



**UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE**



South Africa's land reform trajectory: A case study analysis of the Pro-active Land Acquisition Strategy within the Western Cape.

A mini thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree

MASTERS IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Institute for Social Development
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DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation entitled, **South Africa's land reform trajectory: A case study analysis of the Pro-active Land Acquisition Strategy within the Western Cape**, is my own work.

Neither the whole work nor any portion of it has been submitted before for any degree or examination in this or any other university, and all the sources that I have used or quoted have been acknowledged by the completed references.

Signed by:

M Swarts

Michelle Leoni Swarts

Date: 11 November 2021



DEDICATION

To my beloved late grandmother and aunt, Gertruida Jacoba Titus and Bet Swarts, I dedicate this dissertation in your honor. As a sign of appreciation for your dedication and guidance in my upbringing, which is testament of the young women I have become.



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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would first like to thank our Heavenly Father, for his unwavering love and favour he bestow on us each day. The courage and determination granted by Him, allowed me to complete the task at hand. The Bible declares in Luke 1:37. *“For with God nothing shall be impossible”*.

Secondly, appreciation to my family and close friends for their sincere motivation during the completion of the research.

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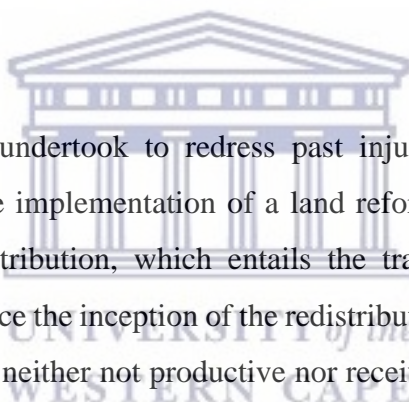
Blessings to all.

Michelle Leoni Swarts

ABSTRACT

South Africa's land reform trajectory: A case study analysis of the Pro-active Land Acquisition Strategy within the Western Cape

The South African Constitution is built on the premise of social justice, with the intent to “*heal the divisions*” of the past (RSA Government, 1994). The property rights clause (section 25 of the Constitution) in specific requires that insecure tenure brought about by racial discrimination and restrictions on land ownership promulgated by the 1913 Natives Land Act be redressed. The overall aim of social justice is to improve the quality-of-life and to enhance the potential of all citizens (RSA Government, 1994).



The democratic government undertook to redress past injustices brought about by the Apartheid regime, through the implementation of a land reform agenda. The study would however focus on land redistribution, which entails the transfer of land to previously disadvantaged individuals. Since the inception of the redistribution programme, a substantial portion of land transferred are neither not productive nor received sufficient post settlement support. The success of transformation within the agrarian structure thus seems doubtful given the current structure.

The aim of the study would thus be to assess the differentiators of the Pro-active land Acquisition Strategy (PLAS) in relation to its predecessors. Furthermore, it would be assessed how PLAS fosters development and underdevelopment amongst PLAS beneficiaries within the Western Cape Province, through the application of the Sustainable Livelihood Framework theoretical model. Within the application of the model, it is important to assess the various strategies employed to create resilience to absorb shocks and stress from the external environment. Whilst the model also establishes to what extent a sustainable livelihood could be maintained which will be able to develop both capabilities and opportunities in the short and long term.

Keywords: land redistribution; land reform; livelihoods; Pro-active Land Acquisition Strategy (PLAS); property rights; post-settlement support; rural development; security of tenure, social justice, wealth accumulation.



ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

CASP	Comprehensive Agricultural Support Programme
DAFF	Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (previous name)
DALRRA	Department of Agriculture, Land Reform and Rural Development
EWC	Expropriation without Compensation
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy
LRAD	Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development
NDP	National Development Plan
PLAS	Pro-active Land Acquisition Strategy
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Plan
SLA	Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (synonym for Sustainable Livelihood Framework, SLF)
SLAG	Settlement Land Acquisition Grant
UNDP	United Nations Development Plan



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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Overview and relevance of the study	1
1.2 Background and contextualisation	4
1.3 Theoretical and Conceptual framework	10
1.4 Problem Statement, Research Questions, Aims and Objectives	12
1.5 Limitations of the Study	15
1.6 Ethics considerations/statement	15
1.7 Chapter outline	16
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW	18
2.1 Introduction	18
2.2 Overview of chapter	21
2.3 Agriculture and land reform policy discourse since democracy	21
2.4 Fundamental characteristics of PLAS, which could impact on the overall success of the redistribution policy discourse and its contribution to land reform	34
2.5 Land redistribution: Implementation progress to date	46
2.6 Conclusion	48
CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK	50
3.1 Introduction	50
3.2 Overview of the chapter	50
3.3. The evolution of development theories	51
3.4 History and Conceptualisation of the Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF)	56
3.5 Relevance of applying the Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF) in assessing the land question	63
3.6 Conclusion	66

