouha, 1987; Nieuwoudt, 1990; Place and Hazell, 1993; World Bank, 1993; Lyne and Roth, 1994).

The land tenure reform debate remains controversial: some argue strongly for communal ownership (Bromley, 1992; Van der Brink *et al.*, 1994), and others for individual ownership (Feder and Norouha, 1987; Feder and Onchan, 1987). Yet others contend that land tenure reform has a limited effect on productivity and investment (Place and Hazell, 1993). According to Moor and Niewoudt (1996), land tenure reform implies a change in the existing tenure institution. Patterns of land use will differ under different tenure arrangements, because different property rights give rise to different economic incentives. It is imperative that policy makers in South Africa understand the effects that alternative land and tenure reforms have on economic incentives, which influence agricultural productivity.

Issues surrounding land tenure in South Africa, as in many countries in the world, have always been sensitive. Levin (1995) contends that "whatever minor causes there may have been for the Bantu-European wars, the desire for land was the fundamental cause". This desire for land is

evident in the history of conquest and dispossession, of forced removal, and a racially skewed distribution of land resources which has left a complex and difficult legacy. The Department of Land Affairs has been mandated to contribute to the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) by developing a comprehensive and far-reaching land reform programme.

The goal is "to address the legacy of apartheid in relation to land distribution and to create security of tenure and certainty in relation to rights in land for all South Africans" (DLA, 1997). In South Africa, legal and administrative interventions have weakened the security of land tenure in Black areas and also influenced the separate development of Black small-scale farmers and White commercial farmers (Pretorius and Kirsten, 1994). During the apartheid era, commercial farmers enjoyed high priority in South Africa's development policies. Land tenure reform is, however, a necessary condition, but not sufficient for agricultural development (Groenewald, 1993). Nieuwoudt (1990) explains that some land tenure reforms could promote more equity and these policies are clearly desirable from a welfare standpoint. For example the current restricted access of land, to land reform beneficiaries may be inequitable and inefficient. However, when a serious trade-off exists between equity and inefficiency it is possible that more equity on the farming side could lead to more inequity on the consumer side, if it translates into higher consumer prices. The efficient use of agricultural land is therefore an important goal under any land tenure reform arrangement.

In rural development issues, land tenure and tenure reform have always been present. In South Africa and elsewhere, tenure reform has traditionally had two objectives: equity and productivity. Atwood (1990) mentions that the equity objective is closely allied to the principle of equal rights for all persons and has for a long time occupied the centre stage. It has often been regarded important enough to allow authorities to ignore productivity and efficiency. Examples include post-revolutionary reforms in the USA, reforms in Western Europe following the French Revolution, Latin American reforms after 1910 and the reforms in Korea, Japan and Taiwan after World War 2 (Ruttan, 1969).

However, according to Bell and Sussangkarn (1988), in an economy in which agriculture plays a role as important as was argued to be the case of the Northern Province and on which such a large portion of the population depends wholly, largely or partially for their livelihood or

subsistence, overlooking productivity issues may well prove to be extremely expensive. Land must be able to foster agricultural production on a sustainable basis. Thus, it should not only yield products in the short run, but the tenure arrangements must be such that land is preserved and conserved in potential perpetuity. This is important from an equity point of view (Pretorius, 1994).

Over time, land must be able to yield increasing rents. Land should therefore be able to attract capital, both owned by the rightful owner or operator, or rented by him. Barlow (1978) argues that land tenure systems must also accommodate and provide incentives for new applications. All this boils down to the fact that the operator or owner who makes such investments or introduces such technology must be able to reap the benefits (Pasour, and Bullock, 1975). According to Groenewald (1996), land should be able to provide an attractive living place for those who till and utilise it: it must provide acceptable and attractive living styles. In this context, land tenure reform in South Africa must stimulate the use of land for its best use - the use which will provide farmers and the economy with the highest return. This involves equalization of marginal returns (in terms of satisfaction, utility and value product) among all types of land in all localities and for all uses (Groenewald, 1996).

Binswanger and McIntire (1987) argue that land tenure reform should be such that agriculture attracts high calibre persons to its ranks. According to Groenewald (1973), agriculture will attract good entrepreneurs and managers only if they find the opportunities and challenges in agriculture to be commensurate with those that they will enjoy in other alternative occupations. Therefore, incentives and security play a decisive role in this regard. Incentive is really the pervasive theme because an incentive to increase productivity will bring about increased returns, provided there is security. Groenewald (1996) argues that security that ensures harvesting the seeds of success and the ability to continue such efforts is a *sine qua non*.

In traditional areas of South Africa, farmers need the assurance that if they are successful, they can build on their successes by consolidating their position as farmers and also by expanding their scale of operation. It has been argued that property rights are secure in communal areas of South Africa and elsewhere (Binswanger *et al.*, 1993). Low (1986) and Jeppe (1982), for instance, argue that the security value of traditional rights is strengthened as the population

pressure on land increases, with a resultant increase in the unwillingness to change the traditional system of land rights (Feder and Noronha, 1987). This may be true in the case of rural areas of the former homelands where this study was undertaken, especially for community members who are most of the time away from home taking off-farm employment.

From an economic point of view, tenure security involves duration and assurance of property rights (Place and Hazell, 1993). Thomson and Lyne (1989) argue that where any one of these conditions is lacking, tenure is not secure. Scholars such as Demesetz (1967), Uchendu (1970), and Ault and Ruttan (1979) contend that communal institutions are dynamic, and that property rights evolve according to local conditions. They argue that factors such as technical innovation and improved knowledge encourage farmers to lobby for more exclusive land rights. According to Bardhan (1989), this theory ignores problems associated with collective action and vested interest groups. Hayami and Ruttan (1985) contend that institutions may be sluggish in responding to change if they protect vested interest groups. However, Thomson and Lyne (1995) provide empirical evidence from communal areas in KwaZulu-Natal which suggests that secure tenure and technical change have not induced a shift toward more exclusive land rights. Tenure security is a prerequisite for both growth and consolidation in agriculture. A farmer will be unwise to make the various types of investment needed and introduce new technology without ensuring that he will benefit thereby and that these benefits are secure. Clearly, there is the need for land tenure reform to changing circumstances. For example, 20th century British agriculture would not have been able to function with 18th century land tenure arrangements (Groenewald, 1996).

1.3 Objectives of the study

The issues which this study is concerned with is one that pre-occupies many scholars of agricultural development: (1) the extent to which land tenure reform applications in rural areas of the Northern Province are suitable for agricultural production and development, (2) the extent of involvement of women and (3) the perception of beneficiaries towards the present land tenure system.

Land tenure reform arrangements have been judged to be incapable of producing higher levels of commercial off-take (Lane and Moorehead, 1995). This `evidence' has provided the basis for land tenure reform of indigenous land tenure systems through the application of new administrative requirements and revisions of national legal frameworks. The `old orthodox' view (Lane and Swift, 1989) or `mainstream' view (Sanford, 1983), portraying agricultural production as economically irrational and operating with inherently destructive land tenure systems, has been challenged and is now recognised as a flawed basis on which to design future agricultural development strategies (Lane and Moorehead, 1995). However, these mainstream views, and the policies they spawn, continue to encourage the withdrawal of land for agricultural production for acquisition by individuals and state. For example, it has been shown that in South African former homelands, traditional tenure arrangements have reduced flexibility, and in particular, the ability of such tenure systems to adapt to changes in socio-economic conditions (Leseme *et al.*, 1980).

There have been mixed feelings on the extent to which small-scale agriculture on communal tenure arrangements can be productive. This problem has increasingly stood in the path of agricultural development in rural areas of South Africa and can only be addressed if an acceptable land tenure reform is implemented.

According to Groenewald (1973) land tenure reform is a necessary condition, but not sufficient for agricultural development. The voluntary acceptance of changes in land tenure arrangements by the rural population is necessary but for it to succeed the resulting parcels of land should be utilized productively. The viability of opportunistic land tenure reform within dynamic environments, together with the need for productivity is an essential component of any land tenure reform arrangement (Sanford, 1983; Behnke and Scoones, 1993). However, it remains to be seen how this thinking can be adopted by policy makers and put into practice through the design of new administrative provisions and land tenure arrangements.

Some research has been done on the evaluation of land tenure reform applications in rural areas of the Northern Province. One study, involving a sample of about 400 small-scale farmers in the former Lebowa homeland in the Northern Province, found that 68 per cent favoured changes in the then existing land tenure system. The greater majority were in favour of land tenure

reform involving private tenure system (Fényes and Groenewald, 1985).

According to Migot-Adholla and Bruce (1993), the parlous state of agriculture in Sub-Saharan Africa has, during the past two decades, initiated debate over the suitability of customary land use practices for more capital-intensive agriculture. The same recommendation can be made for any land tenure reform in South Africa. Dorner (1972) questions the appropriateness of customary land tenure reform systems for agricultural production which is capital intensive and adopting new technology to increase productivity. At the same time, Harrison (1987) argues that since customary tenure reform systems are deeply embedded in cultural and political systems, they generally offer members of particular social groups overlapping title rights of land use, and tend to exclude non-members of the group from transactions in the acquisition of land. Thus customary land tenure reform arrangements distort factor markets and undermine full integration of rural economies into national and international markets. In addition, because they permit inheritance, customary land tenure reform practices contribute to land fragmentation and encourage incessant and uneconomically wasteful litigation (Migot-Adholla and Bruce, 1993). To remedy these problems, development specialists have favoured intervention programmes of land tenure reform aimed at changing the rules governing access to land and introducing new institutions of land administration.

An attempt is made in this study to assess the relative efficiency of land tenure reform applications in promoting agricultural production to alleviate poverty in rural areas of the Northern Province. Specific objectives are:

1. To evaluate the present land tenure reform approaches and their suitability for agricultural development;
2. To evaluate the effect of the present land tenure arrangements on the involvement of women in agricultural development;
3. To evaluate different land tenure reform options in promoting agricultural productivity.

1.4 Research questions

The extent to which access to land can improve beneficiaries' livelihoods will depend much on other factors as compared to the size of land.

The central question may be posed in different ways:

(i) What are the socio-economic characteristics of land reform beneficiaries in terms of age distribution, gender, household size, level of education, marital status, and occupation, and their impact on agricultural production?

(ii) What are the perceptions of beneficiaries on the impact of the present land tenure reform approaches?

(iii) How is access to land for farming determined? Is it by the chief/headman, community, individuals in the Community Property Associations (CPAs), or government through Department of Land Affairs (DLA)?

(iv) Do beneficiaries have access to water for farming purposes? If yes, where do they obtain water? Is it from the rivers, boreholes, dams, or other sources?

(v) Do beneficiaries have access to credit, and extension services?

(vi) Do beneficiaries have enough formal training in farm management to manage their farms efficiently and profitably?

(vii) Where are the main markets where beneficiaries purchase their farming inputs - local wholesalers, regional wholesalers, local retailers, or regional retailers?

(viii) Where do beneficiaries market their produce, and what are their market constraints?

(ix) What is the extent of involvement of women in farming?

(x) What are the general opinions of beneficiaries on the impact of land tenure reform approaches on commercial agricultural production, family income, incentives and commercial farming, tribal authorities and their powers, and farming activities of women?

These are vital questions which the study intends to address. The size of land may not be a major factor determining livelihoods and large pieces of unmanageable land can only lead to inefficient use of resources. Taking into consideration the economic conditions of the beneficiaries of land reform, it may as well mean that the initial average size of more than five hectares is more than enough for the households, especially for crop farming (DLA, 1997).

Research in other countries has shown that the extent to which a farm can operate efficiently depends on the amount of family labour, especially females available (Boserup, 1970). Coupled with this is the farmers' managerial skill, the capital owned and the access to credit and product markets. There is therefore a need to get an indication of the actual socio-economic status of beneficiaries, intended and actual land uses, and constraints to effective use of land by the land tenure reform beneficiaries. In this way one could judge whether indeed land reform is creating opportunities for the alleviation of poverty or not, and constraints towards achieving improved quality of life for the beneficiaries.

The objectives of the study will be approached through an analysis of:

(i) a historical background of land division and occupation;

(ii) a description of the present land division;

(iii) a discussion of current Land Reform policies; and

(iv) establishing the opinions of land tenure reform beneficiaries operating on CPAs.

1.5 Hypothesis statements

The following hypothesis statements are stated with reference to the identified case studies in rural areas in the Northern Province:

1. Socio-economic characteristics (gender, age distribution, number of children, number of household members, average number of years of farming, education, marital status and occupation) of beneficiaries in the CPAs are statistically different from group to group.

2. Beneficiaries purchase their farm inputs mainly from local retailers and incur high production costs.

3.The present land tenure reform arrangements have had very little or no impact on agriculture.

4. Beneficiaries are of the opinion that access to land for farming purposes in the study area should be determined or controlled by the government.

5. Beneficiaries do not have access to land, water, credit, and extension services for farming.

6. Beneficiaries have little or no formal training in farm management to manage their CPAs.

7. Most beneficiaries sell their farm produce mostly on the local markets and a few outside the country.

8. Beneficiaries in the CPAs face constraints in the marketing of their produce which contribute to the failure of farmers in selling their produce.

9. There are mixed opinions as to whether women should be involved in farming in the study area.

10. The present land reform approaches do not provide incentives for commercial agricultural production due to lack of security of tenure to beneficiaries.

11. Present land tenure reform approaches do not provide a solution to present low levels of family income in rural areas.

12. Present land tenure reform approaches do not provide incentives for the provision of support services for commercial farming.

13. Tribal authorities have negative attitudes towards present land tenure reform approaches because they believe that any change will impact negatively on their political power source.

14. The present land tenure reform approaches have negative impact on farming activities of women in rural areas.

1.6 Research design/method

The study was done in the Soekmekaar district of the Northern Province. A combination of snowball sampling and informant interview was used to gain access to beneficiaries of Settlement/Land Acquisition Grants. Beneficiaries from two CPAs in the area were targeted - Marobala and Marginalised. In this study a CPA is defined as a legal structure for people who own and use land together (DLA, 1997). A CPA is formed by using a law called the Communal Property Associations Act (Act 28 of 1996). This law was made to help any group of people to legally buy, keep and use land together as a group. The purpose of the CPA Act 1996 is mainly to enable communities to form juristic persons, to be known as communal property associations in order to acquire and hold and manage land property on the basis agreed to by members of a community in terms of a written constitution, and to provide for matters connected therewith. Since the promulgation of the CPA Act, the tenure reform directorate of the DLA has registered about 364 CPAs in South Africa (DLA, 1997). These vary in membership from 4 to 3 000 members. According to the DLA (1997), the largest CPA on record in terms of membership and hectares of land that it holds are those arising from settlement of land restitution claims, with those involving labour tenants being the smallest in both respects. The CPA is made up of members who have the following rights:

(i) to live on the land;

(ii) to use the land or parts of the land; or

(iii) to use other property that the CPA owns.

There can be different kinds of members who have different rights. Even if some people leave the CPA it can still exist legally. A CPA allows people to use land for themselves and to use the property that the group owns. In all, a total of 200 households were surveyed with 100 from each CPA. Respondents were beneficiaries from the two CPAs. The conditions in the two study areas are very similar to those of many rural areas of South Africa. The survey was done in two stages. A pilot survey was performed in June 2000. This was followed by the main survey in May 2001. Extension officers from the Department of Agriculture, Land and Environment (DALE) of the Northern Province were employed to help in both surveys. Meetings were held between officers and the researcher prior to the pilot survey. These meetings involved the training of the field officers to handle the interviews accurately. At the meetings the general background, aims and objectives of the research were explained to the enumerators. The field officers were then given explanation and guidance on the completion of the questionnaires. Each item was discussed to make sure that errors and omissions were minimised. In the selection of the field workers, preference was given to persons with previous experience in research survey. These officers had at least a matric certificate, and were fluent in English and the local language. The researcher was on standby to clarify any problems encountered before or during the survey. Telephone numbers, where possible, of each officer and the researcher were made available to all parties concerned for further contact.

A combination of structured and open-ended questionnaires were used for the primary data-gathering. This was done through personal interviews with each respondent. Interviews were held at the farming places of respondents, mostly during working hours to ensure that a large number of beneficiaries were present. Questions were provided in English, but translated into the vernacular where applicable. As Murphy and Sprey (1982) suggest, the technique of an interview method has its limitations due to its dependence on the respondent's memory and the possibility of induced or unintentional bias which could not be ruled out. Steps described above were followed as systematically as possible to reduce the effects of these limitations to the barest minimum.

These deficiencies, which cannot be entirely eliminated, were minimised by the introduction of open-ended questions which were added to the structured questions to introduce some flexibility in the answers to the questions (Behr, 1983). Furthermore, as suggested by Selltiz *et al.*, (1961), the interviewers were briefly prepared to be able to rephrase some difficult questions in the local language.

In most cases, questionnaires were completed by the interviewers from the responses of the beneficiaries. Where possible, if respondents were literate, they were asked to complete the questionnaires under the supervision of interviewers.

A formal control was kept over the enumerators to ensure correct procedures. This was done by revisiting the officers or contacting them by telephone to ask for some answers already given by the interviewees. In some cases, where the results appeared doubtful or unclear, the interviewees were contacted for a re-interview. The aim was to secure the validity of the data captured.

1.7 Significance of the study

This study will assist the formulation of policies for the Department of Agriculture, Land and Environment, Development Corporations, Tribal Authorities, and beneficiaries of the Land Reform Support Grant in the Northern Province and countries engaged in land tenure reform programmes. Some recommendations on relevant land use arrangements for the rural poor are also made on:

(i) Agricultural production;

(ii) Food security in rural areas;

(iii) Household income generation;

(iv) Sustainability of economic growth;

(v) Poverty alleviation; and

(vi) Increased household welfare.

1.8 Organization of the chapters

The study is organised into six chapters. Chapter 1, the introduction, deals with the background of the study, followed by the problem statement. The objectives, research questions and hypothesis statements of the study are also stated in this chapter, followed by the research design and the significance of the study.

A review of the literature on land tenure reform approaches in other countries, southern Africa and South Africa is presented in the second chapter. This is followed by a review of the land tenure reform approaches in the Northern Province. The vegetation, land use distribution and small-scale farming are also discussed in this chapter.

Chapter 3 presents the background of the study, dealing with the location, population, economic activities of the study areas and the food security and food supply situations in the areas.
A discussion of the research results of the study are presented in Chapter 4. In this chapter, an attempt is made to answer the research questions in order to deal with the main objectives of the study and conclusions on the validity of the hypotheses.

The summary and conclusions of the study are presented in Chapter 5, with recommendations emanating from the study in Chapter 6.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

Experiences from Southern Africa and elsewhere on land tenure reform approaches show that there are differences with varying success in terms of coverage and impact on agricultural productivity, food security, household income, economic growth, poverty alleviation and household welfare (Anim, 1997). In some cases, the differences in the various approaches have been obscure. This chapter focuses on land tenure reform in East Asia, New Zealand, Botswana and Zimbabwe. These four countries are selected because of their appropriateness for the study. In all cases experiences in these countries focus on land tenure reform issues similar to South Africa in general and the study area in particular. The chapter also presents land tenure reform in three main components: case studies from other countries, land use matters in South Africa, including the position of women in land tenure reform, and land use experiences in the Northern Province.

2.2 Land tenure reform in East Asia

Land tenure reforms in East Asia after World War II were comprehensive and created a class of independent property-owning peasants. This system alleviated poverty and landlessness among peasants (Hayami and Ruttan, 1985). However, it has been argued that the approach was highly specific, with limited replicability in other countries (Hayami and Ruttan, 1985). In Japan, land tenure reform was enforced by United States occupation forces as a means of breaking the power of large landowners who were mostly members of the military class (Rambo, 1995). According to Adams (1995), resident landlords were entitled to retain only about one hectare. Land tenure reform arrangements in Korea were also carried out under the threat of communist aggression from the north of the country (Creed, 1995). In Taiwan, land tenure reform was imposed by the Nationalist Government exiled from mainland China and hence did not serve the interest of indigenous landowners (Feder and Noronha, 1987). Land tenure reform in the Philippines share similar characteristics with both Latin America and Asian countries (Hayami and Ruttan, 1985; Putzel, 1992). In the Philippines there were the so

called *hacienda*-type plantations with small subsistence-oriented peasant tenancies, with a variety of land tenure reform arrangements in between. Putzel (1992) estimates that some 72 per cent of rural families were landless in that tenure arrangements, and hence unpopular elsewhere outside the Philippines. Relative to other countries in Asia, agricultural sector growth in this area was poor. Rice yields in 1991 were estimated to be less than half those obtained from South Korea, Japan and China. The main argument against reform on plantations are that they offer highly seasonal employment, and impose limits on local food production by over-specialisation. They also create severe hardship for the poor when world prices fall and labour is laid off (Ostrom, 1976). The establishment of plantations in South Africa as opposed to extensive crop and livestock production therefore becomes difficult to justify in the face of mounting land scarcity and high rural unemployment (Binswanger *et al.*, 1993).

2.3 Land tenure reform in New Zealand

The New Zealand experience is one from which South Africa can learn. The customary land tenure in New Zealand was similar to land tenure reform in many parts of Africa whereby individuals were given permission to occupy and cultivate their own plots. Households were given rights to natural resources on tribal land.

New Zealand attempted to upgrade land tenure by issuing titles to large groups of Maori co-owners. This land tenure reform arrangement was aimed primarily at reducing transaction costs, and was done with an assumption that customary law would prevent the named owners from selling the land without approval from others. However, sovereignty and titling decimated the influence of customary law and unapproved sales proliferated, fuelling poverty through involuntary dispossession of land for agricultural purposes (Lyne, 1994).

Later, the government attempted to solve the problem by insisting that all owners names be listed on the title deeds. The implications were two-fold: first, there was very little that owners could do to prevent free-riding as the groups were large and each member enjoyed the same rights to all parts of the land. The resulting uncertainty acted as a disincentive to conserve resources or to invest in agriculture.

Second, because individual owners were unable to reap the benefits from group farming they

were inclined to either (a) sell their interest, often secretly, to a buyer who would recruit signatures, one by one, until the land sale was complete; or (b) partition their interest if the resultant holding was large enough to make farming worthwhile. However, even where partitioning was available, selling was easier as any attempt to extinguish the rights of the owners resulted in protected court hearings. In addition, the government made no effort to train or assist Maori farmers until the late 1920's (Lyne, 1994).

2.4 Land tenure reform in Botswana

The objectives for introducing land tenure reform in Botswana have been largely achieved through the cooperation between local communities and the government. Not only has the land institution been improved through the establishment of the Land Boards but the customary rights have been strengthened and common law rights have been extended to customary land. Through leasehold tenure arrangements some landholders can secure loans from lending institutions. Leasehold tenure has also allowed granting of customary land to people who do not have access to customary rights. Introduction of leasehold tenure has however not interfered with land ownership as the Land Boards still hold land in trust for the people. Leasehold was chosen because it preserves an element of community control. It is important however to note that most citizens in Botswana still acquire land under customary tenure-and have made substantial improvements on their land. This confirms the confidence of the citizens in the security of tenure provided by customary tenure (Republic of Botswana,1992).

Besides land tenure arrangements there are non tenurial obstacles that require non tenurial solutions. These may be more important than tenurial constraints - and should be addressed to facilitate development in rural areas. Some of these are transport and communication infrastructure, services such as water and electricity and lack of raw materials.

The Land Boards in Botswana have encountered problems which continue to be addressed by the government. These relate to the quality and method of selecting Board members, low calibre of Land Board staff and inadequacy of resources. It is necessary to use a selection method that will ensure that only qualified candidates find their way into Board membership. All these problems should continue to be addressed to enable the Land Boards to do their work efficiently

and effectively (Republic of Botswana, 1992).

Customary tenure has been criticized for resistance to individual rights, lacking security of tenure and having no mortgage value (Bruce, 1981). This has led some authors to conclude that customary tenure systems retard development (Barrows and Roth, 1990). These systems however are flexible and have adapted to accommodate the demands of the cash economy. In the case of Botswana it is this flexibility which enabled customary tenure to adapt to the changing society and yet preserve the community interests in land. The latter are crucial for assurance of continued easy access to land by the majority of the citizens of Botswana. However, some authors have recognized this flexibility and others have even criticized customary tenure for over successful adaptation to the business of making money by collecting levies from people who need land in their areas of jurisdiction (Republic of Botswana, 1992).

There are important lessons that South Africa and other countries can learn from Botswana's experience. The first is that customary land does not resist individual rights. The chiefs recognise individual rights in the case of residential and agricultural land. The Land Boards are doing the same - and this has been extended to cover other uses through leasehold tenure. This shows that it is not necessary to opt for radical changes of customary land to facilitate economic and social development. The second is that the spirit of consultation has been maintained with the enactment of the Tribal Land Act of 1993, and the establishment of the Land Boards. Members of the community are consulted during land use planning exercises, when major land policies are introduced or reviewed and neighbours are consulted before customary land grants are made. Members of the community elect half of the Board members. The third one is that some changes were effected gradually: for example it took almost two decades to completely remove the chiefs and councillors from Board membership. It is however important to note that although they are no longer represented in the Land Boards, the councils and the chiefs together with other institutions and members of the community continue to be consulted when major land policies are formulated. Besides, the chiefs' representatives still sign applications forms indicating to the Land Board whether the land applied for is available and the proposed use will not conflict with other uses. The chiefs also chair *kgotla* meetings where half of the board members are elected. The forth lesson is that by creating Land Board institutions, the government has avoided top-down control and administration of customary land. The Land

Board is one of the local authorities in the districts (Republic of Botswana, 1992).

In formulating land tenure reform policy, Botswana does not only consider economic aspects, but also takes into account the social, political and environmental considerations.
Botswana's land tenure reform policy has been elucidated by the 1983 Land Tenure Commission thus "The land tenure policy which has been pursued by the Botswana government may be described as one of careful change, responding to particular needs with specific tenure innovations". The alternatives would have been a wholesale change in forms of tenure or retention of the status quo. The approach taken by the Botswana government has much to commend it. Land is a very special resource, the very base on which the nation stands. The way in which it is administered is a profound expression of national valve. Since the economy of Botswana is still largely agricultural, land is the only resource available to most of its citizens from which to earn a livelihood. Land tenure is thus a matter of grave importance and any change required must be made with great care (Republic of Botswana, 1983).

The position of Botswana on communal tenure was also highlighted in the 1992 White Paper which stated "Finally, no matter how naked the rights added by allowing individual ownership may be, this would represent too great a conceptual leap that the system of land tenure would disintegrate with disastrous consequences". The changes must be gradual. Secondly, community ownership cannot be removed by a stroke of the pen. The "liquidation" of the system would require the equal division of the property among the owners. This is an impossible task. In view of the foregoing, the government does not consider it necessary to disturb the concept of communal ownership (Republic of Botswana, 1992).

2.5 Land tenure reform in Zimbabwe

The land reform experiences in neighbouring Zimbabwe over the past 20 years provided useful guidelines for South Africa's Northern Province. Zimbabwe's experiences with land resettlement planning have become an important element in Southern African land reform debate and policy development. Zimbabwe's is an important case study with relevance for South Africa because both countries have an agrarian history characterised by the dominance of white settler farming and the existence of mainly semi-arid African labour reserves where access to

natural resources is severely constrained and jobs and land crisis remain central to people's everyday lives and political consciousness. Zimbabweans also have a history of great social inequality in access to productive resources and agricultural support services between large and small-scale producers (Bratton, 1986).

South Africa can benefit through experiences from a country that shares the same farming systems and problems, although their liberation struggle differences need to be ignored. Zimbabwe's liberations struggle was based in rural areas while pre-independence political organisations in South Africa were very strong in urban areas and relatively weak in the countryside. Another important difference is that South African small holders are more marginalised than in Zimbabwe (Cousins, 1985).

Like any other land tenure reform experiences, Zimbabwe's experiences is a mixed one, with its failures and successes. Land tenure reform in Zimbabwe was handled as a technical planning exercise with insufficient consideration of regional, cultural, ecological and historical differences. At independence (1980) Zimbabwe was confronted with the problem of inequitable distribution of productive resources between racial groups, particularly land. A numerically small white commercial farming sector (approximately 6 000 farmers), controlled over 15.4 million hectares of mostly better quality land while the approximately 800 000 small-scale farmers had an area of 16.3 million hectares of mostly inferior quality. In addition, commercial farmers were well capitalised and benefited from extension, credit marketing and infra structural facilities (Cousins, 1985).

Between 1980 and 1992, at least 54 000 households (approximately 350 000 people) were resettled, but 4 to 5 million still live in the communal areas and most remain marginal agro-ecological zones. Bratton (1986) points out that while reforms in Zimbabwe have been successful in acquiring land for settlement, approximately 25% of the land held formerly by the predominantly white large-scale commercial sector were resettled. The institutional innovation envisaged at independence to redress inequalities and stimulate agricultural production, has yet to occur. Economic incentives in the state-administered resettled areas have been constrained by the lack of secure tenure. More than a decade after independence, production levels and property institutions still differ between the large-scale commercial sector and the resettled areas

(DBSA, 1998).

Regarding agricultural performance, Bratton (1986) argues that although Zimbabwe settlements have usually been established on abandoned or underutilised lands that might be of low fertility, settlements in the present form certainly were not very successful. Roth *et al.,* (1994) argue that Zimbabwe's experience suggests that land redistribution alone is unlikely to solve the problems of degradation and overcrowding. South Africa should see where Zimbabwe and other countries have failed and try to make the land tenure reform programme meaningful to its beneficiaries. Cousins (1992) outlines the ways in which Zimbabwe's failures have been criticized. The first criticism was poor agricultural performances; the second was a seriously flawed land allocation and lastly, the state bureaucratic control and the role of rural development institutions (Cousins, 1992).

In Zimbabwe in the late 1980s and 1990s a myth was vigorously promoted, by commercial farmers amongst others, that land tenure reform beneficiaries were the least productive farmers in the country (Cousins, 1992). Selection criteria for resettlement schemes were redefined to give preference to the so called "experienced farmers", and in addition a large number of farms were allocated to large scale black commercial farmers, in order to address the racial imbalances in commercial farm holdings. Some of the beneficiaries were cabinet ministers, senior government officials, and wealthy businessmen. This shift in the focus of resettlement took place despite emerging evidence that the first generation of Zimbabweans resettlement schemes, where peasant households use non-mechanized farming methods on small plots and keep their livestock on communal grazing, are capable of making a major impact on poverty, inequity and economic output. Studies in three agro-ecological zones in Zimbabwe shows that values of livestock, crop production, food and non-food expenditure, and holdings of cereal stocks are much higher and more equitable than in overcrowded neighbouring commercial areas (Roth *et al.,* 1994). Other research shows that women have benefited significantly from resettlement, and thus that redistribution can attack gender inequalities (Cousins, 1992).

Zimbabwe is an example of the gradual transition from state "command and control" land tenure reform approach to the so called "community based natural resources management" (CBNRM). In the 1970s Zimbabwe started reviewing policies and legislation on land tenure

reform and today "landowners" have custodian rights over wildlife on their land. This has led to "conservancies" mostly by large land owners pooling their farms together into a game farming to attract tourists and hunters. This has also led to the CAMPFIRE program which gives District Councils the appropriate authority in the district to act on behalf of communities in the district (Rukuni, 2001).

CAMPFIRE is the co-management program for indigenous resources and does exercise some authority over wildlife administration and tourism operations, between the district councils and communities. In Zimbabwe CAMPFIRE has become a pioneering model which has scored some successes and demonstrated the value of community-based natural resource management. The definition of land tenure reform and property rights at a local or community level is expected to further empower community land resource conservation. With forest resources, the property rights are held directly by the district councils, who in turn do not devolve responsibilities to the communities as with CAMPFIRE. It is expected that progress in legislation of community rights over forests will add to the empowerment of community land tenure reform arrangement. Because the district councils have the rights over commercial timber, communities are unable to prevent land resource degradation and this contributes to unsustainable logging of timber (Rukuni, 2001).

The farmer settlement scheme in Zimbabwe was a form of land tenure reform arrangement specifically designed to accommodate the so-called "freedom fighters" after the war of independence. In terms of the settlement scheme, four models were identified and implemented, one of which emerged as the most successful. The government provided land permits rather than freehold title deeds to beneficiaries of all the models.

In the farmer settlement scheme, Model A was defined as a family farm with individual crop land of an average of 5 ha, and additional communal grazing rights for up to 20 livestock units. This land tenure reform arrangement was considered the most successful and to date 90 % of all settlers have chosen this model. The second model (Model B) was defined as a model by which communities of small-scale farmers were settled on previously owned white farms on a cooperative basis. This model has, however, not been successful due to poor organisation and management. It was, therefore, dropped after some few years of its implementation.

The third model was Model C, which was defined as a form of land tenure reform system whereby small-scale farmers were settled adjacent to commercial farming estates that agreed to provide support services to the settlers. Although this scheme had positive potential, yet it had limited application. The fourth model was Model D, which was defined as a controlled grazing scheme, which also did not achieve any success, due to similar experiences of the cooperative scheme.

The commission on land tenure reform then recommended that only the family farms, Model A, should be allowed to continue with the provision of full ownership rights to all settlers (Zimbabwe Government, 1994). A recommendation which has not yet been implemented.

When Zimbabwe attained independence in 1980, a target to settle 160 000 farming families was set by the government. The farmer settlement scheme programme started well but came to a stand still after ten years of its implementation, having achieved only one-third of its target. At the national land tenure reform policy conference in 1991, an additional 5 million ha of land from white commercial farmers was identified and the conference recommended its release and subsequent utilization for the completion of the programme (Zimbabwe Government, 1994).

In conclusion, because of the incomplete devolution of land rights to communities in the CAMPFIRE and the farmer settlement programmes not much success has been achieved in Zimbabwe. However, the land tenure reform programmes have greatly increased the awareness of community rights to land and the possibility of granting tenure rights to communities. According to Rukuni (2001) the insecurity of land tenure reform, constraint in Zimbabwe, has led to classic problems such as "rent-seeking" corruption in the granting of land rights to the "wrong" people and also poor control over resource appropriation and management.

2.6 Conclusions on land tenure reforms

African culture and traditions are the glue that holds people together and allows communities to function. These should not be trivialized by reducing them to some marketing ploy for eco-tourism since they have better significance to most Africans. Experiences through case studies from other countries identified in this study indicates that land tenure reform is a complex issue

and that it should be allowed to develop or evolve with changing socio-economic and cultural conditions of a given community. It has been demonstrated that land tenure security is important for community based natural resources management in Zimbabwe and elsewhere (Bruce, 1981). In addition, the experiences mentioned in this study suggest that an asset based community development approach is more feasible where communities have clear inalienable rights over their natural resources.

Experience from Botswana mentioned in this study indicates that traditional or customary tenure systems offer as much security as any other system provided that communities have legal ownership and authority over their legal and natural resources. Governments can strengthen this tenure system by supporting and empowering communities. Several case studies mentioned in this study suggest that highly centralized systems of governance, combined with bureaucratic top-down decision making systems tend to impose decisions on people at the grassroots level, resulting in the failure of most land tenure reform approaches. This system of government weakens in terms of effectiveness and impact, accountability and transparency, and indigenous tenure systems before radical attempts to alter them for whatever reason, be it ideological or purely political. These systems have survived a century of neglect, abuse and exploitation by colonial and contemporary governments. Above all, these tenure systems require support to strengthen local institutions and employment local communities in administering tenure, including the ability of the tenure system to evolve over time.

It has been argued in this chapter that tenure security in terms of exclusive rights of groups and individuals, have political and social power and status. When such rights are overly subordinated to the state, it follows that the political rights of rural people are diminished, and democratic processes and institutions are undermined. This then is a major cause of tenure insecurity, with resultant negative impact on agriculture productivity and the management of natural resources, particularly on communally held land.

The experiences cited in this chapter are all popular with the relevant communities and economic empowerment associated with these developments. The implications for South Africa are that:

- governments need to invest in strengthening civil society organizations, and in particular community based organizations and NGOs that support these strategies;
- in many cases, positive changes and local empowerment on land tenure reform have emanated from direct local activities, NGO pressure, and so on, and this has also led to policy changes, and policy changes in turn have facilitated new advances at the local level;
- negotiated settlements are of paramount importance and legal instruments are needed to support this;
- governments and donors need to provide more support at the local level indigenous systems, and where appropriate, provide or fund technical support across key areas such as resource management and legal land tenure reform.

2.7 Land use in South Africa

Land use for public purposes is estimated at 14million ha or 12% of the surface area of South Africa (DLA, 1997). About a quarter of this land is used for state domestic purposes such as public buildings and military use. The remainder is used for parks, conservation, forestry and transport. Land which is held on behalf of individuals and communities is allocated to communities and individuals in towns, rural settlement and tribal areas under specific statutory provisions. Approximately 17 million ha, 13% of the country, is held in this manner and includes most of the former homelands and coloured reserves (DLA, 1997).

According to the DLA (1997) there are about one million hectares of state-owned agricultural land available for redistribution and development. About half a million hectares of this land is former South African Development Trust (SADT) land outside the former homelands. At present it is leased to farmers and agricultural development corporations. The quality of vacant land held by local authorities and parastatals is also unknown. This information gap is a serious impediment to the most effective usage of public land.

By the end of 1998, about 600,00 hectares of land which affected about 35, 000 households were delivered under the land tenure reform programme under the auspices of the DLA. This is an average of approximately 17 hectares per household. A 1999 study known as "The Quality

of Life Survey" concluded that the performance and impact of Land Tenure Reform in South Africa, had improved since the previous survey in 1998. A recent study conducted in August 2001 by the DLA revealed that approximately 87, 000 households have benefited from the Land Tenure Reform programme since 1994 both by accessing land for settlement and agricultural production. This translates into 435 000 people based on the average family size of 5 persons per household in South Africa rural areas (DLA, 1997).

According to the DLA (1997), the current land tenure reform programme is being implemented through a review of present land policies, administration and legislation to improve the security of tenants and to accommodate more diverse forms of land tenure reform, including types of communal tenure. The tenure reform is faced with the task of upgrading the variety of highly conditional land tenure reform arrangements currently restricting the tenure security and investment opportunities of Black South Africans. It also decides ways and means of strengthening the beneficial aspects of communal tenure systems and at the same time bring about changes to features which have resulted in the erosion of tenure rights and the degradation of natural resources. Another problem is how to engage with traditional leaders constructively in the reform of those aspects of customary tenure which no longer serve the expressed needs to the people affected.

2.8 Demand for land tenure reform in the former homelands of South Africa

The pattern and form of land holding and land use in the former homelands were directly influenced by government policies and actions in pursuit of racial segregation and the promotion of an oppressive migrant labour system (Lahiff, 1999). State policies on land in the former homelands since 1948 have been based on a number of key elements described by as the "three rural pillars of apartheid" (Hendricks, 1990) - communal, tribal, and betterment forms of land tenure arrangements. The forced removal of millions of Blacks from White farms and towns to the former homelands can be added as the fourth. The latter began in the Free State with the Natives Land Act of 1913 and accelerated throughout the country between 1960 and 1970 (Lahiff, 1999).

In their discussion of farming in 19th century South Africa, Van Zyl *et al* (1999) state that in the

1870s and 1880s following the discovery of gold and diamonds in South Africa and the rise of new urban and industrial population centres which sprang up around mining areas, substantial markets for agricultural products were created. The response from African farmers confirmed the viability and efficiency of family farming over large-scale farming based on low level technologies.

Given the competition between African and White farmers, some settlers proposed that African farming be abolished and this proposal was rejected by some White merchants who depended on marketing African output. It has been argued that African farmers were better than White farmers and that this proposal would lead to economic depression (DLA, 1996).

According to Lahiff (1999) the forms of land tenure in the former homelands in the Northern Province can be traced back at least as far as the mid 19th century. The settler government of the then Transvaal precluded anybody who was not a "burger" from owning land and at the same time barred "natives" from citizenship rights. Following the Anglo-Boer war, the Pretoria Convention of 1881 laid down that "natives" would be allowed to acquire land, but the grant or transfer of such land will in every case be made to, and registered in the name of the Native Commissioner (Davenport and Hunt, 1974). It was only between 1905 and 1913 that Africans in the former Transvaal were allowed to acquire land in their own names. Since then Africans in the former Transvaal and elsewhere in South Africa were allowed to own land with the exception of certain urban areas. The form of tenure arrangements prescribed made Blacks live under various forms of tenure systems that denied them of full rights of landownership.

The greater portion of land in the former homelands is held under some form of communal tenure. Other tenurial forms include freehold land held by individuals and groups, including church missions and state land, but these account for relatively small areas. According to Lahiff (1999) communal land tenure in South Africa is a hybrid form which combines elements of individual and collective property rights, specific to the former homelands. Communal land tenure has been modified by successive governments over the course of the 20th century, but still has some basis in African law compared with other alternative forms of land tenure that were denied to Blacks by law (Lacey, 1981).

Haines and Cross (1988) argue that communal tenure was an essential component of the migrant labour system, that facilitated the concentration of the maximum possible number of Africans in the former homelands. This form of land tenure arrangement prevented the emergence of Black commercial farmers in the former homelands, and also provided the basis for high degree of social control through tribal leaders and chiefs who could control access to land.

Most communal land is normally owned by the state but held in trust for specific tribal communities and allocated by chiefs to people who lived under their jurisdiction on a usufructuary basis (Budlender and Latsky, 1991). Virtually all categories of land in the former homelands belonged to the chief, despite the fact that formal title deeds are in most cases held by the state. Land administered under the communal system can be divided into three broad categories, although differences are often blurred.

(i) Tribal land

At the heart of most of the former homelands lies land that is generally referred to as "tribal land". This type of land had been occupied by tribes prior to 1936 and in many cases, without interruption by the state since pre-colonial times. Nominal ownership to most of land was appropriated by the state at various times prior to 1936. But this was not generally accompanied by any change in occupation since land use rights often went unnoticed by the inhabitants. This land makes up most of the land "scheduled for Black occupation under the 1913 Land Act. Ownership of this land was passed to the South African Native Trust in 1936. This brought little or no change to Blacks in the former homelands. The "reforms" introduced by the Trust after 1936 were mainly focused on newly acquired land - Trust Farms.

(ii) *Trust land*

From 1936 onwards, the South African Native Trust which later became the South African Development Trust (SADT) set about purchasing farms for the then native reserves. This land was generally allocated for the use of specific tribal communities and according to the 1936 Act. The Trust Land was held in trust by the State President or his official. The Trust also set about buying much of the privately owned land within the enlarged reserves including mission lands and land earmarked for inclusion in the former homelands and all tribal farms that were not in private ownership.

(iii) *Private tenure*

This is the third category of land which is privately owned, and is typically land that was bought in undivided shares by groups of named Black farmers. Such purchases were made in the scheduled areas prior to 1913 outside the scheduled areas from 1905 to 1936, and from the Trust Land after 1936 (Vink, 1986). While some groups were successful in having title deeds issued in their own names, others were obliged by the racial laws of the day to register the land in the names of a tribe or state official to be held in trust for the named purchaser (Lahiff, 1999). Over time the sense of private ownership appeared to have faded away and today most such land is used and administered by communities in a way that is indistinguishable from other communal land.

Popular perceptions of land ownership do not tend to correspond with the official legal position. On tribal farms the sense of community ownership is probably the strongest. This is based on uninterrupted occupation, strong historical claims, and relative lack of state interference over years. These are bastions of chiefly power and there is little or no awareness of the position of the state as nominal owner of the land. Perceptions are somewhat different on trust land, as there is generally a greater awareness of the state as nominal owner even though many people believe that the permission given to the community by the state to occupy the land is tantamount to a transfer of ownership.

The small number of farms bought by tribal groups or other communities constitute a separate category of full private ownership, with no state involvement, but in practice, popular perceptions do not differ greatly between the three categories of land ownership. In a study of the communal land system in the former Transkei, Solinjani (1986) found that most informants believed that the land belonged to the tribe and that the chief had authority over all the people and all the land. This is an example of the conflation of property rights and socio-political jurisdiction that characterizes much of the debate around land and traditional leaders in South Africa. The minority that differed from this view believed that the land belonged to the government and was under the control of the magistrate, as it was he who issued Permission to Occupy (PTO) certificates (Solinjani, 1986).

Land tenure reform of the Northern Province is one of dispossession and deprivation of the

indigenous African majority. Prior to the Union of South Africa, white settlers acquired land through bitter conquest in the Transvaal Republic (Levin, 1995). The demand for the land in the Northern Province is high. A survey conducted in the Province by the Land and Agricultural Policy Centre (LAPC) revealed that over 70% of the respondents wanted more land for farming purposes and believed that the state should give it to them. Half of those who wanted land were prepared to move to acquire it, while over 70% knew precisely the amount of land they required (DBSA, 1992). De Villiers (1995), argues that land reform in the Northern Province has to be carried out with due regard that the province is mostly rural and that communities concerned are still traditional in their ways of life.