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	67
4.1 Introduction	67
4.2 Overview of the chapter	67
4.3 Research inquiry within the social science discipline.....	68
4.4 Research Methodology	70
4.5 Selection of the research methodology, aligned to the aims of the research study (explorative, descriptive or casual).....	75
4.6 Data collection process	76
4.7 Characteristics of the research design.....	77
4.8 Target Population and types of data sources limitation	79
4.9 Ethical Consideration: Informed Consent and Anonymity and Confidentiality.....	81
4.10 Conclusion	82
CHAPTER 5: CASE STUDY ANALYSIS OF THE PRO-ACTIVE LAND ACQUISITION STRATEGY (PLAS) WITHIN THE WESTERN CAPE	83
5.1 Introduction and Chapter Outline	83
5.2 Relevance of the Western Cape to the agricultural production basket, as well as..... developments pertaining to the Census of Commercial Agriculture	83
5.3 Case study 1: M0orreesburg, West Coast Municipality	85
5.4 Case study 2: Van Rhynsdorp, Matzikama Municipality	91
5.5 Case study 3: Caledon, Overberg Municipality	96
5.6. Case study 4: Beaufort-West, Central Karoo Municipality	102
5.7 Case study 5: Paarl, Cape Winelands Municipality	106
5.8 Case study 6: Cape Metropole	111
5.9. Conclusion	115
CHAPTER 6: MAIN FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND CONCLUSION	118
6.1 Introduction and Chapter Outline	118

6.2 Main findings of the study	119
6.2.2 Factors that should not limit beneficiaries	121
6.2.3 Security of tenure	124
6.2.4 Tedious and bureaucratic government processes.....	125
6.2.5 Political uncertainty	127
6.2.6 Pre-requisite of mentors and strategic partners and the role they fulfil.	127
6.3 Recommendations to Main findings	128
6.4 Conclusion.....	129
7. REFERENCES.....	130



CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview and relevance of the study

The South African Constitution is built on the premise of social justice, with the intention to “*heal the divisions*” of the colonial past (RSA Government, 1994). The property rights clause, as promulgated in *section 25 of the Constitution*, in specific, requires that security of tenure infringed by racial discrimination as well as dispossession of land ownership as promulgated by the 1913 Natives Land Act be rectified. The overall objective of social justice is to improve the quality-of-life and enhance the capabilities of all citizens on an equal basis (RSA Government, 1994). Hence, no person should be deprived from owning property, except by the application of common law principles (RSA Government, 1994). It is for this reason that the South African Government is required to take reasonable legislative and other measures within the ambit of available resources (including land owned by the state) to bring about equitable access to natural resources which stretches from land to other natural resources (RSA Government, 1994). It is important to note that the Constitution specifically depicts that these natural resources, are not limited to land only and hence it can thus be assumed that water is also a vital aspect capitulated within the equitable redistribution of natural resources.

All three pillars of land reform were originally conceptualised under the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) of 1994 which stemmed from the democratic governing’s party’s Reconstruction and Strategy Conference held in January 1994. The main objective of the RDP was to redress historical injustices promoted by the apartheid regime which resulted in land dispossession and racial inequalities, through an integrated, coherent socio-economic policy framework (O’Malley, 2005). During apartheid, black people were not legally permitted to own land for productive use and thus had limited scope in participating in the formal economy (Binswanger-Mkhize, 2014). This ultimately impacted on their overall well-being and livelihood prospects, which is still evident amongst racial classes within modern society.