2.9 The land question in South Africa

The general conclusion is that there is a concern about South Africa's skewed distribution of land occupancy. Land tenure reform programmes should therefore aim at empowering black farmers by giving them title deed to the land as one option. The big concern is how better to assist these previously underprivileged farmers. There are different views from different perspectives on how the programme should be implemented. The truth is that South Africa has to learn land tenure reform issues, to a great extent, from other countries which had similar experiences. For example, considering Zimbabwe and South Africa, one must set some striking commonalities, in relation to the land question in particular, in the experience of the two countries. Both have a history of state-supported or state-led dispossession of indigenous people for the benefit of white settlers, who later received massive state subsidies in order to make a lengthy transition to modernized commercial farming (Cousins, 1992). Peasant farming, at first highly successful in supplying the emerging markets, was deliberately undermined by policies aimed at developing white agriculture. In both cases the majority of the rural population was restricted to increasingly smaller "native reserves", governed on behalf of the state by chiefs, which provided a source of cheap migrant labour for white-owned farms, mines and industries.

Population growth on restricted land base, together with the undermining of peasant farming, led to rising levels of poverty and malnutrition. Having played a leading role in creating these problems, the state then belatedly initiated programmes of agricultural and rural development, which had little impact, constrained inadequate resource allocations, and by the distortions of

highly discriminatory policy frameworks within the wider society (Cousins, 1992).

Given these rather similar historical experiences, it is not surprising that in both Zimbabwe and South Africa, liberation movements powerfully articulated demands for the restoration of stolen lands. It is true that rural struggle took different forms. In South Africa, rural communities organised themselves to resist forced removals with assistance from NGOs, but had little direct support from the exiled political parties. In Zimbabwe, rural communities played host to guerilla fighters. A discourse of "land rights for the people" emerged in both struggles, and the years immediately preceding majority rule saw radical policies for land tenure reform being formulated (Cousins, 1992).

The policy frameworks in the two countries display some important differences. South Africa has a constitutionally mandated land restitution programme, which Zimbabwe does not, and in South Africa the market is supposed to play a key role in a demand-led programme of land acquisition, in contrast to Zimbabwe's supply-led, state-driven resettlement. Redistribution in South Africa includes a large commonage programme, and innovations such as equity share schemes and the establishment of legal entities for group land ownership. Labour tenants, not found in Zimbabwe, have legal rights and can acquire land of their own (DLA, 1997). The tenure security of farm workers has been the subject of new legislation, with little comparable protection available in Zimbabwe.

In conclusion, the present land tenure reform crisis in Zimbabwe points to the urgency of implementing a well-designed land tenure reform policy in South Africa. According to De Villiers (2000) the South African land tenure reform programme needs to move from political to economic focus and must be built around settlement of emerging commercial farmers.

2.10 The position of women in land tenure reform

The position and role of women in land tenure reform has for a long time been invisible. On commercial farms in South Africa, women have been employed as casual workers without contracts, and allowed to live on farms because of their relationships to a man. Women in communal lands that constitute a good percentage of subsistence farmers still do not have

independent rights to land. Women's access to land is similarly shaped by a social structure, beliefs and division of labour. In the rural townships, women constitute the majority of those in the formal sector and household heads. It is from these rural townships that labour contractors source seasonal workers who are mainly women. In short, relations of production, as well as reproduction shape women's position in agriculture.

Bernstein (1992) argues that land ownership is one of the most important components in the configuration of social, economic and political power in society. Women□s general lack of control of land, amongst others, is central to their weak social, economic and political position in society. The importance of land with regard to the political economy of class relations is well understood, but the relationship between control over land and economic and political power has been neglected in political economy of gender relations. Cousins (1992) contends that because of the economic and political importance of the control of land, land tenure reform has the potential to transform gender power relations in South Africa and elsewhere. Any vision of gender equality with respect to land must therefore incorporate both men and women's rights to land. In addition to rights to land, moreover, it must take into account men and women's different interests in land (DLA, 1997).

A gender policy for land tenure reform and rural development may be devised by matching the vision with current reality, and then defining the means of realising the vision. What, then, is the current position of women in South Africa with regard to land rights? While the situation differs across countries, not all women experience problems in the same way. However, if one looks at the way in which gender relations generally shape land rights, several similarities emerge. In most parts of South Africa, as a result of underlying assumptions about the roles of men and women within the family, men are automatically regarded as the "heads" of households (Bernstein, 1992). This is reflected in both provisions and social practice. In most cases, land rights of any kind are held by men. For example, women farm-workers and dwellers throughout South Africa generally gain access to land for housing and other purposes through their male partners or relatives. Their access to land is thus mediated through their relationship with a partner, a brother, or father (whose own tenure rights are, in any event, insecure). Traditionally, black women were generally not permitted to own land, again being able to access land for productive use only through a male partner or relative. In those communal areas where

women have enjoyed access to land, this has been accompanied by social practices prescribing roles and rules, such as whom they should marry, where they should live, and so on (Bernstein, 1992).

Furthermore, legal barriers within customary law prevent women from owning and inheriting land in their own right. Women who are not legally married to their partners are often in danger of losing rights and access to land. These social practices, based as they are upon gender relations operating in a variety of contexts, structure women's access to land, the division of labour between men and women, and women's productive tasks within the household (Bernstein, 1992).

Access to, and control of, land is closely tied to social, economic and political power within households, families and communities. The experience of land tenure reform in Southern Asia has shown that when women enjoy independent rights to land they are more easily able to challenge unequal power relations within households and within communities (Bernstein, 1992). Research has shown that family food security is also closely linked to women's access to resources (Bernstein, 1992). Greater access to, and control of, land for productive purposes by women may be expected to enhance food security and to alleviate poverty, increase their ability to access credit, lead to improvements in women and children's health, and to improvements with regard to the sustainable use of natural resources. Furthermore, independent rights to land encourage women's participation in decision-making.

Experience from land tenure reform programmes in Latin America and Southern Asia has confirmed that legal reform does not, in itself, lead to sustainable equity (Roth *et al.,* 1994). A crucial factor determining the effectiveness of such reform is the degree of women's security in land in their own right, that is, independent of their partner's rights. Any vision for gender equality, has to include the vision of independent rights in land for both men and women.

Furthermore, a policy based upon gender equality should acknowledge the need for special measures to address obstacles to women's participation in land tenure reform. These obstacles should include social and cultural practices which operate to discriminate against women's access to credit, inputs and decision making about land use. Current land tenure reform policy

in South Africa however does not identify any special measures to ensure women's participation. Indeed, it acknowledges that while specific strategies and procedures must be devised to ensure that women are enabled to participate fully in the planning and implementation of land tenure reform projects, these have not yet been formulated (DLA, 1997).

2.11 Land and agriculture in the Northern Province

The Northern Province is unique in comparison with the other regions of South Africa. The province includes three of the country's former ten homelands namely, Lebowa, Gazankulu, and Venda. This explains the highly skewed population in terms of the total number of people. The total area of the Northern Province is 119 606 km^2 of which only 30,2 % is designated for Blacks in the former Lebowa, Gazankulu, and Venda. The rest (69.8%) is for Whites in the former Transvaal. This indicates that the acquisition of land is not proportional to the population numbers and gives rise to wide differences in population densities.

The form of land tenure and occupation in the former homelands in the Northern Province is similar to the typical communal system in most parts of Southern Africa. Most land is held in terms of Proclamation R 188 of 1969 (LAPC, 1995). Land under this system is described as "Permission to occupy". The main feature similar to the past system is that land is divided into residential, arable and grazing zones.

Before the new dispensation, residential and arable plots were occupied individually and the rest was used as a common property resource. The acquisition of rights to land was controlled by the ruling government in conjunction with *Kgosis* (or chiefs) (Letsoalo, 1987). The principle of one-man-one-plot was prevalent in these areas. Only married men and women with family responsibilities were eligible for an allocation. Individual holders were required to comply with the conditions of grant and policy of the then Department of Agriculture. These conditions concern various aspects such as conservation of resources, prevention of injudicious fragmentation, consolidation of fragmented units, inheritance, stability of occupation, transfer of rights, payment of fees and compensation for suspension of occupation. The rights of holders of land might be suspended or terminated by the authorities. In the case of suspension or termination of rights the holder was allowed to remove his improvements from the land provided he did not cause any damage to the land (Leseme *et al.*, 1980).

2.12 Land use distribution

The agricultural land use pattern in the Northern Province between small-scale (Black) and commercial (White) farming areas within the former homelands as at 1998 is summarized in Table 2.1. The table shows that the distribution of land is skewed in favour of commercial farmers. Commercial farmers occupy 55,5% and 59,2% of arable and grazing land respectively, while small-scale farmers occupy 44,5% and 40,8%.

Table 2.1: Land use distribution within the Northern Province, 1998

Land use	Commercial/1000ha	Small-scale/1000ha	Total/1000ha
Arable	661 (55,5%)	531 (44,5%)	1 192
Grazing	3 834 (59,2%)	2 646 (40,8%)	8 480

Source: DBSA (1998)

According to De Villiers (1995), there is no clear distinction within the former homelands to define *bona fide* farmers. Using the basis of allocated land rights, it is estimated that 62 000 rural households in the former homelands are involved in farming activities, with an average size of crop land varying between 2 hectares and 5 hectares, and communal grazing land varying between 40 hectares and 70 hectares.

2.13 Commercial farmers

It is well known that only a small number of rural households in the former homelands are involved in commercial farming. It has been estimated that 31% of rural households in the Northern Province have no access to land rights, 56% produce mainly at subsistence level, 13% are emerging farmers, and only 1% are identified as market oriented producers (DBSA, 1998). Information on production confirms the existence of a dualistic agricultural economy in the Northern Province, with commercial farming contributing 91% to the value of market production in the province (DBSA, 1994).

White commercial farming land in the Northern Province presents the opposite picture of Black small-scale subsistence farming. White commercial farming covers 55,5% of arable land area (Table 2.1) and accommodates only 12% of the population (De Villiers, 1994). At present there is a clear distinction between the ownership and use of land on the one hand, and the demographic profile on the other. This is because most of the land is owned by Whites although Blacks comprise 76% of the population (Urban Foundation, 1991).

With the scrapping of the Land Acts, the exclusive reserve of White ownership of land outside the former homelands came to an end. Nevertheless, only isolated movements of Blacks to previously White-owned farms have taken place through the present land tenure reform programme. The White commercial farms are of medium- to large -scale with an average size of 1 330 hectares. The Act on the Subdivision of Agricultural Land of 1970, which aimed at preventing uneconomic farming units, precluded the emergence of small-scale farming outside the homelands.

In keeping with the normal structural economic changes, the number of commercial farms in South Africa decreased from 120 000 to 62 000 between 1955 and 1990 (RSA, 1991). Despite the relatively small number of commercial farmers, this sector is responsible for 96% of the market value of agricultural production in the Northern Province. During normal production years, this sector is also responsible for a substantial contribution to the exports of the country, which average 8% of the total value of exports. Within the sector, however, wide discrepancies exist, as on average 20% of these farmers produce 80% of the total market value of production (Van Zyl, 1995).

The White commercial farming sector is characterised by mainly private ownership of land with limited renting, a relatively high level of technical skills, and a comprehensive spectrum of support structures from both the private and public sectors (Northern Province, 1995). Due to the acceptance of free market principles and growing financial restrictions, government involvement and assistance have decreased substantially since 1990. Blanket subsidies have been largely replaced by selected financial support to address only specific crisis situations.

2.14 Small-scale farming

The former homelands in the Northern Province have a predominantly rural character (De

Villiers, 1994). In the Northern Province, the official urbanised population in proclaimed towns is estimated only 9% with the functional rate of urbanisation at only 31% (DBSA, 1994). The main characteristics of these areas are the high population densities, low productivity (less than 1% of rural households produce exclusively for the market), widespread poverty, and a large dependence on external employment opportunities (Urban Foundation, 1991).

Although the former homeland administrations were replaced by provincial governments in 1994, little change in the traditional land tenure system has been effected to date. The level of agricultural development in the former homelands has been largely shaped as a consequence of Act 27 of 1913 and Act 18 of 1936 discussed in section 2.2. It has been argued in this study that the motives for the Acts were to support White industrial and farming interests by increasing the supply of black wage labour, reducing Black migration to urban areas, and reducing competition from Black farmers.

With small-scale farmers in the Northern Province, the small size of land holdings compared to high population and low physical yields result in low net returns. To maximise the household's labour return the logical step is to assign members with a low opportunity cost - women, pensioners and children - to agriculture, and those with a higher opportunity cost - the younger and higher skilled males - to external employment (Low, 1986).

According to Low (1986), population growth in rural areas of Southern Africa has effectively reduced average farm size and quality because rural households have an incentive to retain their land rights. At the same time, improvements in expected off-farm wage rates, education and transport raised the same opportunity cost of household labour in farm activities. Low (1986) argues that the net outcomes have been the following:

(i) real growth in the number of wage workers;
(ii) underutilization of arable land despite high population pressure; and
(iii) low food production.

Although these trends are also evident in the Northern Province, the underutilization of arable land is not fully explained by Low's analysis. Lyne (1989) cites similar trends in rural KwaZulu and arrives at a similar conclusion. According to Lyne (1989), Low's model merely draws attention to the fact that many rural households do not have an incentive to farm their arable land intensively. From the literature on market for land, it can be explained that arable land is underutilized because there is no market for land, or size is too small to provide incomes

comparative with selling labour (Lyne, 1989). A second reason is that household heads are not keen to lose land rights, as these rights have traditional connotations in rural communities. The household members left behind must show a visible presence to confirm occupation. According to De Villiers (1995), land rights are therefore "locked in" and not available for transfer.

2.15 Conclusion

In this chapter land tenure reform experiences from East Asia, New Zealand, Botswana and Zimbabwe have been presented. The cases were carefully selected on their similarities and lessons which South Africa can learn.

According to the Department of Land Affairs (1997), the present land reform programme can therefore be described as "necessary for sustainable growth and development in South Africa". The programme is envisaged to help create conditions of stability and certainty both nationally and at the household level. It is presented as a pre-condition for the RDP to succeed. As mentioned earlier, the programme is drawn along the following principles:

(i) land restitution;

(ii) land redistribution and

(iii) land tenure reform.

The government has made substantial progress in laying the foundation for a flexible, needs-based approach to these programmes and ensuring that it facilitates delivery throughout the country. It has been argued that success will however depend upon a wide range of services in support of land reform policies. Complementary working arrangements are required between national departments, various levels of government, and partnerships with the private and non-government sectors. Emphasis should also be placed on the importance of local participation and decision-making, gender equity, economic viability, and environmental sustainability in its implementation programmes.

It is clear from this chapter that certain issues dominate the question of land tenure reform in South Africa. A primary issue will be the question of small-scale subsistence farm production versus large-scale commercial farm production. In the Northern Province, a number of other

land-related questions are also important:

(i) What rights are implicit in property or ownership?

(ii) Which rights are secure and acceptable (e.g. freehold versus CPAs or group tenure) and under which circumstances?

(iii) What kind of land tenure reform or development effort is necessary for the success of land reform?

The socio-economic indicators show that the study area in the Northern Province is a less-developed area - an indication of the rationale for choosing the area for the study. The indicators also show that there are wide socio-economic differences between Blacks in the former homelands and Whites in the non-homeland areas. It is generally accepted that this situation has arisen from development policies of the past, mainly, the land tenure system. In conclusion, it can be fairly contended that the following features characterise the province:

(i) high population growth;

(ii) rural based population;

(iii) concentration of rural population in the former homelands;

(iv) highly skewed racial allocation of agricultural land, and

(v) agricultural resources and production concentrated in the White commercial sector. In the next chapter a more detailed description of the study area will be presented.

CHAPTER 3

BACKGROUND OF THE NORTHERN PROVINCE

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, a description of the Northern Province and the two case studies are presented. The chapter is divided into sections that deal with the veld types, vegetation, population and economic activities in the study areas, followed by a description of the location of the case studies. A detailed discussion of the case studies and the formation of the CPAs and their business plans are also presented, and finally a conclusion summarising reasons why the CPAs were established and the extent to which they have achieved their main goals and the challenges facing them.

3.2 Veld types

According to Acocks (1975), the following different veld types occur within the Northern Province:

(i) Inland tropical forest types (Acocks II), including north-eastern mountain sourveld and Lowveld sour Bushveld types;

(ii) Tropical bush and savannah types (Acocks III), including the Lowveld, arid Lowveld, Springbok Flats turf thornveld, other turf thornveld, arid sweet Bushveld, mopani veld, mixed Bushveld, sourish mixed Bushveld and sour Bushveld types;

(iii) Pure grass types (Acocks IV), including the north-eastern sandy Highveld type; and

(iv) False grassveld types (Acocks VI), including the Pietersburg plateau false grassveld types.

The north-eastern mountain sourveld of the inland tropical forest occurs along the Drackensberg escarpment and Soutpansberg range, with outliers on the higher, wetter parts of the mountains westward to the Waterrberg. Lowveld sour Bushveld covers the eastern slopes and foothills of the Drackensberg mountains. These areas are mainly suited to afforestation and have thus been identified as important water catchment regions. These areas are ecologically sensitive, which implies that the carrying capacity of the veld should not be exceeded. The tropical bush and savanna types, especially the arid Lowveld, arid sweet Bushveld and Mopani veld, cover almost half the province and occur mainly along areas adjacent to its western, northern and eastern boundaries. The carrying capacity of this category varies from 7 hectares per livestock unit

(ha/LSU) in the south-east to 17 ha/LSU in the arid northern part of the province. The central and Southern section of the Northern Province consist of mainly sour and mixed veld types, that is the pure and false grassveld types, with a carrying capacity of between 7 and12ha/LSU.

The general condition of the veld is deteriorating. This can be attributed to an overestimation of its carrying capacity and vulnerability of the different veld types due to environmental factors such as soils, climate and topography, which are not always acknowledged. Present land-use patterns indicate that 78% of the Northern Province could be regarded as suitable grazing land. Cattle farming, therefore, constitutes the main farming activity. Game farming is gaining in popularity and may in time supplement extensive cattle farming.

3.3 Vegetation

Four climatological regions are found in the Northern Province. The far north is an arid region, followed by an arid to semi-arid region in the north, a semi-arid region in the Highveld and a sub-humid region in the Lowveld. These regions have been demarcated according to total annual rainfall and average annual statistics for day and night temperatures (DBSA, 1998).

The arid region is generally frost-free and has an average rainfall of 300-360mm north of the Southpansberg and a mean annual evaporation of 500mm. This is lower than the minimum limit of 800mm set for dryland crop production. The temperature varies between 2,5°C (mean monthly minimum of the coldest month of the year) and 37,5°C (mean monthly maximum of the hottest month of the year). Hail occurs less than 1 day per year on average. Prevailing winds are light to moderate, blowing in a predominantly north-easterly direction and changing to south-westerly during thunderstorm (DBSA, 1998). The arid to semi-arid region is known for its hot climate, especially in the Limpopo and Olifants river valleys, becoming more humid and cooler towards the Waterberg plateau and Soutpansberg.

The semi-arid region, where this study was carried out, includes an area to the east of the Drakensberg escarpment which is mainly frost-free, with frost occurring to the west of the escarpment. It stretches across the north-western section of the Potgietersrus and Pietersburg districts, the Thabamoopo and Makerong districts and the southern portions of the Giyani district. The average rainfall of this region varies from 520-650mm and in the Lowveld portion from 600-720mm, with an annual evaporation of 1 750-2 500mm.

3.4 Population

The Lowveld region in the Northern Province has a population of 1,3 million, the largest of the Northern Province. The largest district in this region are Giyani, with 235 000 people, Bolobedu with 212 000, and Naphuno with 184 000 people. The population density in the Lowveld region is 57,6 people per km^2. The region is predominantly rural, with 90.5% of the population living in non-urban areas as at 1991 (DBSA, 1998).

An important feature of the population in the region is the large proportion of women. Table 3.1 shows that in 1980 the province had 50.1% of females compared with 40.7% males between 15-64 years of age. The figures in 1991 also show the same trend, with 51.5% females and 43.7% males. It has been argued that this is a result of, among other factors, the migrant worker system and is especially prominent in rural areas of the Northern Province.

Another characteristic of the region is the generally high population of the youth. According to the DBSA (1992), between 50.0% and 48.1% of the inhabitants were between 0-14 years of age in 1980 and 1991 respectively (Table 3.1). Several reasons account for the large percentage of children in the non-urban areas of the Lowveld region. It has been argued that children are often left with their mothers and grandparents while their fathers migrate to seek jobs in urban areas. Parents in urban areas often send their children to live with relatives in rural areas where a culture of learning is more prominent and schooling, relatively uninterrupted, cheap and cost of living low.

Table 3.1: Percentage distribution of population in the Northern Province, 1990 and 1998

Population group	1990 (%)	1998 (%)
Total:		
0-14 years	50.0	48.1
15-64 years	45.8	48.0
65+ years	4.1	3.9
Males:		
0-14 years	55.7	53.2
15-64 years	40.7	43.7
65+ years	3.6	3.1
Females:		
0-14 years	45.3	43.8
15-64 years	50.1	51.5
65+ years	4.6	4.7

Source: DBSA, 1998

According to the DBSA (1998) more than half of the rural population in the Lowveld region have not attained more than secondary school level of education and many of the illiterates are the aged and women. Socio-economic indicators in the province shows that in 1993 the pupil-teacher ratio was 35 pupils per teacher, compared with 32 for South Africa (DBSA,1998). In contrast, the ratio in the adjacent central region was 24 pupils per teacher.

3.5 Economic activities

Table 3.2 shows the average annual growth of the gross domestic product (GDP) of the Northern Province by kind of economic activity between 1990 and 1998. The table shows high growth rates in general services (10,3%), followed by mining (5,3%) and energy (4,9%). The GDP is a measure of economic production and it is the total value of all final goods and services produced in the economy in a given period, in this case, between 1990 and 1998. The value of final goods and services produced in a geographic area in one year is known as the gross geographic product (GGP). In 1994 the nominal GGP in the Northern Province amounted to

R13 791,3 million. In real inflation-adjusted terms, the GGP was R9 129 million at 1990 prices. In 1994 the Northern Province contributed 3,6% to the GDP of the country.

In Table 3.3, apart from general services, agriculture tops the list in 1990 and 1998, followed by mining and commerce. Agriculture clearly stands out as one of the main sources of employment in the Northern Province. The Lowveld region has a workforce of approximately 1,3 million people (DBSA,1998). The marginal sector, which comprises mostly blacks, constitutes 6,5% of this workforce. This sector comprises the people in the subsistence agricultural sub-sector who are producing goods and services for own use and all those whose non-market activities contribute to their family's ability to produce goods and services. Table 3.3 shows the contribution of the different sectors to GDP. In all, agriculture, forestry, and fishing contributed the highest (6.1%) to the GDP of the province in 1990, and in 1998 the second highest (7.6%). These figures underscore the importance of the sectors (agriculture, forestry and fishing) to the economy of the province.

An example of the marginal sector activities would include the growing of vegetables for home consumption and for occasional trading of surpluses. People who make a living through subsistence agriculture and produce to survive and women who support these people are not regarded as part of the official labour force because they do not comply with the official definition of the labour force (DBSA, 1998). Nonetheless their work does render services for the market and for their own consumption. The people in the marginal sector are therefore an integral part of the workforce and the labour profile of the Northern Province and should be taken into account in all economic and development planning activities.

Percentages of formally employed by kind of economic activity, in 1990 and 1998 are represented in Table 3.4. Again the agriculture, forestry and fishing employed offered the highest employment (31.3 %) of labour in 1990 followed by services (28.1%). In 1998 however, the services 36.7% of the labour force was employed in services followed by agriculture, forestry and fishing with 21.0%. The conclusion is that a large percentage of the labour force in the province is employed in agriculture, hence development projects like the CPAs should be designed to absorb a large percentage of the labour force.

Table 3.2: Contribution to GDP by kind of economic activity in the Northern Province, 1990 and 1998

Economic activity, 1990 and 1998	1990 (%)	1998 (%)
Agriculture, forestry, fishing	6.1	7.6
Mining, quarrying	3.5	8.7
Manufacturing	0.9	1.1
Energy: electricity, water	0.7	7.0
Construction	2.0	3.3
Commerce: trade, catering	2.0	2.6
Transport, communication	1.5	1.8
Finance, real estate	1.6	1.8
Services	3.5	5.7

Source: DBSA, 1998

Table 3.4 shows the distribution of labour force per sector in 1990 and 1998. Unemployed figures stood at 9.0% in 1990 and rose to 24.0 % in 1998. An indication of rising unemployment figures in the province. According to the DBSA (1998), one of the major consequences of the inability of the economies of provinces to utilise their labour force effectively is the impact it has on the youth portion of the labour force. The lack of sufficient employment opportunities delays the entry of young people into the labour market. This limits their opportunities to gain expertise and to establish themselves effectively within the labour market. This phenomenon could have a severe impact on the effectiveness of future labour forces. Although agriculture is considered to be the major labour absorbing sector in rural areas, the figures in Table 3.2 suggest that this is not the case in the Northern province. Hence the expected contribution of the CPAs was to create employment on the region to reduce the present high unemployment figures.

Table 3.3: Formally employed by kind of economic activity in the Northern Province, 1990 and 1998

Economic activity, 1990 and 1998	1990 (%)	1998 (%)
Agriculture, forestry, fishing	31.3	21.0
Mining, quarrying	12.2	8.7
Manufacturing	6.5	8.0
Energy: electricity, water	0.4	1.0
Construction	4.9	6.9
Commerce: trade, catering	11.8	11.7
Transport, communication	3.4	3.7
Finance, real estate	1.3	2.4
Services	28.1	36.7

Source: DBSA, 1998

Table 3.4: Distribution of labour force per sector in the Northern Province, 1990 and 1998

Economic activity, 1990 and 1998	1990 (%)	1998 (%)
Formally employed	80.5	57.4
Unemployed	9.0	24.0
Active in informal sector	10.5	18.6
Total labour force	100	100

Source: DBSA, 1998

3.6 Location of case studies

Two Community Property Association projects, Marginalised and Marobala, were selected as case studies due to similarities in different socio-economic set-ups. Participants in both projects are land reform beneficiaries. Basic infrastructure and services in the two areas are poor. These projects are situated in the Soekmekaar district in the Lowveld region of the Northern Province.

This region is situated just below the Tropic of Capricorn and forms a small landmass, widening gradually southwards. Its southern and eastern borders are shared with Mpumalanga. The region can be identified with two climatic zones, sub-tropical and temperate, with important variations within these zones. Similar to the Northern Province as a whole, the region is poor when compared with the other regions in the Northern Province (DBSA, 1998). This is reflected in the low human development index discussed later in this chapter. The region has a comparatively large population with potential for further development. However, the population is poorly-educated, impoverished with limited access to basic health facilities. Figure 3.1 shows the study area in the Northern Province.

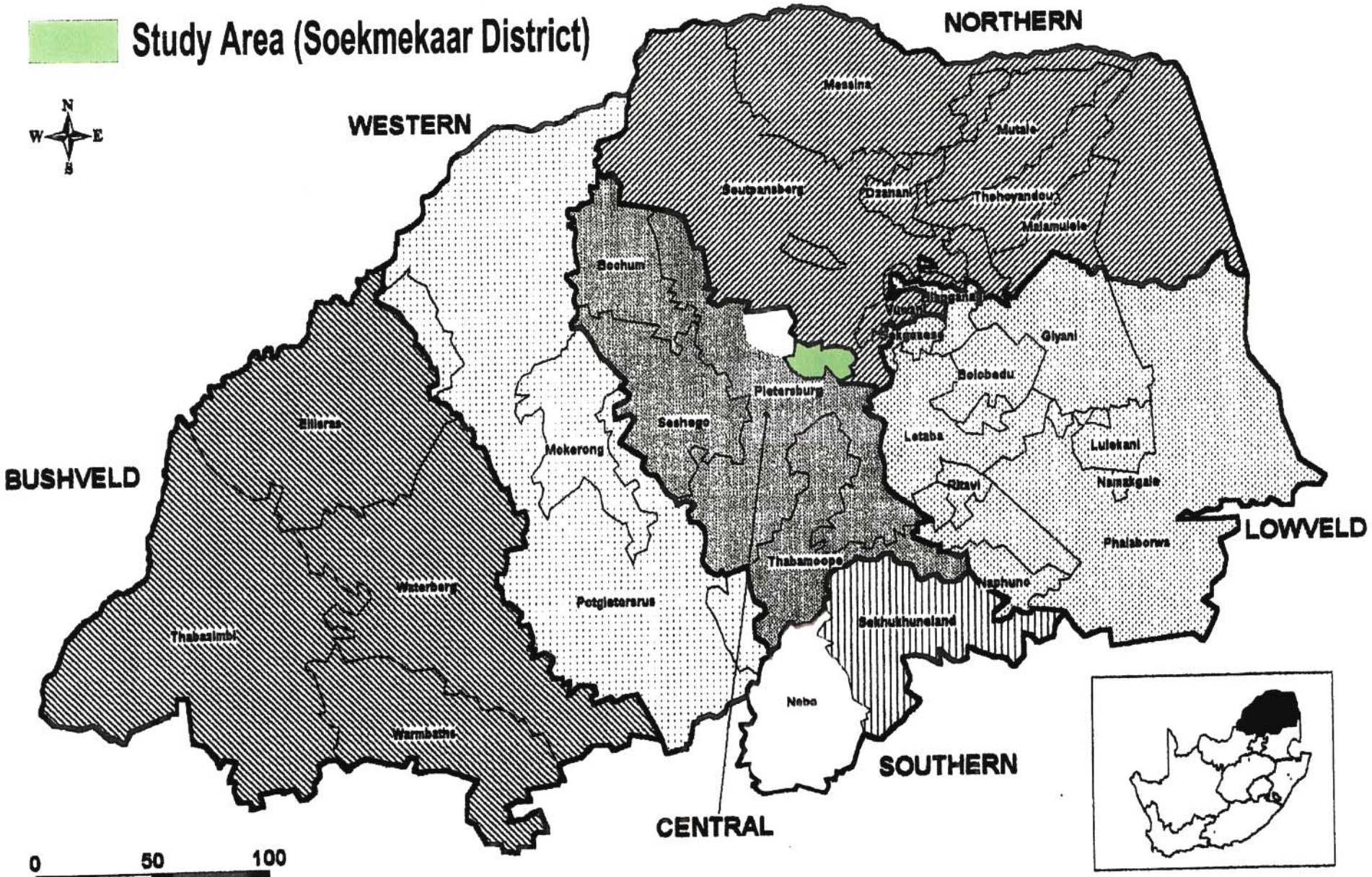

Figure 3.1: Map of the Northern Province showing the study area

3.7 Discussion of case studies

According to Spodley (1980), there are five criteria that can be identified in the selection of a research area. Firstly the research site must allow researchers to move from studying simple situations to those which are more complex. Secondly, accessibility, that is the degree of access and entry that is given to the researcher. Thirdly, impediments, i.e., situations that allow the researcher to take an unhindered role; fourthly, acceptability - situations that allow the researcher free, limited or restricted entry, and fifthly, participation, that is, possibility of researchers participating in series of ongoing activities.

Based on the above criteria, Marginalised and Marobala CPAs in the Soekmekaar district were selected as case studies to evaluate land tenure reform approaches in the Northern Province. These case studies were chosen as they represent a different land tenure arrangement. With CPAs communities are able to have joint ownership of land. Although some research have been carried out on land tenure reform arrangements in these areas, an in-depth evaluation of the land tenure reform approaches is necessary to verify its impact on agriculture and the welfare of the rural poor in the two communities (UNIN, 1998). CPAs in the Northern Province were to bring about expected social and economic development. However, there are negative perceptions about the success of these projects. Although the initial aims and objectives of the projects were simple, they have emerged to be more complex than originally thought.

The second criterion is accessibility. The researcher must be able to easily access entry into the study area. The two case studies selected for the study were easily accessible to the researcher and follow-ups were easy due to the proximity of the areas to the University of the North. Where in doubt, the researcher or any other enumerator could go to the areas to verify data or information given at a low transport cost. The third criterion is the degree of constraints that prevents the researcher from collecting relevant information at the right time from the right people for unbiased analysis. This situation was easily overcome by the fact that the researcher capitalised on the fact that the University of the North, School of Agricultural and Environmental Sciences, was carrying out a training programme during the period of data and information collection, and the researcher could join the team at the appropriate time. The fourth is the acceptability and cooperation of respondents that allow the researcher free and unlimited entry into the community. The researcher had the full cooperation of the respondents and had unlimited entry into the areas because the period for data collection was the planting season and respondents were readily available. Respondents were also used to other visitors

from the University of the North, and the presence of the researcher was not anything different. The fifth is the possibility of the researcher participating in a series of ongoing activities in the area. This was exactly what happened. The researcher fully participated in the ongoing activities of the project. On occasions where farmers were busy planting, the researcher joined in the farming activities. Chambers (1986) contends that for a community to accept a researcher and for the researcher to obtain reliable information, the researcher should be familiar to the community. Respondents are sometimes sceptical about divulging relevant information to "strangers". According to Chambers (1986) the more a researcher becomes familiar with the community the more accurate will be the information collected and the more reliable will also be outcome of the study.

The two study areas could also be regarded as homogeneous in terms of the prevailing socio-economic conditions in the areas, hence the appropriateness of the research methodology employed. Poverty, low levels of education, and infrastructure are common in the areas. The two areas also fall under similar climatical conditions of the Low veld district.

3.8 Formation of the CPAs

According to the DLA (1997) the Community Property Association Act 28 of 1996 enabled communities to form legal associations known as CPAs. The formation of the CPAs was to acquire, hold and manage property an a basis to be agreed by members of the community in terms of written constitutions. The objectives of the CPA Act enable communities to establish appropriate legal institutions. The Act also ensures that the institutions are democratically managed, with no discrimination and accountable to their members. The Act also ensures that members are protected from abuse of power by others members of the CPA. The Act applies where communities get access to land on condition that they form a CPA and where people choose to form a CPA themselves.

Each of the two projects had a business plan that could be used to assess important factors critical for the successful implementation of the project or the extension or change of the project. In each case the business plan was used to arrive on decisions regarding the technical feasibility and economic viability of a project. The plan was used in the planning stage to determine the requirements of the project for land/water, machinery/equipment, physical infrastructure, funding and human resources. The business plans compiled by consultants for the two CPAs are outlined in the next section.

3.9. Business plans of Marginalised and Marobala CPAs

(i) Marginalised CPA

The Marginalised CPA was commissioned by the DLA as part of the empowerment of the previously disadvantaged population in the Northern Province. The CPA was formed out of the concern that the previously disadvantaged population had expressed their dissatisfaction about the underutilisation of land around the Dikgale community, and also a high number of unemployed especially women in the area. According to the business plan, which was prepared for the beneficiaries by consultants appointed by the DLA, the main objectives of the project were to address the immediate need of poverty and to create employment opportunities. The project started in 1998 with 137 beneficiaries but at the time of the survey only 120 were active. Some of the reasons given during the survey for absenteeism of beneficiaries were that the project was not improving their welfare status and also there were some management problems on the part of the project leaders (DLA, 1997).

At the beginning, the executive management committee was made up of 10 members but at the time of the survey only 7 members were active. It was alleged that some of the committee members had resigned due to some misunderstanding among them. Beneficiaries purchased 105 beef cattle at the start of the project, and later sold 25 to raise funds for farm operations. The business plan showed that the CPA farms purely for grazing but vegetable farming was later introduced on the farm. Beef cattle enterprise was proposed in the original business plan but at the moment the farm enterprises consist of livestock and vegetable production. Availability of water for vegetable farming is one of the major problems on the farm. From the business plan, water on the farm was estimated to be only enough for cattle consumption and not for irrigation purposes. The farm consists of 328 ha for both grazing and vegetable farming (UNIN, 1999).

Planned marketing activities included the intention of the CPA to produce only beef cattle for sale. At the time of preparing the business plan, the price of beef cattle was estimated to be high enough to offset the intended production cost and to earn profit. According to the business plan, the turnover from beef cattle was expected to be R 3 500.00, with net income estimated at about R 2 048.00.

According to the business plan, the support from the Department of Agriculture Land and Environment, and Department of Land Affairs, was to be utilised to strengthen the CPA to

become successful. However, the support from these institutions appear not to be forthcoming, hence the total collapse of the CPA (UNIN, 1999).

(ii) Marobala CP

The Marobala project was launched in accordance with the Government's Land Reform Act. According to the business plan, which was also prepared by consultants without the involvement of beneficiaries, the project had the following objectives (NPBS, 1998):

- To provide previously disadvantaged community members with land; and
- To help them to improve their livelihood and financial position (DLA, 1997).

The project started in 1999 with 188 members but only 123 are currently active. Training in basic poultry production, including basic business skills and some aspects of vegetable production was initially provided by the Boskop Agricultural College. Six of the active members are previous employees of the farm. Land was purchased with the grant of R1500.00 per household from the DLA, but the improvement of the livelihoods of beneficiaries seems not to have been achieved as indicated from the results in chapter 4 of this study.

Planned production activities from the business plan included the production of avocados, citrus; and vegetables. However, beneficiaries later introduced cattle farming contrary to the original business plan. Current production activity is poor - feed shortages have resulted in chicken mortalities, avocados trees are not sprayed for diseases, hence production is of poor quality. The group own 34 herds of cattle that are of average quality. Beneficiaries indicated that they wanted cattle farming but were not consulted before the business plan was prepared for them (UNIN, 1999).

From the business plan the local "pick-up" market was envisaged to be very strong and developed to market the produce from the CPA farm. Soekmekaar is nearer Pietersburg than Levubu or Letsitele, and it was intended to draw a large number of formal and informal dealers in the marketing of the produce from the farm. This market was seen as strongly organised, and the whole citrus yield was to be marketed through this channel. Avocados and vegetables were also to be marketed to a greater extent through the same channel.

The business plan proposed that financial support through Land Bank and arrangements for an overdraft from other financial institutions was to serve as additional financial support for the CPA. However, contrary to expectations, project financing from these institutions has been a major problem. Beneficiaries explained that they did not meet the criteria for the granting of

loans and overdrafts, and in cases where they obtained such loans they were either too small or carried high interest rates. Beneficiaries have now turned to borrowing money from money lenders or relatives. The present CPA consists of 25.3 ha crop land, 27.9 ha grazing and 5.1 ha irrigable soil (DLA, 1996).

In the business plan, provision was made for wages of an average R915 per person per month for beneficiaries. This was evaluated in the light of this deficit only occurring at the end of the year, and only for two months. The cash flow projections of the following year showed that this problem was to be solved by the end of the financial year. From that month onwards, the bank balance was to be positive for the rest of the year so that beneficiaries could earn their wages of R915 per month (DLA, 1996).

At the end of each season, the business plan projected that there would be more or less an average of R 177 258 available for investment or distribution amongst beneficiaries. This meant that beneficiaries were to earn R915 per person per month in the first year with the possibility of a bonus of R 2 325 on top of their monthly income of R915 in year two. This calculation was based on an average monthly income of R1109 in year two. In comparison with the current income of R227, this means a 400% improvement for beneficiaries of the project (DLA, 1996).

Due to mismanagement of funds the expected regular monthly income could not be realised. During the survey beneficiaries complained of financial problems that have resulted into lack of commitment on the part of beneficiaries towards the project.

3.10 Conclusion

From the business plans of the two CPAs the projects had all the elements needed for success, but have so far not been seen as successful as they were planned. The formation of the CPAs appears to have developed from a group of people that were aware of the potential of the land they have been staying on for many years. With this in mind, they combined their own skills and explored their capacities. They succeeded in grouping people together that could support each other in their mutual goals of improving their livelihood and economic status. From the business plans, which were mostly prepared without consulting beneficiaries, financial statements indicated that the projects were feasible and economically viable. However, the present situation of the CPAs suggests that the projects are not viable and the welfare status of beneficiaries have not been improved as planned. The following reasons could be advanced to

support the claim that the CPA projects have not been successful:

- financial and technical training for beneficiaries have been absent;
- organisational and managerial problems are prevalent; leaders run the projects as their own properties;
- the projects are facing cash flow problems due to bureaucracy and constraints in acquiring credit from the banks; lack of collateral and financial progress on the projects make it difficult for the projects to secure funds from financial institutions;
- business plans have been prepared without the involvement of beneficiaries, hence planned activities have not been followed ; an indication that the business plans were not realistic; hence expectations have not been achieved.

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION OF THE RESEARCH RESULTS

4.1 Introduction

The results of the hypotheses stated in section 1.5 of this study are presented in this chapter. The results is also discusses in an attempt to answer the research questions posed in section 1.4 of the study. While some of the results may not completely answer the questions, in most cases they suggest further research.

Beneficiaries in the two study areas were grouped into two: those operating under the Marginalised project and those under the Marobala project. In CPAs people do things together. The organisation of the CPAs is the responsibility of the communities. The people work together as a group and share costs and benefits from the projects. In all 200 beneficiaries constituted the cohort of the study. A list of all beneficiaries active in the two projects was obtained from the DLA. Thereafter, 100 beneficiaries were selected randomly from each CPA. From the Marginalised project 100 beneficiaries out of 120 active beneficiaries (83.3%) were randomly selected and from Marobala 100 beneficiaries out of 123 active beneficiaries (81.3%) were selected. The data from the sample beneficiaries were collected through the personal interview method using suitably designed pre-tested schedule/questionnaires for the agricultural year 2000-2001 in May 2001.The raw data collected was captured by direct data-typing of the self-coded and coded responses into a dataset using Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) programme. After basic accumulation, descriptive statistics and appropriate statistical tools were applied to accomplish the objectives of the study. The data was subjected to further statistical analysis.

Descriptive statistics (mean of variables) and cross-tabulation statistics were used to describe the socio-economic variables of beneficiaries. Although an examination of the various row and column percentages in a cross-tabulation is a useful first step in the study of the relationship between two variables, row and column percentages do not allow for quantification or testing of that relationship. For these reasons, it was useful to consider an index that measures the extent of association as well as statistical tests of the hypothesis that there is no association (Norusis, 1994).

The hypothesis that two variables of a cross-tabulation are independent of each other was of interest in this study. Two variables are by definition independent if the probability that a case falls into a given cell is simply the product of the marginal probabilities of the two categories defining the cell (Norusis, 1994). The *Pearson Chi-square statistic* (χ^2) was used to test the hypothesis that the row and column variables are independent. The calculated chi-square was compared with the critical points of the theoretical chi-square distribution to produce an estimate of how likely (or unlikely) this calculated value was, if the two variables were in fact independent. If two variables are independent, the probability that a random sample would result in a chi-square value of at least that magnitude is 0.00001. This probability is also known as the *observed significance level (or P-value)* of the test (Norusis, 1994). In this study, if the probability was small enough ($P < 0.05$ or $P < 0.01$), the hypothesis that the two variables are independent was rejected.

Other variables in the study measured beneficiaries' own rating or perceptions and were therefore qualitative in nature. Consequently, their units of measurements were based on the Likert-type scale of one to five (Behr, 1983:152). In the Likert-type scale, a set of statements is presented, to each of which the subject has to respond with one of the following reactions: *strongly agree, agree, undecided, disagree, strongly disagree*. The categories are allotted weights, of 5, 4, 3, 2, 1 respectively. The multiple responses for each category are presented in percentages.

4.2 Characteristics of beneficiaries

Table 4.1 presents some descriptive statistics of the socio-economic variables of respondents.

Table 4.1: Socio-economic characteristics of beneficiaries

Variable	Marginalised (n=100)	Marobala (n=100)	Overall (n=200)
Gender of respondent			
Females	31.00	64.00	48.0
Males	69.00	36.00	52.00
Average age of respondents	64.95	60.13	62.54
Average number of children	4.02	4.14	4.08
Average no. of household members	5.04	6.20	5.62
Average no. of yrs of farming	2.59	2.41	2.50
Average no. of yrs of education[1]	4.44	3.01	3.73

4.2.1 Age of beneficiaries

Table 4.1 shows that the average age of respondents in the two groups was 62.54 years suggesting that beneficiaries were generally old. By comparison the average age of beneficiaries in Marginalised was 64.95 and 60.13 in Marobala project (Table 4.1). An indication that beneficiaries in Marginalised project are older than Marobala. The results confirm the first hypothesis that socio-economic characteristics of beneficiaries are different from group to group. These results have negative implications for agricultural production in the two selected areas.

According to Fraser (1991) old age especially in developing countries with low capital intensive

[1] Standard 8 level (10 years of education) was chosen as the level of education at which most farmers could read and write.

agricultural sectors tends to have a lowering effect on efficiency of agricultural production. Research also suggests that older people are generally more reluctant to accept innovations than younger ones (Bembridge, 1984; Williams, 1986). In general, conservatism and resistance to change increase with age. This situation may have a negative impact on agricultural production in the two CPAs. Land reform applications alone, in this case, may not be suitable for agricultural production and development, but should be accompanied by the engagement of young and energetic men and women who can withstand labour intensive jobs. These findings suggest that agricultural land in the former homelands, with similar land reform approaches, may also not be used productively if the predominantly old farmers are not replaced by young farmers. According to Bembridge (1984), chronological age may have an impairing effect on physical ability, which is important on family holdings, however, research shows that there is little or no mental deterioration amongst the elderly at least up to 60 years of age (Williams, 1986).