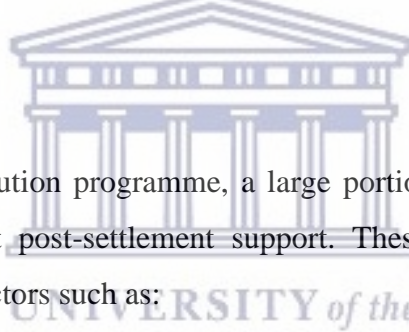
The democratic government undertook to redress past injustices brought about by the apartheid regime, through the implementation of the land reform agenda. The programme consists of a three-pillar programme namely: land redistribution, land restitution and tenure security (SAHO, 2012). The study would however focus on land redistribution, which entails the transfer of land to previously marginalised individuals. The aim under the land redistribution programme is to transform the historical agrarian ownership structure which is mainly characterised by being white male dominated. Important to note, is the fact that land transfers should be accompanied by the necessary farmer support and development. Subsequently, the notion was that a “new class” of farmers would emerge through their participation, productive use of agricultural land and contribution to economic development and thus improve the livelihood of the rural poor (Jacobs *et al.*, 2003). On the other hand, restitution involves the restoration or compensation of disposed land, and lastly land tenure is enacted to provide security of tenure to qualifying land occupants on both commercial and communal land (SAHO, 2012).

Scholars such as Ntsebeza, 2007; Walker & Cousins, 2016; Kepe & Hall, 2017, and members serving on the Presidential Advisory Panel on Land Reform and Agriculture (2019) have stated that the implementation of land redistribution have not been successful to date. After the Zuma-administration took office in 2009, there has been a significant slow-down in the transfer of land to the intended beneficiaries of the land redistribution programme (Boshoff, *et al.*, 2018). South Africa has 1,22 billion hectares of land of which 17,112,800 hectares is allocated towards the former homelands and 105,267,300 arable hectares (SA Parliament, 2016). Commercial white- farmers owned ±82,76 million hectares during 1993, of which the democratic government prioritised 30% or 24,83 million hectares for redistribution to marginalised individuals by 2014 (Binswanger-Mkhize, 2014 & DARDLR, 2021).

Land transfer progress to date is summarised below:

- Land redistribution efforts have only yielded 5,46% or 4,70 million hectares of the targeted 30% or 25,855,808 hectares between 1994 and 2016 (Kepe & Hall, 2016 as cited in SA Parliament, 2016).

- Note that there is a slight change in the commercial agricultural land reported in Kepe and Hall, 2016 as cited in High-level panel report (2017) and data issued in the Abstract of Agricultural Statistics 2021 which indicated that the commercial agricultural land equates to 86.19 million hectares.
- Hence, a decision was taken by the government to shift the 2014 land reform target to 2030.
- In 2019, 25 years since the dawn of democracy, a review of the redistribution plan revealed that only 4,87 million hectares or 5,439 farms was acquired under land redistribution (SA Presidency, 2019).
- The most recent land redistribution transfer was announced during the 2021 State of the Nation Address. During his speech, the President indicated that 5 million hectares were allocated through the acquisition and transfer of 5,500 farms which benefitted 300,000 beneficiaries (SA Parliament, 2021).



Since the inception of the redistribution programme, a large portion of land transferred were neither productive, nor received sufficient post-settlement support. These unproductive land transfers are generally the outcome of various factors such as:

- conflicting policy agendas between different spheres within government,
- monetary instability from government,
- poor managerial capabilities and communal disputes on farm level, and
- lack of sufficient packaged post-transfer support to new entrants into the agricultural sector, to mention a few factors hindering the pace of agricultural land transfers as well as the realisation of the productive use of land that was previously transferred under the land reform programme (Partridge, 2014).

In 2014, an external evaluation was conducted on land reform businesses in the Western Cape to reflect on their performances over a five-year period. The evaluation concluded that 62% out of 246 agricultural projects achieved a success rate, while 38% failed (of which 24% incurred challenges and 14% completely failed) (WC DoA, 2014). A follow-up external valuation followed in 2019, to again track

progress over the past five-years. It concluded that the success rate had increased to 72%, followed by 24% that still incurred challenges and 4% which totally failed (WC DoA, 2019). The parameters used to assess study participants included environmental, social-economic, and economic measures. Given the challenges, government should question whether it is rational to expect previously disadvantaged farmers to succeed in transforming the agricultural sector. Especially, given that the sector has been built on the premise of white commercialisation which predominately exist on capitalistic theories that fosters wealth accumulation from above. It is therefore no doubt that smallholder cannot penetrate the agricultural sector without adequate and comprehensive post-settlement support, which would enable them to “accumulate wealth from below” (Cousins, 2007 & 2019).

Several scholars argue that after more than 20 years since the democratic government took office, colonial past injustices and racial class divisions are still prevalent in South Africa (Neves & du Toit as cited by Partridge, 2014).

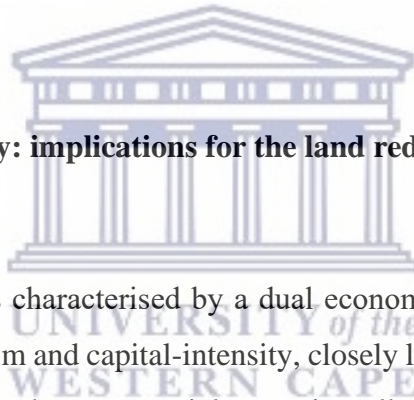


1.2 Background and contextualisation

The most recent land redistribution programme, namely the Pro-active Land Acquisition Strategy (PLAS) is the current mechanism used through which land transfers are taking place. It is for this reason that the focus of this study is on PLAS beneficiaries within the Western Cape - specifically to determine to which degree the strategy contributes towards social justice, meeting the basic needs of people, attributing towards the development of people’s potential, and ensuring tenure security. Lastly, it will also be investigating how PLAS is contributing towards the faster implementation of land redistribution, in relation to prior land redistribution policies implemented to date.

The success of transformation within the agrarian structure seems doubtful given the current structure of the agrarian sector. Since South Africa’s capitalist agriculture sector “*positioned itself to retain apartheid*

era predominance on many fronts”, including economic, legal and political ideologies (Bernstein 2013, as cited in Walker and Cousins, 2015). It is concerning in how smallholder farmers and new entrants are expected to use transferred agricultural land in a sustainable manner and reproduce surpluses. This, without equipping these farmers with the necessary resources (including the technical and financial knowhow, post-settlement support, and title deeds to mention a few) which jeopardises the effective functioning of their farming businesses. Hence, the multi-dimension Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF) would be incorporated from a theoretical perspective to assess what capabilities, asset classes, activities are required to contribute towards a sustainable livelihood (Scoones, 1998). In addition, it would also be assessed how PLAS beneficiaries within the Western Cape employ different strategies to remain resilient to stresses and shocks and be able to survive within the current political economic conditions.



1.2.1 Agricultural policy trajectory: implications for the land redistribution agenda adopted to date

South Africa’s agricultural sector is characterised by a dual economic system. One, is the commercial sector which emulates from capitalism and capital-intensity, closely linked to the urban centres and being export-orientated (Hall, 2015). While the commercial sector is well-developed and more resourceful, the second system, the emerging agricultural sector is somewhat informal, undeveloped, and resource-poor (Cousins, 2007; Phillips, 2010). This creates an enormous challenge to ‘successfully’ integrate the previously disadvantaged new class of farmers into the mainstream economy. Especially more so given that the commercial agricultural sector traditionally strived on the backbone of the colonial structure. The outcome of these socio-economic inequalities is still very much evident in the spatial and human capital development within society (Philips, 2010). In addition to this, disparities among the rural working class and the capital accumulators are widening the poverty gap.

1.2.2 Imperative agricultural sector reforms: towards liberation

Key agricultural reforms during the 1980s and 1990s included the deregulation of agricultural markets and the withdrawal of direct state support such as subsidies to white commercial farmers. These changes however provided farmers greater opportunities within the global marketing landscape, but not without challenges such as increased competition from subsidised foreign agricultural products as well as highly integrated supply-chains (Bernstein, 2013). The concentration of agri-food value chains resulted in immediate gains for the commercial farming class (Hall, 2015). Historical credit sources included direct subsidies in the form of agricultural credit bonds and low-interest Land Bank finance facilities to private co-operative and commercial banks (Bernstein, 2015). Through private property rights enacted through title deeds and bankable credit status, commercial farmers continue to access finance for the acquisition of production inputs, physical assets and infrastructure development more effortlessly as compared to smallholder farmers (Bernstein, 2013).