Bembridge (1987) argues that age is one of the most important factors significantly related to agricultural development and shows a positive correlation with knowledge and adoption of technology as well as managerial attributes. Nicholson (1989) asserts that young people may be more adaptable and therefore more willing to try new methods that older people. According to Bembridge (1991) age is considered to influence early adoption of innovation and contends that younger farmers tend to be more innovative than older ones. Age plays an important role in agricultural decision making (Obibuaku, 1981). Research indicates that in most developed countries, age is significantly related to the educational levels of farmers, as well as contacts with mass media, and attitudes towards land tenure reform (Crouch and Chamala, 1981). Crouch and Chamala (1981) argue that the predominance of old people in agriculture may restrict social activities and may adversely affect economic development of farm families. These results suggest that the predominantly old farmers in the study area can be detrimental to agricultural development.

4.2.2 Gender of beneficiaries

The results in Table 4.1 show that there are overall 48% females and 52% males in the two projects. In Marginalised, the results show that there are 31% females compared to 69% males and in Marobala there are 64% females compared with 36% males. The results confirm the first null hypothesis that socio-economic characteristics of beneficiaries are statistically different. The results have significant implications on farming operations in the two areas. Kepe (1992) argues that farming operations in developing countries are gender sensitive. According to Kepe (1992), traditions in communities may result in rigid divisions of labour between males and females. In the study areas, certain kinds of farm operations like weeding, sowing and harvesting are considered a woman's job while livestock management is solely for men. The results suggest that there are more male farming operations in Marginalised project and female operations in Marobala. This was truly the case, since during the survey in the two areas, it was noticed that although cattle and crop production were the two main farming activities in the areas, cattle farming was more predominant and intensive at Marginalised than at Marobala where crop production was rather more intensively cultivated than livestock.

These results confirm the assertion that in households where a man is present, the allocation of agricultural tasks can be highly gender specific, with the man claiming ownership of the resources, for example livestock, whilst the woman has the responsibility of working for the resource (Chambers *et al*, 1989). According to Bembridge (1991), women in rural areas are mostly the major source of labour such as weeding, harvesting, and marketing of crop produce from farming. The female work participation in such types of work on the farm naturally increases when males find part-time jobs away from homes. The importance of women in crop production, and men in livestock production has been observed in numerous studies elsewhere in Southern Africa (Billing, 1978).

The foregoing discussions point to the fact that gender plays an important role in the type of agricultural activities in the CPAs. In general, men are more physically capable of coping with farming practices like livestock rearing than women. Studies indicate that women, even if they are better educated, often need men's help to carry out certain activities in farming (Sokhela,

1990). Besides the physical capability for carrying out physical demanding activities, gender tends to influence the way in which an individual thinks and behaves and is therefore an important determinant of sound judgement in the management of complex agricultural development projects such as livestock production (Dlova, 2001).

It has been observed that in rural areas of southern Africa, the household head (normally the male) has the greatest influence in the decision making process of the household. Whether a certain new agricultural technology will be accepted by the household or not depends much on the attitude of the male household head towards that technology. In rural areas of the Northern Province, men still hold on to the old order that women cannot own or manage livestock production (Letsoalo, 1982). The same situation has been observed in Zimbabwe (Vilfhuizen, 1996).

4.2.3 Educational levels of beneficiaries

Studies indicate that standard 8 level of education, which takes 10 years to complete, is regarded as the level of education at which most rural farmers can read and write (Anim, 1997, Bembridge, 1984). In this study beneficiaries who attained less than Standard 8 level of education were considered to have low education while those who attained higher than Standard 8 level of education were considered to have higher levels of education. Education may be regarded as one of the basic human needs, which in turn, may help to uncover other basic needs and to accelerate overall development. The results of the study show that the overall average number of years of formal education in the two study areas was 3.73 years, which is lower than the accepted minimum level of years of formal education of 10 years at which farmers can read and write. A comparison between the two study areas shows that the average number of years of formal education in Marginalised was 4.44 which is higher than that of Marobala which is 3.01 (Table 4.1) but generally lower than the accepted number of years of education of at least 10 years of formal education. Education plays a very important role in agricultural production. Research suggests that farmers who are educated get more information in the form of written material, such as magazines and newsletters. These farmers tend to be more receptive to new ideas than their uneducated counterparts (Bembridge, 1984). Moreover, education and its relationship to the adoption of new technology has been studied by numerous researchers, most

of whom note a positive correlation (Matthews, 1968). The principal effect of literacy may lead to economic development by motivating the farmer to change from traditional farming system to more modern ones (Blang, 1970).

According to Arnon (1992), low levels of education and training of the agricultural workforce leave the workers particularly vulnerable to the risks of accidents and occupational hazards. For example, illiterate workers cannot follow safety procedures. According to Blang (1970), the effects of education on agricultural productivity can be numerous. Education provides farmers with the basic skills like reading, writing and basic arithmetic, which facilitate the transmission of technical knowledge, and make possible the keeping of farming records. Education can also increase inquisitiveness and thereby improves receptivity to new ideas, opportunities and methods. Values and aspirations can also be changed through education, and thereby strengthens the will to economise and facilitates the adoption of new techniques. Rational decisions can also be improved through education, and make it easier to overcome traditional, social or cultural constraints which hinder progress.

The conclusion is that education is the cornerstone of agricultural development in any society. Panin (1999) argues that education has a relationship with farming progressiveness because there is a positive correlation between education and the adoption of improved practices and hence farming efficiency. A high level of illiteracy can be regarded as a severe constraint to agricultural development.

4.2.4 Household size

In a rural subsistence economy, family size is an important factor in two respects. The larger the family size, the more resources are needed to feed, clothe, house and educate all members. A perhaps a direct opposite view is that the larger the family, the more labour is available to cultivate arable land work outside the area and send remittances to the family. Nevertheless, smaller family sizes are necessary to reduce the pressure on land and to ensure a better future for the individual (Williams, 1986).

The results of this study on household size are presented in Table 4.1. The table shows that the overall average numbers of children and household members in the two communities were 4 and 6 respectively. The results show a comparatively larger family sizes in Marobala, where there were more females (64%). It can be concluded that, the higher the percentage of women, the larger the family sizes in the study areas. The results again confirm the first null hypothesis that the socio-economic characteristics of beneficiaries in the two projects are different. These results have practical implications for the two case studies. In the Marginalised CPA cattle farming is more dominant than crop farming, compared with Marobala where crop farming is rather more dominant than cattle farming. Empirical studies show that women with large families tend to engage in crop farming compared with men who are traditionally noted for livestock farming (Muchena, 1991). Hence, a high percentage of women with large families in Marobala has good implications for crop production, while the presence of more men than women in Marginalised CPA has good implications for livestock farming.

4.2.5 Marital status of beneficiaries

The marital status of respondents is presented in Table 4.2. The results show that the marital status of respondents was not significantly dependent on each other ($P < 0.001$) between the two study areas and confirm the hypothesis that the socio-economic characteristics of beneficiaries are dependent in the two projects. At Marginalised, 81% were married compared with 49% in Marobala. Sokhela (1990) argues that the greater the number of married people in an area, the sounder the decisions which are taken because of shared opinions and organised leadership. Bembridge (1984) regarded a high percentage of *de facto* heads of households being unattached as one of the major constraints to farming efficiency.

Table 4.2: Marital status

Marital status		Name of project		Total
		Marobala	Marginalised	
Married	Count	49	81	130
	%	37.7%	62.3%	100.0%
Single	Count	32	16	48
	%	66.7%	33.3%	100.0%
Widowed	Count	19	3	22
	%	86.4%	13.6%	100.0%
Total	Count	100	100	200
	%	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%

Pearson Chi square = 24.847; df=2 ; P< 0.001 (2-sided)

4.2.6 Occupation of beneficiaries

Table 4.3 shows the different types of occupation of beneficiaries in the two projects. In general, about 45% of beneficiaries in the two areas are wage employed. Comparing the two projects, the percentages suggest that there are more wage employed beneficiaries at Marobala (26.0%) than Marginalised (18.5%), while at Marginalised pensioners are relatively more (24.0%) than any other categories of beneficiaries. From these findings, it is reasonable to conclude that most of the beneficiaries are absentee farmers who live and work far away from the farms and only visit the project during week-ends or holidays. This is most likely to have a negative impact on farm productivity. Absentee farmers will not have enough time to manage the farms. Mismanagement, and subsequently losses are likely to occur which will have a negative impact on the success and sustainability of the projects. According to Bembridge (1987), lack of success in rural development projects can be attributed to the absence of full time farmers. Full time farming can be regarded as a crucial link in the organisation of the farming activities.

Table 4.3: Type of occupation of beneficiaries

Occupation		Name of project		Total
		Marobala	Marginalised	
Farmer	Count	25	15	40
	%	12.5%	7.5%	20.0%
Wage employed	Count	52	37	89
	%	26.0%	18.5%	44.5%
Pensioner	Count	23	48	71
	%	11.5%	24.0%	35.5%
Total	Count	100	100	200
	%	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%

Pearson Chi square = 13.831; df=2; P< 0.001 (2-sided)

4.3 Input purchases

The main markets from where beneficiaries purchase their farming inputs are presented in Table 4.4. Analysis of the overall sample size of 200, suggests that farmers purchase their farm inputs mainly from local retailers (52.5%). In both Marobala and Marginalised similar observations occur i.e. farmers purchase their farm inputs mainly from local retailers. The results confirm the second hypothesis that beneficiaries purchase their farm inputs mainly from local retailers. The results have implications for financial costs in farming in the two areas. Coetzee and Vink (1991) suggest that an important element in agricultural production is a system whereby the farmer can purchase inputs necessary for the production process at low prices. The places where these inputs are purchased determine the prices for the inputs. In general, prices at local retailers are higher than in towns and cities due to added transport and other overhead costs to the prices in towns and cities. Since farmers usually lack means of transport to travel and purchase these inputs in large towns and cities outside the farming areas, they are sometimes compelled to purchase from local retailers at high prices, and carry financial costs over the whole production period. Studies by Dunkhorst *et al.*, (1999) in the Arabie-Olifant irrigation scheme on small-scale farmers indicate that prices of input purchases such as fertiliser, seed

etc., from local retailers are higher that from wholesalers or co-operatives in the urban centres which are far from the farming areas. The results from this study suggest that farmers in the study area are most likely to incur high production costs, with resulting reduced net farm income, since most farmers purchase their farming inputs from local retailers.

Table 4.4: Farm input purchases

Purchase of inputs		Name of project		Total
		Marobala	Marginalised	
Local wholesalers	Count	14	11	25
	%	7.0%	5.5%	12.5%
Regional wholesalers	Count	13	16	29
	%	6.5%	8.0%	14.5%
Local retailers	Count	49	56	105
	%	24.5%	28.0%	52.5%
Regional retailers	Count	24	17	41
	%	12.0%	8.5%	20.5%
Total	Count	100	100	200
	%	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%

Pearson Chi square = 2.332; df=3; P< 0.506 (2-sided)

4.4 Impact of tenure reform approaches on agriculture

Beneficiaries were asked to what extent their farming activities would have been affected by land tenure reform approaches. Their responses are presented in Table 4.5. Out of a total of 200 respondents, 43.0% indicated that their farming operations had not changed with or without the present land tenure reform approaches. Comparing responses from the two CPAs, similar opinions were expressed, i.e. agricultural farming practices have remained the same before 1998 when the CPAs were formed, and after 1988 to date when the land tenure reform approaches in the areas were introduced. The significance chi-square test indicates that the responses

between the two groups are not dependent ($P < 0.621$; 2-sided). The results confirm the third hypothesis that the present land tenure reform arrangements have had very little or no impact on agriculture and suggest that farmers in the area are not aware of the full benefits (if any) of land tenure reform approaches initiated by the government through the DLA Land tenure reform in South Africa and elsewhere is a complex process which involves interests in land and the form that these interests should take (Anim, 1997). In South Africa, land tenure reform is intended to address difficult problems faced by interest groups in obtaining land for farming and other purposes created in the past. It has been suggested that the solutions to these problems may entail new systems of land holding, land rights and forms of ownership, and may hence have far-reaching implications for farmers (DLA, 1996). For these reasons policy in respect of tenure reform has to be developed with extreme care. In order to ensure this, a two-year period was set out by the government for consultation on tenure policy, for the implementation of test cases and for the preparation of legislation. A separate Green Paper on Land Tenure Policy, which outlines the principles guiding the policy development process and the programme of action to be undertaken, was released by the government at the end of 1997 (DLA, 1999).

Benefits from land tenure reform which farmers in the study area may not be aware include:

- movement towards rights and away from permits, e.g. the PTOs;
- building of a unitary non-racial system of land rights for all South Africans; and
- allowing people to choose the tenure system which is appropriate to their circumstances.

One of the reasons that forces farmers in rural areas to abandon their land holdings and migrate to urban areas is the prevalent small size of their plots. This is a major problem especially to farmers who solely depend on agriculture for their livelihood. Mini (1995) states that the arable land holdings in rural areas of South Africa are too small to produce enough food to justify the costs of inputs. The results of the study suggest that the present land tenure reform approaches have not had any significant effect on agricultural activities in the study area and again confirms the third null hypothesis set out to be tested in this study.

Table 4.5: Responses on the impact of tenure reform approaches

Impact of tenure reform approaches		Name of project		Total
		Marobala	Marginalised	
Much affected	Count	26	30	56
	%	13.0%	15.0%	28.0%
Less affected	Count	42	44	86
	%	21.0%	22.0%	43.0%
Not affected	Count	32	26	58
	%	16.0%	13.0%	29.0%
Total	Count	100	100	200
	%	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%

Pearson Chi square = 0.953; df=2 ; P< 0.621 (2-sided)

4.5 Access to land for farming purposes

Responses to the method of accessing land for development projects in the communities by beneficiaries are presented in Table 4.6. The results indicate that beneficiaries support access to land for development projects determined or controlled by the government and confirms the fourth hypothesis forwarded to be tested. Out of the 200 respondents from the two areas, only 15.0% indicated that chiefs or headmen should have control of the distribution of land compared with 32.5% who indicated that access to land should be determined by the government. The result has positive implications for access to land for development projects in the area. Studies from elsewhere in southern Africa suggest that chiefs are normally reluctant to allow development projects to take off in their area since the land and the projects eventually become state property, and a continuation of such developments diminishes the size of land under their jurisdiction (Solinjani, 1986). Tribal leaders (chiefs and headmen) dominate rural socio-political life and in many cases have a restrictive influence on land allocation for agricultural and rural development (Bembridge, 1987).

Table 4.6: Access to land for farming purposes

Access to land		Name of project		Total
		Marobala	Marginalised	
Chief/Headman	Count	12	18	30
	%	6.0%	9.0%	15.0%
Community	Count	27	31	58
	%	13.5%	15.5%	29.0%
Individuals	Count	29	18	47
	%	14.5%	9.0%	23.5%
Government	Count	32	33	65
%		16.0%	16.5%	32.5%
Total	Count	100	100	200
	%	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%

Pearson Chi square = 4.066; df=3; P< 0.254 (2-sided)

4.6 Access to water for farming

Beneficiaries were asked if they had access to water for farming purposes. Their responses are presented in Table 4.7 below. In all, as high as 67.0% indicated that they do not have access to water, while 33.0% indicated that yes, they have. The results have negative implications on agricultural production, and also suggest that land reform approaches should take into account the availability of access to water when redistributing land for farming purposes. The main farming activities in the two study areas are crop and livestock farming, and access to water, especially irrigation water, is essential for the success of the two projects. The business plan for Marginalised CPA indicated that water on the farm was estimated to be only enough for cattle consumption and not for irrigation purposes and at Marobala CPA the production of avocados, citrus and vegetables contained in the business plan implied that there was enough water available for crop production. The results of the study however suggest that in both CPAs access

to water for farming purposes (crop and livestock) is a major constraint. This finding has negative implications on farming activities in the area with the resulting negative impact on family incomes.

Table 4.7: Access to water for farming purposes

Access to water for farming		Name of project		Total
		Marobala	Marginalised	
No	Count	59	75	134
	%	29.5%	37.5%	67.0%
Yes	Count	41	25	66
	%	20.5%	12.5%	33.0%
Total	Count	100	100	200
	%	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%

Pearson Chi square = 5.789; df=1; P< 0.016 (2-sided)

Water is an essential production factor in both crop and animal production. In areas where natural rainfall is not sufficient, irrigation water is often the major source of water for agricultural production. It has been argued that irrigated agriculture is considered the best method to embark upon large-scale agricultural production to alleviate food shortage in sub-Saharan Africa. The availability and cost of obtaining water for farming purposes is of a major economic concern (Dlova, 2001).

Access to water for farming purposes is a major constraint on crop and livestock production in rural areas. De Lange (1991) states that availability of water during acute dry spells could increase year-round crop and livestock production, with a concomitant impact on food security.

4.7 Access to credit for farming

In Table 4.8, the responses of beneficiaries to access to credit are presented. The results show

that 56.0% of respondents from the study area do not have access to credit for farming. In both Marobala and Marginalised the response is similar - more farmers do not have access to credit compared to those who have access to credit. A plausible explanation may be that beneficiaries do not meet the requirements of credit institutions or the interest rates on loans may be too high.

According to Bratton (1986) if rural development is to be accorded a high priority by individual governments, it follows that farmers should have access to adequate and consistent financial resources. Financial markets are institutions central to the lives of rural people, hence, they should be flexible in their operations in such a way that access to credit by farmers should not be a constraint. Credit is a necessary aid to the adoption of new and improved technological innovation, hence, it should not be difficult to access by emerging farmers. A cornerstone of rural development is that farmers themselves should contribute to local rural development projects in terms of cash, labour and materials. For sustained development, financial assistance should be provided only to reinforce local financial resources to specific projects. In many rural areas like the Northern Province, there are no organised credit facilities. Rural families often have to rely on an extended family system to obtain credit.

An important element in agricultural production is a system whereby farmers obtain inputs that are necessary for the production process timely and use them efficiently. The manner of obtaining these inputs is important as farmers usually lack the means of purchasing inputs, hence carry financial costs over the whole production period. Provision of credit therefore becomes an important factor in agricultural production. According to Coetzee and Vink (1991) small-scale farmers in South Africa have a problem of administration of credit programmes. Lack of collateral in the form of fixed property, or other security for loans is an impediment for obtaining credit from financial institutions. Different proposals have been put forward to overcome this problem, including land for schemes such as CPAs, and land for the whole tribe or defined groups of farmers collectively. However, these proposals have posed problems such as the distribution of loan payments to individuals, and the foreclosure of loans. An important aspect which is important is that farmers in rural areas do not rate opportunities of a given investment prospect in terms of its costs and benefits in a growing season. Hence, loans must be granted under conditions which fit a particular cultural and institutional mix of the area (Coetzee and Vink, 1991).

Access to credit facilities for farming purposes is one of the key factors constraining agricultural production in rural areas. It has been stated that providing credit and finance to small-scale farmers is a major issue in developing economies of the world. In the study area farmers indicated that they do not have any advice on how to invest certain percentage of their profits from sales of their produce for the coming season. Extension officers could train farmers in basic book-keeping and bank investment to help them plan for the future.

Table 4.8: Access to credit for farming purposes

Access to credit for farming		Name of project		Total
		Marobala	Marginalised	
No	Count	60	52	112
	%	30.0%	26.0%	56.0%
Yes	Count	40	48	88
	%	20.0%	24.0%	44.0%
Total	Count	100	100	200
	%	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%

Pearson Chi square = 1.299; df=1 ; P< 0.254 (2-sided)

4.8 Access to extension services

Information in Table 4.9 presents the responses of farmers when they were asked if they had received any advice or other services from extension officers during the past season. The responses recorded indicate that 69.5% had received advice or other services at least three times during the growing season, and that these services have been effective. These results have good implications for agricultural production in the area. The results also suggest that officers from the Department of Agriculture Land and Environment and Department of Land Affairs visit these farmers.

Provision of information to small-scale farmers in rural areas is vital to the improvement of agricultural production. The role of extension officers providing information to farmers is

mostly educational. They are expected to provide or disseminate information to farmers free of charge in the study area. Other important services expected of these officers are the provision of institutional support and facilitation of the needs of farmer support centres. According to Fraser (1991), the provision of extension services to farmers in developing areas is of paramount importance in their isolated areas. Farmers require these services to become aware of innovations in production methods as well as improving their knowledge in marketing channels for the sale of their produce.

Table 4.9: Access to extension services

Access to extension services		Name of project		Total
		Marobala	Marginalised	
No	Count	25	36	61
	%	12.5%	18.0%	30.5%
Yes	Count	75	64	139
	%	37.5%	32.0%	69.5%
Total	Count	100	100	200
	%	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%

Pearson Chi square = 1.299; df=1; P< 0.254 (2-sided)

An efficient extension service is a prerequisite to the upliftment of rural communities (Groenewald, *et al.,* 1992). Extension officers are necessary in order to link small-scale farmers to agricultural institutions for new technologies and marketing information. Singini and van Rooyen (1995) state that low effectiveness of extension services in rural areas is as a result of the unavailability of qualified field officers and the absence of job specific training to deliver services effectively. This is further aggravated by the lack of motivation, mobility, management, supervision, support and operational policies. The above results support the fifth hypothesis that beneficiaries do not have access to enough land and water for farming and other services including credit and extension.

4.9 Training and farm management

A farm manager is a person who is willing to accept the responsibility for change and become the catalyst for action. Management is defined as "the art of successfully pursuing desired results with the resources available to the organisation". Management can be regarded as a wheel, with the manager as the hub (Osburn and Schneeberger, 1983). A good manager will develop those qualities of direction and leadership that will help subordinates to succeed and to derive satisfaction from their work. Farm management involves those activities on the farm relating to the organisation and operation of the farm for the attainment of specific ends. Hence, areas of management will include technical activities, commercial activities, financial activities, and accounting activities (Van Zyl *et al.*, 1999).