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1.2.3 Land reform policy trajectory

- i. The Settlement Land Acquisition Grant (SLAG), stemmed from the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). The policy was pro-poor orientated and prioritised the protection of tenure rights of rural dwellers during the early 1990s (O'Malley, 2005, as cited by the Nelson Mandela Foundation, 2021).
- ii. Followed by the Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development (LRAD) policy which shifted away from SLAG. Policy formulation was fostered through the macro-economy orientated Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy (GEAR) in 1996. This however created conflicting interest between the overarching developmental agenda of the RDP and the neoliberal economic agenda fostered by GEAR (Karriem & Hoskins, 2016). Due to the shift towards a fiscal balance through the inclusion of neoliberal policies rather than development solely (O'Malley, 2005, as cited on the Nelson Mandela Foundation, 2021).
- iii. In 2011, the National Development Plan (NDP) created a more long-term objective towards 2030, in which the developmental priorities of the democratic state could be implemented alongside aspired

economic growth initiatives. The NDP's overarching goal is to create an integrated and inclusive agricultural sector, which promotes investment in high-value, labour absorbing agricultural industries as well as the focus on the development of different typologies of farming and not to continue the standalone focus on large-scale farming (NDP, 2012).

1.2.4 Property rights system

South Africa has a four-tier property rights system, namely (i) freehold privately owned land with limited extent, (ii) freehold property rights owned by foreigners as well as, (iii) communal property right institutional user rights. PLAS forms part of the (iv) leasehold property right tenure system, where government remains the landowner (SA Parliament, 2011). The initial undertaking under PLAS was for beneficiaries to be caretakers of agricultural land for a three to five-year trial period. The 'cool-off' period was to assess whether beneficiaries acquired the necessary skills to farm successfully. Hall (2015) however, argues that government became an active participant in the property market, and not an enabler to foster the land reform agenda. In addition, the land redistribution trajectory is moving towards '*productionism*', through its expectation that merely commercial reproduction guarantee long-term viability.

1.2.5 Political will to safeguard security of tenure amongst beneficiaries

The Provision of Land and Assistance Act, 126 of 1993 was amended in 2008. Section 10(1)(a) of the Provision of Land and Assistance Amendment Act 58 of 2008, depicts that the Minister responsible for Land Affairs can pro-actively acquire land, from funds ringfenced under the Agricultural Holdings Account appropriated by Parliament (RSA Parliament, 1993). The Act further stipulates the terms and conditions under which the Minister can "sell, exchange or donate" any land acquired as per the discretion of the Minister within the parameters of section 11 of Act 126 (RSA Parliament, 1993). In accordance with the State Land Disposal Act 48 of 1961 it is indicated that in an event where the state disposes land, it is required to provide documentation in the form of an appropriate deed of grant to register the transaction in the deeds register (RSA Parliament, 2021).

A parliamentary question from the Democratic Alliance (DA) on 15 June 2018, requested the Minister of Rural Development and Land Reform to provide a justification for not allowing the transfer of state land on a wider scale to the intended land redistribution beneficiaries due to uncertainty that prevails regarding lease timeframes (SA Parliament, 2018). In response, the Minister indicated that PLAS is intended to acquire strategically located land and to transfer by means of a leasehold, as per the decision taken at the Land Summit in 2005.

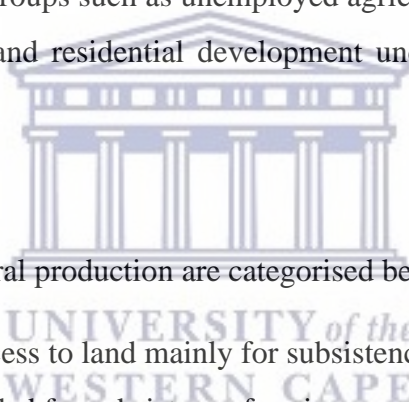
The lease period was detailed in the State Land Lease Disposal Policy (2013, which was revised in 2019), which puts forward a 30-year period with the option to renew for an additional 20 years (SA Presidency, 2017; Farmers Weekly, 2020). This however nullifies the 2006 PLAS implementation plan which aimed to leasehold farmland for a trial lease period, after which the state could dispose of the land if satisfied with the qualifying terms and conditions prescribed by the Minister responsible for the Land Reform portfolio (DLA, 2006). Furthermore, it has also come to the fore that in some instances PLAS beneficiaries have difficulty in acquiring tenure security through valid lease agreements. Due to the failure to renew lease agreements within reasonable time or cancelling lease agreements without any valid reason such as the recent case of Mr Ivan Cloete from the Colenso farm in the West Coast (SA Government, 2021; Farmers Weekly, 2020).