Notwithstanding the importance of management discussed above, the results presented in Table 4.10 show that 88.5% of the total 200 respondents (both men an women) from the two CPAs indicated that they have received no formal training in farm management. The same trend is observed in Marobala and Marginalised. In Marobala 40.5% of beneficiaries indicated that they had received no formal training in farm management, while only 9.5% indicated that they had received training. In Marginalised, 48.0% responded that they had received training while only 2.0% indicated that they had. The results confirm the sixth hypothesis that beneficiaries do not have enough formal training in farm management to manage their CPAs. These results have negative implications on the success of these CPA projects in the study area. Sigh (2001) states that the success of any development project, to some extent, depends on the quality of people associated with its implementation an execution. The quality of people directly depends on the formal and informal training imparted to them. Training is therefore an essential tool to motivate, influence, and reinvigorate members of an organisation for their support to achieve organisational goals. According to Sigh (2001) training (formal or informal) develops individual skills and improves the overall performance of trainee, which helps the organisation to work more effectively.

Since the inception of CPAs in the Northern Province, training in farm management has hardly been given any serious thought by researchers and policy makers, probably because the word

"management" was not considered even remotely connected to any aspect of rural development. Since now all the CPAs in rural areas of the Northern Province are to be executed by beneficiaries at different levels, the knowledge of farm management functions, tools, and techniques and their application becomes essential for CPAs functionaries. This will enhance the CPA effectiveness and make optimum utilisation of available resources, land labour and capital, for attaining the pre-determined goals such as employment and income generation, land tenure reforms, agricultural development, social welfare and empowerment of women in agriculture. The application of management, which means the process of planning, organising, leading and controlling of human and physical resources for achieving the predetermined goals in CPAs functions is needed. A review of the failure of a number of rural development projects in rural areas points out the inadequacy of requisite management tools, techniques, and skills in the planning and implementation of these projects. Sigh (2001) identifies three gaps, namely lack of adequate management analysis in the planning and implementation process, insufficient management competence, and short supply of professional rural managers to manage rural projects, institutions and organisations and rural development programmes and projects at all levels.

Table 4.10: Formal training in farm management

Beneficiaries who have received formal training in farm management		Name of project		Total
		Marobala	Marginalised	
No	Count	81	96	177
	%	40.5%	48.0%	88.5%
Yes	Count	19	4	23
	%	9.5%	2.0%	11.5%
Total	Count	100	100	200
	%	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%

Pearson Chi square = 11.054; df=1; P< 0.001 (2-sided)

4.10 Marketing of produce

Information on the marketing of produce from the two communities is presented in Table 4.11. The results suggest that most farmers (57.0%), sell their produce on the local markets, and a few (1.0%) outside the country. The results confirm the hypothesis forwarded that beneficiaries sell their produce mostly on the local market and a few outside the country. According to Groenewald (1993), the extent of marketable surplus that is extracted from agriculture will depend on system variables such as government taxation and price policies, and the nature of marketing arrangements, the land tenure system and the human factor. While an efficient market structure will not guarantee that all farmers will increase production, the contention is that the absence of such a structure can be detrimental to individual incentive (Groenewald, 1993). According to Bembridge (1984), marketing is crucial to accelerating the transaction from subsistence to cash economy. An efficient marketing sector is necessary to perform functions in order to achieve economic development. Marketing channels, however, have to be developed and adapted to meet the characteristics of agricultural production in rural areas.

The marketing of produce is just as important to farmers in the small-scale sector as it is to commercial farmers (Fraser, 1991). Market information facilitates the smooth and efficient operations of the marketing system. Lele (1975) pointed out that inadequate and unreliable information or insufficient information throughout the marketing system is a basic cause of unequal bargaining power, poor producer prices and low level of inter-market price agreement. Inadequate information or insufficient information of the market condition is seen as a characteristic weakness of marketing in less developed countries.

Table 4.11: Marketing of produce

Markets for the sale of produce		Name of project		Total
		Marobala	Marginalised	
Local	Count	49	65	114
	%	24.5%	32.5%	57.0%
National	Count	22	11	33
	%	11.0%	5.5%	16.5%
Regional	Count	28	23	51
	%	14.0%	11.5%	25.5%
International	Count	1	1	2
	%	0.5%	0.5%	1.0%
Total	Count	100	100	200
	%	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%

Pearson Chi square = 6.402; df=3 ; P< 0.094 (2-sided)

Fraser (1991) states that there are reasons for this situation. These include the large number of small-scale producers, inefficient communication systems, poor education and administrative problems of organising the collection and dissemination of prices and other market information in such an environment. Small-scale farmers may have difficulties in obtaining market information, and that which is available may not always be reliable. According to Fraser (1991) an improved information system would provide better knowledge of alternative prices, and could strengthen farmers bargaining position *vis a vis* the buyers.

4.11 Marketing constraints

The major marketing constraints facing farmers in the study area are indicated in Table 4.12. In all 43.5% indicated the sale of produce as a major constraint, followed by institutional constraints (25.0%), production quantity and quality (23.0%), policies, such as conditions of

entry (4.5%), and finally programmes such as timing and frequency of marketing (4.0%). The results confirm the hypothesis that beneficiaries have marketing constraints facing them in the marketing of their produce. These findings have negative implication for the marketing of produce from the CPAs.

Agricultural marketing is an important aspect of rural enterprise. Its intervention is crucial to the overall production system as an efficient marketing system that usually affects consumers and producers. In this study absence of grading was identified as one of the key factors affecting the marketing of produce by farmers. The absence of grading affected the quality of produce offered for sale on the market. Hence farmers could not compete on the national, regional or international markets. According to Carman (1997), grades and standards provide a structure for improving the flow of information in commodity markets by reducing costs, extending the physical boundaries of markets and increasing both economic and productive efficiency.

The apartheid spatial divisions in South Africa were a costly legacy, isolating many communities geographically, socially and economically (DLA, 1997). Most citizens ended up in economically marginalised areas from which the drivers of modern economy were selected to work in central places. Marketing constraints inhibited production. Remote services and administration raised the costs of daily life. The rural poor became dependent upon the central modern economy for work and pensions which in turn, they helped to build with their labour and their spending in towns. At present, the central issue for the economy is how to reintegrate those areas where most people are now trapped as economic prisoners. Re-integration is urgently needed to raise their standard of living. New life can be injected into these impoverished communities with the establishment of regular markets, moving from place to place according to fixed quota. Periodic markets are traditional in most countries and have, more recently, been promoted with good results in Kenya and Zimbabwe and more recently in South Africa. Regional Markets Societies are emerging under the auspices of the Market Society, a national member-driven body that works with member communities, local government, representative bodies like farmers associations, government departments such as Health and Agriculture, business, banks and NGOs to design, build and run rings of markets (DLA, 1997).

Table 4.12: Marketing constraints

Constraints in the marketing of produce		Name of project		Total
		Marobala	Marginalised	
Production	Count	21	25	46
	%	10.5%	12.5%	23.0%
Selling	Count	47	40	87
	%	23.5%	20.0%	43.5%
Institutional	Count	25	25	50
	%	12.5%	12.5%	25.0%
Policies	Count	4	5	9
	%	2.0%	2.5%	4.5%
Programmes	Count	3	5	8
	%	1.5%	2.5%	4.0%
Total	Count	100	100	200
	%	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%

Pearson Chi square = 1.522; df=4 ; P< 0.823 (2-sided)

4.12 Perceptions of land reform beneficiaries

In the literature one often encounters opinions regarding attitudes and perceptions of small-scale farmers (Fényes, 1982). In few cases have such opinions been substantiated by actual opinion surveys. In South Africa, the government's land tenure reform programme is "to extend security of tenure to all South Africans under diverse forms of tenure" (DLA, 1996). While this policy is meant to strengthen tenure security within a framework of diverse land tenure reform approaches, it recognises that tenure security and farm productivity will be achieved under a variety of tenure systems (DLA, 1996). Of fundamental importance is the right of communities to express their own preferences for the type of land tenure reform approaches by which they wish to operate. In this context, this study aims to establish the opinions of land reform beneficiaries operating on CPAs and their options for the present land tenure reform approaches by the government. The results are used to indicate the preferred land tenure arrangement that can be used to guide the implementation of the present land tenure reform programmes.

4.12.1 Involvement of women in farming

The results of the data analysed on the gender composition in Table 4.1 indicate a total of 48 women beneficiaries and 52 male beneficiaries. The opinion of beneficiaries on whether women should be involved in agriculture is presented in Table 4.13. The results show mixed responses amongst respondents and confirm the hypothesis put forward for testing in the study that there are mixed feelings among beneficiaries as to whether women should be involved in farming in the study area. This is confirmed by the fact that while 30.0% agree that women should be involved in farming, 25.0% strongly disagree, and 28.0% undecided. A small percentage (13.0%) disagree and 3.5% strongly disagree. With the remaining beneficiaries, 13.5% disagreed, and only 3.5% strongly disagreed that women should be involved in farming. The results of the Pearson Chi square test indicated that the observed percentages were not significantly different from the expected.

It has been argued that women's general lack of control of land for agricultural purposes is central to their social, economic and political position in society (Ruttan, 1969). The importance of agriculture with regard to the political economy of class relations is well understood, but the relationship between control over land for agricultural purposes and economic and political power has been neglected in the political economy of gender relations. In general, the results from the study suggest that 30.0% of respondents agree that women should be involved in farming. Land tenure reform should therefore help to transform the gender power relations, because of the economic and political importance of the control of land for farming. Any vision of gender equality with respect to land tenure reform issues must therefore incorporate both men and women's rights to land. In addition to rights to land, it must take into account both men and women's different interests in farming.

Table 4.13: Involvement of women in farming

Opinion on the involvement of women in farming		Name of project		Total
		Marobala	Marginalised	
Strongly agree	Count	25	25	50
	%	12.5%	12.5%	25.0%
Agree	Count	34	26	60
	%	17.0%	13.0%	30.0%
Undecided	Count	26	30	56
	%	13.0%	15.0%	28.0%
Disagree	Count	12	15	27
	%	6.0%	7.5%	13.5%
Strongly disagree	Count	3	4	7
	%	1.5%	2.0%	3.5%
Total	Count	100	100	200
	%	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%

Pearson Chi square = 1.299; df=1 ; P< 0.254 (2-sided)

Sub-Saharan Africa has been described as the region of female farming par excellence (Boserup, 1970). An examination of the anthropological and economic history of the colonial period reveals that women were major food providers and participants in the labour force within the communal mode of production (Arrighi, 1967). According to Weinrich (1979) Shona women carried out most of the regular agricultural work and so produced the largest component of the food in the former Rhodesia. The extent of women's involvement varied by agricultural task, variety of crops grown and labour requirements.

The emerging picture from this study is that women's role as food producers in rural areas of South Africa has been ignored. This role was ignored during the colonial era and it has also been given little recognition since the new dispensation in 1994. Women food producers continue to operate under inherent social and institutional constraints within the Northern Province. There is an apparent need for a paradigm shift to recognise women's agricultural activities, which are often clouded by women-only or farm-family approach. It is argued that gender disaggregated data provides a more accurate base for policy planning and implementation

to achieve economic viability for rural population in general and women in particular. Research to provide up-to-date data for gender-sensitive agricultural sector planning is currently needed in South Africa's land tenure reform planning.

4.12.2 Land tenure reform and commercial agriculture

Respondents were asked whether the present land tenure reform approach provides incentives for commercial agricultural production. The results are presented in Table 4.14. In general, only 31.5% of the total of 200 respondents said they agreed to the statement. The low percentage confirms the hypothesis that farmers or beneficiaries are of the opinion that the present land tenure reform approaches do not provide incentives for commercial agricultural production. This outcome can be explained by the fact that most of the farmers have joined the CPAs not more than five years ago and are still not sure about the effect of the tenure reform approaches on commercial production in terms of security of tenure. Among the rest of the beneficiaries, 18.5% strongly agreed, 24.0% undecided, 20.5% disagreed and only 5.5% strongly disagreed. The results have negative implications on the success of the CPAs in the province.

There has been much debate about the merits and demerits of land tenure reform on private ownership for commercial agriculture and communal ownership of land also for commercial agriculture (DLA, 1997). This debate has tended to be ideological and has created a false dichotomy. There is a generally high degree of individual land rights within communal systems and much "privately" owned land is in fact owned by the large companies as opposed to individuals. Furthermore, there is no conclusive empirical evidence from Africa that private ownership of land is a variable in increasing agricultural productivity. On the contrary, other factors such as access to markets, credit and quality and quantity of land are more important. There are advantages and disadvantages to both communal and individual ownership of land. Communal systems provide free or cheap access to land to the poor. The social structure that goes with communal ownership also provides an important survival safety net function to the poor, as does the fact that the land cannot be sold to raise cash in emergencies of foreclosed for debt. In South Africa, rules of the group that are applied in communal areas have also managed to keep land less crowded than in comparable individually owned black freehold areas.

Table 4.14: Land reform approaches and commercial agricultural production

Present land tenure reform approaches provide incentives for commercial agricultural production		Name of project		Total
		Marobala	Marginalised	
Strongly agree	Count	16	21	37
	%	8.0%	10.5%	18.5%
Agree	Count	37	26	63
	%	18.5%	13.0%	31.5%
Undecided	Count	24	24	48
	%	12.0%	12.0%	24.0%
Disagree	Count	15	26	41
	%	7.5%	13.0%	20.5%
Strongly disagree	Count	8	3	11
	%	4.0%	1.5%	5.5%
Total	Count	100	100	200
	%	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%

Pearson Chi square = 7.820; df=4 ; P< 0.098 (2-sided)

In areas nearer to towns or where people are producing for the market there have been major changes towards private ownership of land with an active land market emerging. This appears to be inevitable trend under certain circumstances and one that should be afforded the protection of law and stable administrative systems. The challenge appears to be to ensure for variety, flexibility and change over time.

It is crucial that different land tenure reform options be developed so that people are in a position to make informed choices. The delicate issue of finding the balance between communal and individual rights which are appropriate to ever changing social and economic circumstance can best be taken by the people affected. The guiding principle is that decisions must be taken by the rightful owners in a democratic process so that the interests of a minority cannot lead to dispossession of the rights of others (DLA, 1997).

4.12.3 Land tenure reform and family income

Respondents were asked whether in their opinion, present land tenure reform approach improves family income. Their responses are presented in Table 4.15. From the table, those who agreed that the present land reform approaches improve family income were 31.5%, while 24.0% were undecided. The low percentages suggest that many beneficiaries do not consider the present land reform approaches as a solution to their present low levels of family income and confirms the hypothesis put forward for testing in this study. The results also show that 18.5% strongly agreed, 20.5% disagree and only 5.5% strongly disagree that present land reform approaches improve family income.

Household income is the most crucial variable in rural livelihoods in two respects. Firstly, income is a measure of relative material well being. Secondly, income reflects the degree of dependence on farm and non-farm resources within any given family (Bembridge, 1987). According to Bembridge (1987), the poverty datum line is defined as income required to satisfy the minimum needs of a family of a given size or composition, within a defined environment, in a condition of basic physical health and social decency. The most striking fact about household incomes is the insignificant proportion of income derived from agriculture (De Lange, 1991).

One of the most essential roles of land tenure reform approaches is to ensure a secure source of family income for the purchase of basic needs for the household. As a lower income group, the rural population is inclined to spend a high percentage of their farm income on food. It is therefore crucial that South Africa should maintain a competitive agricultural sector that is able to meet the growing demands for competitiveness to attract high prices for agricultural produce. The majority of the poor in Africa is involved in subsistence agriculture. An increase in productivity of the production of staple food crops with surplus for the market, would be one direct way of increasing family income of these households as well as increasing the capita availability of staples. The increased availability of staples could also release resources that could be used to purchase other foodstuffs for a better balanced diet and thereby contributing

to the improvement of the nutritional status of households. According to Crause *et al.* (1982) the present relatively little family income in rural areas of South Africa is generated from industry to pay for food imports.

Table 4.15: Land reform approaches and family income

Present land reform approaches improve family incomes		Name of project		Total
		Marobala	Marginalised	
Strongly agree	Count	16	21	37
	%	8.0%	10.5%	18.5%
Agree	Count	37	26	63
	%	18.5%	13.0%	31.5%
Undecided	Count	24	24	48
	%	12.0%	12.0%	24.0%
Disagree	Count	15	26	41
	%	7.5%	13.0%	20.5%
Strongly disagree	Count	8	3	11
	%	4.0%	1.5%	5.5%
Total	Count	100	100	200
	%	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%

Pearson Chi square = 7.820; df=4 ; P< 0.098 (2-sided)

At household and natural resource management level, the most important assets in terms of rural livelihoods appeared to be related to human resources, namely, income from state transfers such as old age pensions. According to Ntshona (1997), the presence of large numbers of elderly people is a key asset in terms of rural incomes. Most households in rural South Africa solely depend upon government grants offered to the aged and mentally and physically disabled. This money is sometimes not adequate to even meet all the basic necessities of life. Small-scale farmers are characterised by having multi sources of income. The non-farm sources of income are usually more important than agriculture. Therefore, it can be concluded that the problem of hunger is not a shortage of available food, but a shortage of available income amongst the disadvantaged rural farmers (Bembridge, 1987). This assertion is in line with the results of this study where only 35.5% of 200 respondents agree that land tenure reform approaches improve family income.

4.12.4 Land tenure reform and services for commercial farming

The results of beneficiaries' responses on present land tenure reform and services for commercial farming presented in Table 4.16 suggest that few beneficiaries (26.5%) agreed that present land tenure reform in the former homelands do provide incentives for the provision of support services for commercial farming. Closer to this group were those who were undecided (31.5%), suggesting that while few did not agree, a comparatively larger percentage were undecided. Among the rest of the groups, 18.0% strongly disagreed, 15.0% disagreed and only 9.0% strongly disagreed.

Comparative international research notes that smaller sized agricultural units are often farmed more intensively, and more labour absorbing (Schultz, 1965). There are over hundred thousand small scale and subsistence farmers in South Africa who could be assisted by land tenure reform to expand their land resource base through purchase or lease and produce agricultural commodities on commercial basis for the local and national markets. Land tenure reform thus offers the potential for more intensive irrigated farming, for contract farming in important sectors of the agricultural economy such as cotton, timber and sugar, and the potential to intensify agricultural production in areas of high agricultural potential. In rural areas of South Africa the rate of unemployment ranges from 40% among poor households to 58% among the poorest (DLA, 1995). This situation could deteriorate further as the number of young people entering the work force increases by over 2% every year. Because the direct and indirect costs of creating jobs in urban areas are very high, innovative strategies like commercial agriculture are needed to help rural people find work where they live. It is generally accepted that the per unit investment in agriculture and services has the potential to create many livelihoods. In international experience, an area of high potential arable farmland normally produces considerable livelihoods if divided into small family-operated farms. This also applies to off-farm employment through the multiplier effect on the local economy. Hence, land tenure reform and the provision of support services for commercial production is central to reducing the mounting cost of the welfare budget.

Table 4.16: Land tenure reform and services for commercial farming

Land tenure reform in the former homelands provide incentives for the provision of support services for commercial farming		Name of project		Total
		Marobala	Marginalised	
Strongly agree	Count	20	16	36
	%	10.0%	8.0%	18.0%
Agree	Count	36	17	53
	%	18.0%	8.5%	26.5%
Undecided	Count	28	35	63
	%	14.0%	17.5%	31.5%
Disagree	Count	13	17	30
	%	6.5%	8.5%	15.0%
Strongly disagree	Count	3	15	18
	%	1.5%	7.5%	9.0%
Total	Count	100	100	200
	%	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%

Pearson Chi square = 16.567; df=4 ; P< 0.002 (2-sided)

4.12.5 Tribal authorities and land tenure reform approaches

A question was posed to beneficiaries to find out if tribal authorities have negative attitudes towards present land reform approaches. The results are presented in Table 4.17. The table shows that 35.0% agree that tribal authorities in the area have negative attitudes towards present land reform approaches, while 38.0% were undecided. Small percentages, 14.0% agreed, 11.0% disagreed and 2.0% strongly disagreed. These results confirm the hypothesis that tribal authorities have negative attitudes towards present land tenure reform approaches. These results have negative implications on land tenure reform approaches in the province.

Table 4.17: Tribal authorities and present land reform approaches

Tribal authorities have negative attitudes towards present land reform approaches		Name of project		Total
		Marobala	Marginalised	
Strongly agree	Count	14	14	28
	%	7.0%	7.0%	14.0%
Agree	Count	40	30	70
	%	20.0%	15.0%	35.0%
Undecided	Count	32	44	76
	%	16.0%	22.0%	38.0%
Disagree	Count	14	8	22
	%	7.0%	4.0%	11.0%
Strongly disagree	Count	0	4	4
	%	0%	2.0%	2.0%
Total	Count	100	100	200
	%	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%

Pearson Chi square = 8.960; df=4 ; P< 0.062 (2-sided)

Until the 1990s, it was government policy that black people should not own land (DLA, 1997). In townships and former homeland areas, the form that land rights took was generally subservient, permit-based or "held in trust". The land was generally registered as the property of the government or the South African Development Trust. In many areas, such as the Northern Province, the administration of land was inefficient and chaotic so that people who have lived on land for generations may find that they have no legal rights to the land in question, even if nobody disputes that they are the rightful owners of the land. Some people have Permission to Occupy certificates and others do not.

Land tenure reform is not only a means of correcting past injustices and bringing reconciliation and peace to the country but there are also other vital economic benefits for society generated

by land tenure reform. For example an efficient and speedy release of suitably located land at the required rate and scale is a prerequisite for achieving the aims of the overall urban development strategy. Access to productive land will provide the opportunity for putting more food on the table and providing cash for the purchase of food items (DLA, 1997). Redistribution of land reform and the provision of support services are central to the government's employment strategy and to reducing the mounting cost of welfare budgets. Land tenure reform cannot in itself ensure national economic development, but it is a necessary condition for the success of government's growth, employment and redistribution strategy. Tenure security is a precondition for people to invest in land improvements and encourages environmentally sustainable land use practices. In contribution to conditions of stability and certainty, land tenure reform is a necessary element of sustainable growth.

4.12.6 Farming activities by women

The responses from beneficiaries on the impact of present land reform approaches on farming activities of women in the study area is presented in Table 4.18. The results show that 35.0% of 200 respondents agree that present land reform approaches have negative impact on farming activities of women, while 25.0% were undecided. Among the rest, 21.0% strongly agreed, 10.5% disagreed and only 6.0% strongly disagreed that present land tenure reform approaches have negative impact on farming activities of women. The low percentages suggest mixed feelings among beneficiaries on women and farming activities, and implies that respondents are not sure of the impact of the present land tenure reform approaches on the farming activities of women in the study area. Empirical results from this study shows that the overall number of males (52 out of 200) was more than females (48 out of 200). But in one of the CPAs, Marobala, there were more females (64 out of 100) than men (36 out of 100). These results confirm the hypothesis that there are mixed feelings as to whether the present land tenure reform approaches have had any impact on the farming activities of women in the study area.

The relationship between women's farming activities outside the home and demographic processes has been a common theme in demographic research. However, the research has yielded less conclusive results than those in education, and it has revealed several surprises. While farm employment may signal increased resources and status for women in one context,

it may be synonymous with poverty and arduous physical labour in another. The key to whether women employment in farming activities affects demographic changes lies in whether farm work translates into increased income and power for women; power that could enable women to make decisions about land tenure reform approaches.

Table 4.18: Land reform approaches and farming activities of women

Present land reform approaches have negative impact on farming activities of women		Name of project		Total
		Marobala	Marginalised	
Strongly agree	Count	22	20	42
	%	11.0%	10.0%	21.0%
Agree	Count	37	33	70
	%	18.5%	16.5%	35.0%
Undecided	Count	31	24	55
	%	15.5%	12.0%	27.5%
Disagree	Count	8	13	21
	%	4.0%	6.5%	10.5%
Strongly disagree	Count	2	10	12
	%	1.0%	5.0%	6.0%
Total	Count	100	100	200
	%	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%

Pearson Chi square = 7.739; df=4 ; P< 0.102 (2-sided)

Inn summary it is well known that women are discriminated against under many types of tenure arrangements. The most widely recognised form of discrimination is that practised under tribal land communal tenure. However, there are also many ways in which imposed colonial and apartheid administrative rulings and laws discriminated against women in terms of family law and inheritance provisions. Measures which restrict women's rights to participate in decision making structures in terms of land management and community issues often have just as discriminatory an effect as directly land related discriminatory measures.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study has addressed its specific objectives by providing a historical background of land division and occupation in South Africa, describing the present land division, discussing current land reform policies, and testing the views of land reform beneficiaries operating on CPAs.

The results of the study suggest that the respondents are of the opinion that present land reform approaches do not provide incentives for commercial agricultural production due to absence of security of tenure to beneficiaries. With regard to traditional land tenure arrangements in the former homelands respondents believe that they do not provide incentives for the provision of support services for commercial farming.

There are mixed feelings on the attitudes of tribal authorities and present land reform approaches. This is perceived that any change will impact negatively on their political power source. The literature review provided suggests that the present land reform approaches are likely to contribute to improvement of family incomes but this outcome has not been realised due to socio-economic constraints such as access to enough land, credit facilities, water, and extension services for farming in the study area. The study suggests that the present land reform approaches could have a positive impact on farming activities of women in rural areas although there are also mixed feelings about the extent of involvement of women in farming activities.

The study has shown that the extent to which access to land can improve beneficiaries' livelihoods depends much on other socio-economic factors apart from the size of land. It can be concluded from the results of the study that socio-economic characteristics of land reform beneficiaries such as age distribution, gender, household size, level of education, marital status, and occupation, impact significantly on agricultural production.

The study also reveals that beneficiaries purchase their farming inputs from the local retail stores. The results suggest that beneficiaries are not aware of the supply chain available for the purchase of their farm inputs. An important element in agricultural production is a system

whereby the farmer can obtain the inputs necessary for the production process. The distance to the markets where these inputs are obtained is important to the farmer. Since he or she usually lacks the means to purchase inputs, financial costs are carried over the whole production period. Inputs should be obtained as cheaply as possible from reliable nearby markets to cut down costs.

The study shows that beneficiaries are of the opinion that the present land tenure reform approaches have little effect on agricultural production. Access to land for farming is mostly determined by the government and not the chiefs or headmen as observed in many rural areas. This has a positive impact on the accessibility of land for agricultural purposes. In most rural areas where access to land is determined by chiefs or headmen, resistance to the allocation of land for agricultural development projects have been observed.

Access to water for farming purposes is one of the major problems in the two study areas. More than half of the beneficiaries interviewed indicated that they had no access to water for farming. The result suggests that agricultural development in the study area is seriously hampered by the scarcity of water. An important consideration should be given to the planning of water schemes in the province for the allocation of available water for agricultural purposes. Results from the study show that boreholes are the main sources of water for farming in the two areas. Other sources of water, for example, irrigation water from rivers and dams could be developed with the help of self-help projects and government assistance.

Access to credit appears to be another major problem facing farmers in the two areas. The study shows that more than half of the 200 beneficiaries interviewed indicated that they did not have access to credit for farming. It has been argued that the provision of credit and finance to small-scale farmers is a major issue in most developing countries of the world (Dlova, 2001). Access to credit in this study appears to be one of the key factors lacking in agricultural development in the two areas. According to Coetzee and Vink (1991), small-scale farmers are those who receive only a portion of their gross income from farming. These farmers usually have production rights rather than ownership of land. They mostly make use of family and casual labour and their production objectives can range from subsistence needs to infrequent or inconsistent surplus production for marketing purposes. If rural development is to be accorded a high priority by individual governments, it follows that adequate consistent financial resources

should be provided for this purpose. Financial markets are institutions that can be central to the lives of all rural people, and credit is necessary to aid in the adoption of new technologies and innovations. A cornerstone of rural development is that rural people themselves should contribute to local rural development projects in terms of cash, labour and materials. For sustainable development, financial assistance should be provided to reinforce local financial resources to specific projects in rural areas, where there are no organised credit facilities. Rural families have often relied on the extended family systems to obtain credit. Small-scale farmers in South Africa have a problem of access to credit due to lack of collateral in the form of land or other fixed property (Coetzee and Vink, 1991).

Various proposals have been put forward to overcome this problem. These include the formation of group schemes, like the CPAs mentioned in this study, or the whole tribal land used as collateral. However, these proposals have often posed problems of their own such as the distribution of the loans amongst individual members of the group for repayment, and the foreclosure of loans. One aspect observed among beneficiaries in the study areas is that farmers do not necessarily rate opportunities of a given investment prospect in terms of the costs expended and benefits accrued during the production period. Thus, credit in the form of loans may be granted under conditions that fit a particular cultural and institutional mix of the farming community.

Farmers in the areas do not have access to extension services. It has been argued that efficient extension system is a prerequisite to the upliftment of rural communities (Groenewald *et al.*, 1992). Extension officers are necessary in order to link small-scale farmers with agricultural institutions for technology dissemination. The study suggests that effective extension service in the areas is lacking. Singini and van Rooyen (1995) state that low effectiveness of extension services may not be due to lack of field officers, but rather low quality of their formal education and training and the absence of a job specific non-formal training to supplement their education and training. This is further aggravated by the lack of motivation, mobility, management, supervision, support and operational policies and strategies and poor image. The lack of subject matter specialists also affects in-service training, the appropriateness of technological package and the three-way communication between research, extension and the farmer. This has precluded adaptive research. Even with a sound technical message, there is a lack of knowledge

of how to transfer this technology, which is not communicated in a way that addresses the needs of the small-scale farmer. The message often contains what the training officer wants farmers to hear but this is often not relevant or applicable to the farmer's own fields and circumstances. Many of the older farmers are inherently convinced that their traditional husbandry practices are better and more remunerative and that they are more knowledgeable about farming techniques than the young agricultural officers and extension workers who have acquired their knowledge in colleges and universities (Bembridge, 1984).

A clear operational policy, namely strategies and objectives defining what extension service is expected to do, whom it is to serve and how it is to operate, is often unavailable or not communicated to extension officers in a manner they can understand and use in the planning of their work (Singini and van Rooyen, 1995). This results in *ad hoc* extension without the aid of programme plans or action. In Kenya only a few women extension officers serve the predominantly female population that is targeted (Kalinda, *et al.*, 1998).

The study shows that beneficiaries lack formal training in the management of agricultural projects efficiently and profitably. This is evident in the fact that 88.0% of beneficiaries indicated that they have not had any formal training in farm management. Formal training in farm management is one of the most important sources of farm productivity in many developing countries. The ability to understand the basic principles of farm management gives farmers access to a wide body of knowledge in farming.

Beneficiaries market their produce mainly in the local markets, with a few marketing in national, regional and international markets. Constraints of farmers range from the sale of produce, institutional factors, production, government and farming policies and agricultural programmes in the region. The extent of involvement of women in farming is limited. Out of the 200 respondents, only 35.0% were of the opinion that women should be involved in farming activities. In general out of 200 beneficiaries interviewed 48.0% women participated in the CPA projects compared with 52.0% men. These vital results have been obtained from the study and should guide policy makers in their decisions on land tenure reform approaches in the region.

CHAPTER 6

RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

The most important recommendations of the study are presented in this chapter. These recommendations are mostly based on the findings from the study, and generalisation may not be appropriate due to the limitations of the scope of the study. However, the recommendations may serve as valuable guidelines in the formulation of policies by stakeholders in land tenure reform issues in the study area and elsewhere in South Africa.

6.2 Personal characteristics

The study shows that personal characteristics such as age, gender, household size, level of education, marital status, and occupation, have various impacts on agricultural production. The Northern Province is one of the poorest provinces in South Africa. It is expected that once the elderly farmers die, the youth should replace them. However the study shows that there are older farmers than the young ones. It is recommended that agricultural training and education should focus on the youth to ensure replacement of the elderly in farming operations. Young farmers should be exposed to modern production systems and given the vision of the potentially prosperous, as well as well-developed agriculture in the country.

6.3 Input purchases

It has been shown in this study that farm input purchases by farmers are mostly from the local retailers, which have high prices, and very few from the regional wholesalers. Agricultural extension officers could use co-operatives to help farmers to acquire agricultural inputs from the regional wholesalers at lower prices.

6.4 Impact of land tenure reform approaches on agriculture

Most farmers interviewed in the study areas appear to have mixed feelings about the impact of land tenure reform approaches on farming. The results suggest that some form of awareness campaign is necessary to educate farmers on the positive impact of land tenure reform in the areas. At present it appears the land tenure reform approaches adopted by the government through the DLA and DALE are not sufficient to attract the rural poor into farming.

6.5 Access to land

The importance of adequate access to land for farming cannot be overemphasised. In this study it has been noted that access to land for farming is mostly through the government, with the help of the DLA. Although this situation has positive implications on the accessibility of land, since chiefs have always been obstacles to land acquisition, this does not preclude other practices like the "willing-buyer-willing seller" approaches. Vast stretches of under-utilized land owned by individuals could be purchased by groups of farmers for agricultural production. Historically, chiefs have played a central role in the allocation of land in South Africa. Land tenure reform will necessitate decisions been taken around forms of land allocation and tenure. This will also involve an analysis of the historical role of the tribal authorities and their local political-ecological impacts.

6.6 Access to water

Inadequate availability of water for farming purposes was considered a constraint affecting agricultural production in the case study areas. The results of the case study demonstrate that farmers rely heavily on boreholes. It is therefore recommended that farmers should take the initiative to construct boreholes and take water management decisions at CPAs. This can be done through the development of water user associations, whereby the supplier of water supply services becomes responsible to the group end-users, with a view to improving the standard of the services. This means that the assigning of co-ownership and co-responsibility over scheme infrastructure to farmers is of vital importance. When this is ignored, farmers develop dependency and expect the state to service and maintain the available infrastructure.

6.7 Access to credit

Access to credit for farming has been identified in this study as one of the major constraints to farming. Emerging small farmers in the study areas will need credit for a range of short, medium and long term purposes and there will inevitably be demands for the state to make such funds available. Most short-term credit needs are for recurrent production inputs, and most medium term needs are for the acquisition of equipment and livestock. The purchase of land for projects usually involves long-term credit from the financial markets. Financial markets are institutions central to the lives of rural people (Coetzee, 1988). In South Africa a number of researchers have recorded financial activities in rural financial markets. Different views on intermediation in these markets have been researched. Yet, although some institutions for example the Land Bank, financed by government have extended credit to rural people, few financial institutions have a clear policy on rural small-scale farmer financing. In the past commercial farmers received comprehensive service support through the Agricultural Credit Act and the Land and Agricultural Bank Act. These farmers were financed by both private and the public sector (Coetzee, *et al.*, 1993). Compared to commercial farmers rural small-scale farmers had little and inadequate support, especially farmers in the former homelands. The agricultural financing policies of government did not include homeland farmers. This was partly the reason for the formation of the CPAs and the credit component of the programme in their business plans. The question of appropriate credit institutions for small farmers has been widely debated in South Africa. One constructive way that can be recommended for the state to respond would be for it to channel as many of these demands as possible through existing lending institutions.

6.8 Access to extension services

The absence of extension services was identified as one of the factors affecting agricultural production in the study area. However, it was noticed that farmers were carrying out farming practices well on their own despite the absence of the help from extension officers. It is recommended that qualified extension officers who will provide effective extension services be deployed in these areas to address the advisory needs of farmers, whose objectives combine subsistence and oriented agricultural production.

6.9 Training and farm management

Lack of formal training in farm management calls for linkages between research, training, and extension. Areas of management should include technical activities - deciding what to produce and how to produce, using land capability versus fertility, determining levels of mechanisation and scale of operation. Commercial activities - acquiring inputs, marketing of produce and forecasting prices. Financing activities - acquiring funds, using funds, and forecasting future needs. Accounting activities - keeping production records, recording business transactions, tax reporting and filing documents with governmental and regulatory agencies. It is recommended that the training should be done through active collaboration between the Department of Agriculture, Land and Environment and the relevant research and higher educational institutions, especially universities in the province.

6.10 Marketing

Successful marketing is one of the most important aspects of modern farm business (Van Zyl *et al.*, 1999). Consequently, it has become important for farmers to change their views on marketing. Gone are the days that the farmer could simply deliver a product to the co-operative, which acted as an agent for a marketing board, without showing any further interest in the sale of the product. In the new deregulated marketing environment there are plenty of opportunities, but just as many dangers. It is recommended that farmers realise just how significant a role the marketing process plays in the current environment. Small-scale farmers should structure production according to the satisfaction of consumer needs. Farm planning should therefore start at the market, while marketing planning and marketing management should form an integral part of overall business plan in farm management. Farmers should also realise that communication and negotiation skills are essential in the new marketing milieu in order to determine the needs of clients in the local market, regional market and international market, sand negotiate better prices for heir products.

Farmers should realise that marketing is not some job to be attended to once production is complete. Production and marketing decisions should go hand in hand in the business plan. The

farmer must have some price objectives in mind. He should also consider the marketing options that may need to be tried in order to achieve that price objective.

No market operates in a political or social vacuum. Indeed, the fundamental variables - preferences, endowments and technology - which determine the shape and position of the supply and demand curves used to depict markets in conventional microeconomics, are all assumed to be exogenously determined by political, social and other forces. It is recommended that farmers should undergo training to learn about the changes in these forces that bring about the shifts of the curves which cause prices to change, thereby signalling to the market to re-allocate resources.

6.11 Perceptions of farmers

The results in this study show mixed responses amongst respondents on the involvement of women in farming activities. The results also suggest that farmers or beneficiaries are of the opinion that the present land tenure reform approaches do not provide incentives for commercial agricultural production. As pointed out in the text, this outcome can be explained by the fact that most of the farmers have been in the CPAs for a short time and may not realise the benefits, if any, of joining the CPAs. They may also not be sure of the effect of the tenure reform approaches on commercial production in the long-run.

Many beneficiaries do not consider the present land reform approaches as a solution to their present low levels of family income. Again beneficiaries' responses on present land tenure reform and services for commercial farming suggest that few beneficiaries agreed that present land tenure reform in the former homelands do provide incentives for the provision of support services for commercial farming.

The results from the study confirm the hypothesis that tribal authorities have negative attitudes towards present land tenure reform approaches. There also are mixed feelings as to whether the present land tenure reform approaches have had any impact on the farming activities of women in the study area.

In general, farmers interviewed appear not to be in favour of the present land tenure reform approaches. Nearly all farmers interviewed perceived little or no benefits in the present land tenure reform approaches. Data shortcomings, however, prevented analysis of output effects which could have been used to substantiate these findings. Nevertheless, the results could be used as guidelines for policy formulation on land reform approaches in South Africa and elsewhere.

Agricultural development cannot depend on land tenure reform alone. Very low use of inputs, improved seeds, and productive assets in the areas suggest that farmers either have low demand or are experiencing difficulties in acquiring inputs. Conversely, certain public investments have important effects on both farm and non-farm investments.

Empirical results from the study suggest that the CPAs have not been successful in achieving planned objectives of positive impact on agricultural productivity, provision of incentives for commercial agriculture, provision of a solution to present low levels of family income in rural areas, incentives for the provision of support services and impact on farming activities of women. In addition, beneficiaries are faced with constraints, for example, access to credit, water, land and support services that have contributed to the failure of the CPAs. In addition, unrealistic business plans were drawn up for the CPAs, hence the implementation of the plan has become impractical.

In conclusion, it is recommended that successful land tenure reform will have to be consultative and consented by all stakeholders. Land tenure reforms must aim at de-racializing commercial agricultural ownership, increasing agricultural production base, and promoting equitable distribution of agricultural land. Ultimately, the congested, overpopulated and overgrazed land may be relieved. Post-settlement support for landless, destitute and squatting citizens will also be necessary to ensure a lasting solution.

ACOCKS, J.P.H. (1975). **Veld types of South Africa**. Botanical Research Institute, Department of Agriculture and Water Supply, Pretoria.

ADAMS, M. (1995). Land Reform:New seeds on old grounds? **ODI, Natural Resource Perspectives, Number 6**.

ANIM, F.D.K. (1997). Land Reform Issues: Lessons and Options for a New South Africa. **Journal of Rural Development**, Vol 16(1):51-65.

ARNON, I. (1981). **Modernization of agriculture in developing countries**. Wiley, New York.

ARNON, M.E. (1992). **Information Network**. IRDC Reprots, John Wilely and Sons Ltd., New York.

ATWOOD, D.A. (1990). Land Registration in Africa: The impact on agricultural production. **World Development**, Vol 18:658-671.

AULT, D.E. and RUTTAN, G.L. (1979). The development if individual rights to property in tribal Africa. **Journal of Law and Economics**, Vol 22:163-182.

BARDHAN, P. (1989). Alternatives approach to the theory of institutions in economic development. In: Bardhan, P. (Ed.), **The economic theory of agrarian institutions**. Clarendon Press, Oxford.

BARLOWE, R. (1978). **Land resource economics**. Third edition. Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, Baltimore.

BARROW, R. and ROTH, M. (1990). Land Tenure and Investment in African Agriculture: Theory and Evidence. **Journal of Modern African Studies**, Vol 28:265-297.

BEHNKE, R.H. and SCOONES, I. (1993). Rethinking Range Ecology: Implications for range management in Africa. In: Bahnke, R.H.; Scoones. I. And Kervan, C. (Eds.). **Range Ecology at Disequilibrium**. New Models of Natural Variability and Pastoral Adaptation in African Savannas. Overseas Development Institute, Commomwealth Secretariat, London.

BEHR, A.L. (1983). **Empirical Research Methods for the Human Science**. Butterworths, Durban/Pretoria.

BELL, C. and SUSSANGKARN, C. (1988). Rationing and adjustment in the market for tenancies, **American Journal of Agricultural Economics**, Vol 70:779-789.

BEMBRIDGE, T.J. (1984). **A systems approach study of agricultural problems in Transkei**. Unpublished PhD thesis. University of Stellenbosch, Stellenbosch.

BEMBRIDGE, T.J. (1987). Agricultural Development Problems in three rural areas of Ciekei. University of Fort Hare, Alice.

BEMBRIDGE, T.J. (1991). Farmer Characteristics, Innovativeness and Cotton Production at Makhatini Irrigation Scheme, KwaZulu Natal. **Development Southern Africa**, Vol 3(4):600-618.

BENBO, (1976). **Black Development in South Africa**. A publication of the Bureau for Economic Research and Development, Pretoria.

BERNSTEIN, H. (1992). Agrarian Reform in South Africa: Who? What? How? Ruth First Memorial Colloquium, University of the Western Cape, Bellville.

BILLING, K. (1978). Labour Migration in Rhodesia. Future Extension and Development Strategies for Zimbabwe. Unpublished M.Sc. Thesis, University of Nairobi, Nairobi, Kenya.

BINSWANGER, H. P. and ELGIN, M. (1984). **Agricultural Development in the Third World**, 2nd Edition, Edited by Eicher C.K. and Staatz J.M. Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.

BINSWANGER, H. P. and McINTIRE, J. (1987). "Behavioural and Material Determinants Production Relations in Land-abundant Tropical Agriculture", **Economic Development and Cultural Change**, Vol 36:73-99.

BINSWANGER, H.P., DEININGERR, K. and FEDER, G. (1993). **Power, Distortions, Revolt and Reform in Agricultural Land Relations.** Discussion Paper, World Bank, Washington, D.C.

BLANG, M. (1970). **An introduction to the economics of education**, Penguin Books, London.

BOSERUP, E. (1970). Women's role in economic development. New York, St Martins' Press, New York.

BRATTON, M. (1986). Financing smallholder production: A comparison of individual and group credit schemes in Zimbabwe. **Public Administration and Development**, Vol 6:115-132.

BROMLEY, D.W. (Ed.) (1992). **Making the Commons Work: Theory, Practice and Policy**. Institute for Contemporary Studies, San Francisco.

BRUCE, J.W. (1981). A perspective on indigenous land tenure system and concentration. In: Downs. R.E. and Reyns, S. (Eds.). **Land and Society in Contemporary Africa**. University Press of New England, Hanover.

BUDLENDER, G. and LATSKY, J. (1991). Unravelling rights to land in rural race zones. In A harvest of discontent: **The land question in South Africa**. Ed. M. de Klerk. Cape Town:

Institute for Democratic Alternative for South Africa.

BUNDY, C. (1979). Land and Liberation: The South African National Liberation Movement and the Agrarian Question, 1920s-1960s, in **Review of African Political Economy**, Vol 29:514-526.

CARMAN, H.F. (1997). **Agricultural Price Analysis**. Department of Agricultural Economics. University of California, Davis, California.

CHAMBERS, R. (1986). Rural development, putting the last first. Longman Group Ltd., New York.

CHAMBERS, R., PACEY, J. and TRUPP, L.A. (1989). **Farmers First, Farmer Innovation and Agricultural Research**. Intermediate Technology Publication, London.

COETZEE, C.R. (1988). Credit, mortgage and savings :What does rural agriculture need to survive? In Cross, .R. and Haines, R.J. **Towards freehold: Options for land and development in South Africa's black rural areas**. Juta, Cape Town.

COETZEE, G.K., and VINK, N. (1991). Financing Small-Scale farmers. **Agrekon,** Vol 30 (3):153-158.

COUSINS, B. (1992). **Room for Dancing On: Grazing Schemes in the Communal Lands of Zimbabwe**. Centre for Applied Social Sciences, Harare.

COUSINS, N. (1985). The productivity and potential of pastoral systems, **ILCA Bulletin**, Vol 21:10-15. International Livestock Centre for Africa (ILCA), Addis Ababa.

CRAUSE, J. (1982). **The Ciskei: its welfare and social services**. University of Port Elizabeth, Port Elizabeth.

CREED, R. (1995). Farmers First, Farmer innovation and agricultural research. Intermediate Technology Publications, London.

CROUCH, B.R. and CHAMALA, S. (1981). Diffusion and adoption of innovations. In: Crouch, B.R. and Chamala, S. **Extension, Education and Rural Development**. John Wilely and Sons, Chichester.

DAVENPORT, T.R.H. and HUNT, K.S. (1974). The right to the land: Documents on Southern African History. Cape Town, David Philip.

DE LANGE, A.O. (1991). Peasant farming and the rural economy of the Eastern Cape. **Agrekon**, Vol 30(4):172-174.

DE VILLIERS, A. (1994). **Land Reform Issues in the Northern Province**. Occasional Paper. University of the North, Department of development Studies, Sovenga.

DE VILLIERS, A. (1995). **Land Management and Rural Development Programme**. Occasional Paper. University of the North, Department of Development Studies, Sovenga.

DE VILLIERS, A. (2000). **Change through land reform in the Northern Province**. Seminar Report No.6, In Search of Excellence: Managing Change, 3-5 May 2000 Magoebaskloof Hotel Northern Province.

DE WET, C. (1994). Moving together drifting apart: Betterment planning and villagisation in a South African homeland. Johannesburg. Witwatersrand University Press.

DEMSETZ, H. (1967). Toward a theory of property rights. **American Economic Review,** Vol 57:347-359.

DEPARTMENT OF LAND AFFAIRS. (1995). **Annual Report**, 1995. RP94/96. Government Printer, Pretoria.

DEPARTMENT OF LAND AFFAIRS. (1996). **Our Land.** Green Paper on South AfricanLand Policy, February 1996, Government Printer, Pretoria.

DEPARTMENT OF LAND AFFAIRS. (1997). **Land Info,** Vol No. 4 June/July 1997.

DEVELOPMENT BANK OF SOUTHERN AFRICA (DBSA). (1991). **Development Information Region G.** Centre for Information Analysis, Midrand.

DEVELOPMENT BANK OF SOUTHERN AFRICA (DBSA). (1992). **Statistical abstract on self-governing territories in South Africa**. Centre for information analysis, Midrand.

DEVELOPMENT BANK OF SOUTHERN AFRICA (DBSA). (1998). **Northern Province Development Profile**. Development Information Business Unit, Halfway House.

DLOVA, M.R. (2001). **Agricultural production in the Hertzog agricultural cooperative of the Seymour district in the Eastern Cape, South Africa**. M.Agric. thesis, University of Fort Hare, Alice.

DORNER, P. (1972). **Land Reform and Economic Development**. Penguin Publishers, Harmondsworth, England.

FEDER, G. and NORONHA, R. (1987). Land rights systems and agricultural development in Sub-Saharan Africa. **World Bank Research Observer**, Vol 2:143-170.

FEDER, G. and ONCHAN, T. (1987). Land ownership security and farm investment in Thailand. **American Journal of Agricultural Economics**, Vol 69:311-320.

FÉNYES, T.I. (1982). **A socio-economic analysis of smallholder agriculture in Lebowa** Unpublished D.Sc. thesis, University of Pretoria, Pretoria.

FÉNYES, T.I. and GROENWALD, J.A. (1985). Land tenure: attitudes in Lebowa, **Agrekon**,

Vol 25:18-23.

FRASER, G.C.G. (1991). Agricultural Marketing in less developed countries with special reference to Ciskei. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Stellenbosch, Stellenbosch.

GROENEWALD, J.A. (1973). The allocation of land among users, a theoretical view. **Agrekon**, Vol 12:8-16.

GROENEWALD, J.A. (1993). Resource use entitlement, Finance and Entrepreneurship in Sub-Saharan smallholder agriculture. **Agrekon,** Vol 32(3):122-128.

GROENEWALD, J.A. (1996). **Personal Communication**, Department of Agricultural Economics, University of Pretoria, Pretoria.

GROENEWALD, J.A., SATORIUS von BACH, H.J. and MACHETHE, C.L. (1992). Government and Agriculture in the New South Africa: Political Viewpoint. **Agrekon**, Vol 31(2):94-97.

HAINES, R. and CROSS, C.R. (1988). An historical view of land policy and tenure in South Africa's black areas. In Towards freehold: Options for land and development in South Africa's black rural areas, ed. Cross and Haines, Cape Town.

HARRISON, P. (1987). **The Greening of Africa**. Paladin Grafton Books, London.

HAYAMI, Y. and RUTTAN, V.W. (1985). **Agricultural development: An international perspective**. John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.

HENDRICKS, F.T.(1990). The pillars of apartheid: Land tenure, rural planning and the chieftaincy. Uppsala: University of Uppsala.

JEPPE, W.J.O. (1982). The role of local government in integrated rural development in Bophuthatswana. **Development Studies Southern Africa**, Vol 4:315-329.

KALINDA, T.H., SHUTE, J.C. and FILSON, G.C. (1998). Access to agricultural extension and markets among small-scale farmers. **Development Southern Africa**, Vol 15(4):589-608.

KASSIER, W.E. and GROENEWALD, J.A. (1990). The agricultural economy of South Africa. In: **Agricultural restructuring in South Africa.** Inter-conference symposium of the International Association of Agricultural Economists, Windhoek, Namibia.

KEEGAN, T.J. (1986). **Rural transformation in industrialising South Africa: The Southern Highveld to 1994.** Johannesburg, Ravan Press.

KEPE, V.T. (1992). **Characteristics and farming perceptions of small-scale commercial farmers in Ciskei, South Africa**. M.Sc. Thesis, University of Guelph, Canada.

KIRSTEN, J.F. (1995). Rural non-farm enterprises: a vehicle for rural development in South

Africa. **Agrekon**, Vol 34:198-204

LAHIFF, E. (1999). Land tenure on the Arabie-Olifants irrigation scheme. Nkuzi Development Association. Irrigation Scheme, Sri lanka: International Water Management Institute (IWMI), South African Working Paper No.2.

LAND AND AGRICULTURAL POLICY CENTRE (LAPC). (1993). **Options for Land Reform and Rural Restructuring in South Africa**. Johannesburg.

LAND AND AGRICULTURAL POLICY CENTRE (LAPC). (1995). **Northern Province Provincial Overview**. National Land Policy Research Findings, Johannesburg.

LANE, C. and MOOREHEAD, R. (1995). New Directions in rangeland resource tenure and policy. In: Scoones I. (Ed.), **Living with Uncertainty, New directions in pastoral development in Africa**. Intermediate Technology Publications, London.

LANE, C. and SWIFT, J. (1989). **Pastoral Land Tenure in East Africa**. Report of a workshop, Arusha, Tanzania. Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, Brighton.

LELE, U.M..A. (1975). The design of rural development. The John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.

LESEME, R.M.; FÉNYES, T.I. and GROENWALD, J.A. (1980). Traditional and legal aspects influencing agricultural development in Lebowa. **Development Studies Southern Africa**, Vol 2:171-195.

LETSOALO, E.M. (1982). **Survival Strategies in Rural Lebowa: A study in the Geography of Poverty**. M.A. Dissertation, Wits University, Johannesburg.

LETSOALO, E.M. (1987). **Land Reform in South Africa: A Black Perspective**. Government Printers, Pretoria.

LETSOALO, E.M. (1990). **Land "Reforms" - State "Reforms" - State initiatives**. Idasa Rural Land Workshop, March 1990.

LEVIN, R. (1995). **Politics and Land Reform in the Northern Province**. Paper presented at the Rural Livelihood Research Project, Midrand.

LIPTON, M. (1996). **Rural Reforms and Livelihoods**. The context of international experience. In Lipton, M., and Lipton, M. (eds). Land, Labour and livelihoods in rural South Africa, Vol 1. Western Cape. Indicators Press, Durban.

LOUW, L. and KENDALL, F. (1986). **South Africa, the solution**. Amagi Publications, Cape Town.

LOW, A.R.C. (1986). **Agricultural Development in Southern Africa: Farm household**

economics and food crisis. David Phillips Publications, Cape Town.

LYNE, M.C. (1989). **Distortions of incentives for farm households in KwaZulu**. Unpublished PhD thesis. University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg.

LYNE, M.C. (1994). Ownership and control of Maori land: Some lessons for South Africa. **Development Southern Africa**, Vol 11:527-540.

LYNE, M.C. and ROTH, M. (1994). Land rental markets in sub-Saharan Africa: Efficiency, equity and institutional change. Unpublished paper. University of Winsconsin, Madison.

MATHEWS, J.W. (1968). Management practices of Lawrence County, Tennessee beef producers. Three related problems. M.Sc. Thesis, University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

MIGOT-ADHOLLA, S.E. and BRUCE, J.W. (1993). "Are Indigenous African Tenure Systems Insecure?". In: Bruce, J.W and Migot-Adholla, S.E. (Ed.), **Searching for Land Tenure Security in Africa**. Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company, Iowa.

MINI, E.S. (1995). Peasant land use problems and implications for land distribution in the Eastern Cape. **Development Southern Africa**, Vol 12(4):535-546.

MOOR, G.M. and NIEUWOUDT, W.L. (1996). The prospects for improving institutional arrangements and land use in Southern Africa. **Development Southern Africa**, Vol 13:501-521.

MUCHENA, O.N. (1982). Report on the Situation of Women in Zimbabwe, Harare, Ministry of Women's Affairs.

MURPHY, J. and SPREY, L.H. (1982). **Monitoring and evaluation of agricultural change**. ILRI, Wageningen.

NICHOLSON, C.A. (1989). **Characteristics of commercial farmers in Gazankulu**. MSc thesis, University of Fort Hare, Alice.

NIEUWOUDT, W.L. (1990). Efficiency of land use. **Agrekon**, Vol 29:210-215.

NORUSIS, M. J. (1994). **SPSS Advanced Statistics, User's Guide**. SPSS Inc.

NTSHONA, Z. (1997). **Rural livelihoods and local natural resource management in Peddie District**. Stockholm Environment Institute, Sweden.

OBIBUAKU, L.O. (1981). An Analysis of Agricultural Extension Potential in selected villages in the Western State of Nigeria. In: Crouch, B.R. and Chamala, S. (Eds.). **Extension, Education and Rural Development**. John Wilely and Sons, Chichester.

OSBURN D.D. and SCHEEBERGER, K.C. (1983). Modern Agricultural Management: A systems Approach to Farming, Second Edition. Reston Publishing Company, Inc. Reston, Virginia, USA.

OSTRUM, Z. (1976). An evaluation of Jan Tshatshu Community dairy scheme. Dissertation, University of Fort Hare, Alice.

PANIN, A. (1999). The Economic Impact of Education in small holder crop production systems in Africa. **Agrekon**, Vol 38920; 191-192).

PASOUR, E.C. Jr. and BULLOCK, J.B. (1975). Implications of uncertainty for the measurement of efficiency. **American Journal of Agricultural Economics**, Vol 57:335-339.

PLACE, F. and HAZELL, P. (1993). Productivity effects of indigenous land tenure systems in Sub-Saharan Africa. **American Journal of Agricultural Economics**, Vol 75:10-19.

PLATZKY, L and WALKER, C. (1985). **The surplus people: Forced removals in South Africa,** Prepared for the Surplus People Project. Johannesburg. Ravan Press.

PRETORIUS, D.D. and KIRSTEN, J.F. (1994). Testing rural households' perceptions of different land tenure systems. **Agrekon**, Vol 33:261-265.

RAMBO, N. (1995). **Land Reform and Democratic development**. The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore.

REPUBLIC OF BOTSWANA. (1992). Land problems in Mogoditshane and other peri-urban villages: **Government Paper No. 1 of 1992**. Gaborone. The Government Printer.

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA. (1991). The Land Issue in South Africa. **Government Paper No 6.,** Pretoria.

ROTH, M., COCHRANE, J. and KINSAMBA-MGERWA, W. (1994). Tenure security, credit use, and farm investment in the Rujumbura pilot registration Scheme, Uganda. In: Bruce, J.W. and Migot-Adholla, S.E. (Ed.), **Searching for Land Tenure Security in Africa**. Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company, Dubuque.

RUKHUNI, M.. (2001). The implications of land tenure security for developing rural communities in Southern Africa. Paper prepared for the National Land Tenure Conference, Durban, South Africa, 26-30 November2001.

RUTTAN, V.W. (1969). Equity and productivity issues in modern agrarian reform legislation. In: Papi U. and Nunn, C. (Ed.), **Economic problems of agriculture in industrial societies**. McMillan Publishers, London.

SANFORD, S. (1983). **Management of Pastoral Development in the Third World**. Wiley, Chichester and Overseas Development Institute, London.

SCHULTZ, T.W. (1965). **Economic Crisis in Agriculture**. University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor.

SELLITZ, C.; JAHODA, M.; DEUTSCH, M. and COOK, S.W. (1961). **Research Methods in Social Relations**. Holt, Rinchart and Winston Inc., New York.

SIGH, S.P. (2001). Management of people by Panchatats for rural development. *Journal of Rural Development*, Vol 20(2).

SINGINI, R. and van ROOYEN, J. (1995). **Serving small-scale farmers. An evaluation of the DBSA's Farmer Support Programme**. Development Bank of Southern Africa, Halfway House.

SOKHELA, M.P. (1990). A comparative study of two small-scale sugar cane growing communities in the Innanda District of KwaZulu-Natal. MSc Agric Extension thesis. University of Fort Hare, Alice.

SOLINJANI, S.B. (1986). **The dynamics of land allocation in Transkei**. Paper prepared for Land Tenure and Rural Development Workshop. Institute for Social and Economic Research, Rhodes University, Grahamstown.

SPODLEY, J.P. (1980). **Participation observation**. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York.

SPSS (1993). **Statistical Package for Social Sciences**. SPSS, Inc., Chicago, IL.

THOMSON, D.N. and LYNE, M.C. (1995). Is tenure secure in communal areas? Some empirical evidence from KwaZulu Natal. **Agrekon**, Vol 34:178-182.

UNCHENDU, V.C. (1970). The impact of changing agricultural technology on African land tenure. **The journal of Developing Areas**, Vol 4:477-486.

UNIVERSITY OF THE NORTH, DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS. (1999). **Training of Land Reform Beneficiaries in the Northern Province**.

URBAN FOUNDATION. (1991). Rural Development. **UF Research**, Vol 1:11-20.

VAN DEN BRINK, R.; BROMLEY, D.W. and COCHRANE, J.A. (1994). Property rights and productivity in Africa: Is there a connection? **Development Southern Africa**, Vol 11:177-182.

VAN ZYL, J. (1995). The farm size efficiency relationship in South African Commercial Agriculture, **Agrekon**, Vol 34:183-200.

VAN ZYL, J., KIRSTEN, J.F., COETZEE, G.K. and BLINGNAUT, C.S. (1999). Finance and Farmers: A financial management guide for farmers. The Standard Bank of South Africa Limited, Johannesburg.

VILFHUIZEN, C. (1996). Who feeds Children? Gender Ideology and Practice of plot allocation in an irrigation scheme. **University of Zimbabwe Publications**, Harare.

VINK, N. (1986). **An institutional approach to livestock development in Southern Africa**.

Unpublished PhD. thesis, University of Stellenbosch, Stellenbosch.

VINK, N. and KASSIER, W.E. (1991). Agricultural Policy and the South African State: In: M. de Klerk, (Ed), **A harvest of discount: the land question in South Africa**. Cape Town.

WILLIAMS, J.L.H. (1986). An evaluation of Training and Visit Extension Programme in the Keiskammahoek District of Ciskei. Masters thesis, University of Fort Hare, Alice.

WORLD BANK. (1983). Kenya: Growth and Structural Change. Basic Economic Report, Africa Tea Industry. **Development Southern Africa,** Vol 9:493-500.

Annexure

THE EVALUATION OF THE LAND TENURE APPROACHES IN SELECTED AREAS OF THE NORTHERN PROVINCE

RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE FOR FARMERS

Instruction: *Supply the correct information or make a cross (x) in the appropriate box where applicable.*

Interviewer .....*Questionnaire No.* ..... *Date:*.....

A. PERSONAL INFORMATION

1. Sex: Male □ Female □

2. Age last birthday (Years) .....

3. Marital status:

Married	□
Single	□
Widowed	□
Other, specify	□

4. Number of children .....

5. Total members of household .....
(Children, grandchildren, and other dependants)

6. Name of project/location/district .....

7. Occupation (activity or activities through which you earn a living)

Full-time farmer	□
Part-time farmer (wage employed)	□
Pension earner	□

8. If pensioner: monthly remittance R.....

9. How long have you been farming in this area? .....Years

10. What is you main farming activity (e.g. livestock - dairy, beef, poultry. Crop production - maize, sorghum,

cowpeas)

Crop □

Livestock □

11. If you are a part-time farmer how often do you visit this area for farming?

Weekly	
Fortnightly	
Monthly	
Yearly	

12. Maximum years of formal education .....Years

or Highest Certificate obtained .....

B. GENERAL FARMING ACTIVITIES

13. Farm size (hectares) .....

14. Is the farm:

(a) Irrigated? □

(b) Rainfed? □

15. Where do you purchase your farming inputs directly?

(i) Local Wholesalers □ Distance from farm ..... km

(ii) Regional Wholesalers □ Distance from farm ..... km

(ii) Local Retailers □ Distance from farm ..... km

(iii) Regional Retailers □ Distance from farm ..... km

(iv) Others ..... Distance from farm ..... km

C. LAND

16. Is your farm;

(i) Within a "betterment" community? "Yes" or "No" .....

(ii) Recently resettled community? "Yes" or "No" .....

(iii) CPA? "Yes" or "No" .....

17. To what extent has your farm been affected by land reform policies the Northern Province?

Indicate the extent of each, ranging from

1= much affected .... □

2= less affected ..... □

3= not affected ..... □

18. Present land tenure arrangements:

(a) Freehold □

(b) Communal/Tribal □

(c) Permission-to-occupy (PTO) □

(d) State Land □

(e) CPA □

(F) Other □

19. Access to land for farming should be determined by whom?

Chief/Headman	Community	Individual	Govt.	Other

20. If "other" briefly explain .....

21. Will you prefer to own land in future if you do not own it now? "Yes" "No" .....

22. How many people use the land for farming? .....

23. What is the size of *your* holding? .....ha

D. WATER RESOURCES

24. Do you have access to water for farming? "Yes" "No" .....

25. If "Yes" what type?

River		Borehole		Dam		Municipality		Other	

26. Are there any restrictions in the use of water? "Yes" or "No" .....

27. Explain process of accessing water (eg. pipes, pumps, flooding)

.....

28. Does the water infrastructure affect your farming activities? "Yes" or "No" .....

Briefly explain .....

E. CAPITAL NEEDS/SOURCES

29. Do you think there is the need for borrowing money for farming? "Yes" or "No" .....

If yes, for what purpose ? .....

30. Do you receive credit for farming from anyone? "Yes" or "No" .....

If "Yes" answer the following questions:

31. From where do you get credit?

The Land Bank	Comme rcial Banks	Co-operatives	Agric. Credit Board	Insurances Companies	Supplier's Credit	Private individuals	Other

32. What type of credit/loan do you obtain from your source(s)?

(i) Mortgage loans □

(ii) Seasonal loans □

(iii) Medium-term loans □

(iv) Others .....

33. What are the conditions for obtaining credit?

(i) .....(ii).....

(iii) ..... (iv).....

34. Do you meet the requirements in order to access credit? "Yes" or "No" .....

35. What interest rate do you pay on your loan? ..... % per .....

What is your view on the interest rate?

Too High		Moderate		Low	

34. What do think should be done in this province to make credit more accessible to farmers?

.....

F. SERVICES: EXTENSION AND OTHER DELIVERIES

35. Do you receive advice on farming from anyone? "Yes" or "No" .....

If "Yes" answer the following questions:

36. From where do you get information and advice?

Govt. Depts.	NGOs	Co-operatives	Parastatals	NAFU	Private Individuals	Suppliers	Others .....

37. What type of information and/or advice do you obtain from your source(s)?

(i) Marketing □
(ii) New technologies □
(iii) Credit □
(iv) Research □
(v) Others .....

38. Are these support services effective? "Yes" or "No" .....

39. If "Yes" how (eg. in cash or kind) and how much?

.....

40. What do think should be done in this province to make information and advice more accessible to farmers?

.....

G. TRAINING

41. How is your farm managed?

Self alone		Hired manager		Family members		Other	

Explain "Other" .....

42. Have you had any training in farm management from any organization? "Yes" or "No" .....

43. If "No" Why? .....

44. If "Yes" name the organization(s) .....

45. Briefly explain the programme of the training (e.g. basic farm accounting, record keeping, etc)

.....

H. MARKETING

46. Which of these categories of markets do you often sell your produce?

(i) Local □
(ii) National □
(iii) Regional (SADC) □
(iv) International □
(v) Others .....

47. Do you agree that the *quality* of your products affects (positively) the *competitiveness* of your agricultural/farming enterprise on these markets?

Response	Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree
	1	2	3	4	5

48. What are some of the constraints in the *marketing* of your produce?

(i) Production (eg. quality and quantity) □

(ii) Marketing (eg. sale of produce) □

(iii) Institutional (eg. associate members only) □

(iv) Policies (eg. Conditions of entry) □

(v) Programmes (eg. timing and frequency of marketing) □

(vi) Others .....

I. INVOLVEMENT OF WOMEN IN FARMING (Production, post-production, marketing etc.)

49. How many women are involved in farming in this area? .....

And how many men? .....

50. List the main farming activities of women .....

.....

51. To what extent do you agree that *women* should be involved in farming activities?

Response	Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree
	1	2	3	4	5

J. STATEMENTS

52. To what extent do you agree that the following statement impacts *positively* on the *productivity* of your farming operations?

Response	Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree
	1	2	3	4	5

●The present land reform approaches provide incentives for commercial agricultural production. □

●The present land tenure reform approaches improve family incomes. □

●Traditional land tenure arrangements in the former homelands provide incentives for the provision of support services for commercial farming. □

●Tribal authorities have a negative attitude towards present land tenure reform approaches. □

●The present land reform approaches have negative impact on the farming activities of women in rural areas. □

Thank you very much for talking to us!