1.2.6 Beneficiary selection

The implementation of PLAS (2006) is intended to target beneficiaries depicted as previously disadvantaged individuals, specifically black people residing in communal areas with farming skills in insecure tenure rights or pro-poor as widely classified. 'Elite capture' or 'Elite black commercial clasps' has become a widely phenomenon associated with beneficiary selection benefiting from the LRAD and PLAS land redistribution policy directives, which is in direct conflict with the pro-poor policy initially adopted (SA Parliament, 2016 & 2019; Mtero *et al*, 2019). With the Ivan Cloete PLAS land eviction it has once again come to the fore that military veterans are favoured above the pro-poor beneficiary selection criteria put forward during the initial Implementation Plan for PLAS (2006). A means-test was

subjected to marginalised groups such as the landless, women, farm workers, labour tenants, urban and peri-urban dwellers as well as the disabled and youth (SA Parliament, 2012 and 2020).

In response to the above as well as the lack of recent policies to address the needs of the ‘middle line’ referring to the emerging or smallholder farming class in relation to the policy aspired commercial farming class, government has recently gazetted the National Policy for Beneficiary and Land Allocation (SA Parliament, 2020). The newly drafted Policy outlines the qualifying categories of beneficiaries aligned with the various land needs that persist such as for agricultural production, commonage, human settlements, industrial development and residential (SA Government, 2020). Important to note is the direct inclusion of special targeted groups such as unemployed agricultural graduates, military veterans, state land residents and industrial and residential development under the qualifying criteria for land allocation (SA Parliament, 2020).



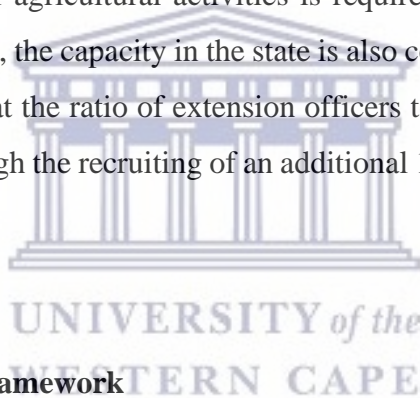
The specific categories for agricultural production are categorised below:

- (i) households with minimal access to land mainly for subsistence farming,
- (ii) small-scale production intended for subsistence farming,
- (iii) medium-scale commercial production with aspiration to expand, and
- (iv) large-scale commercial or mega farmers disadvantaged by location or whom are resource constrained, but with the potential to grow (SA Parliament, 2020).

A skills audit, expertise in the agricultural sector as well as the capability of the intended beneficiary with the farm potential will also form part of the assessment going forward. Furthermore, it is also a requirement for the beneficiary to have a bankable business plan, off-take agreements, and own investment to contribute towards working capital requirements and the development of the farming enterprise.

1.2.7 Post-settlement support

Hall (2015) indicates that successful land redistribution stems from 1/3 land (asset) acquisition and 2/3 post settlement support. Post-settlement has once-again surfaced during the Advisory Panel on Land Reform and Agriculture findings (2019), through which it was highlighted that there is no law that obligates government to provide such after-care service. In direct correlation is the mandate of the Department of Agriculture, Land Reform and Rural Development (DALRRA) which is to provide farmer support services towards the acceleration of development such as the Comprehensive Agricultural Support Programme (CASP) as well as the Recapitalisation Programme (SA Parliament, 2019). Support to intended beneficiaries which are generally decentralised and subsequently time-lagged, regardless of whether timeous implementation of agricultural activities is required to avoid production deficiencies (SA Government, 2019). In addition, the capacity in the state is also constrained as the Minister indicated during the 2020/21 Budget Vote that the ratio of extension officers to farms is currently 1:850 which is aspired to be reduced to 1:250 through the recruiting of an additional 10,000 extension officers nationally (DALRRA, 2020).



1.3 Theoretical and Conceptual framework

The Green Paper on Land Reform Policy Framework denotes that development is characterised as certain political choices, decisions, administrative practices, procedures, and institutions which denotes progress (RSA Parliament, 2011). Karriem & Hoskins (2016) further adds that development is a transformative process from ‘economic backwardness and poverty to modernised, industrial technological advances’ within the economy. Hence, it can be concluded that, underdevelopment is connotated by stagnation or ‘backwardness’ such as conditions brought about by colonial social and economic fragmentation and separation (RSA Parliament, 2011).

Given the land reform crossroad, Cousins (2007; 2013) argue to rather adopt a bottom-up developmental approach to encourage “wealth accumulation from below”, to address structural poverty and inequality

as compared to the traditional capitalist philosophy which promotes “accumulation from above”. A rethinking is required regarding the role of the new farming class within the agrarian structure (Cousins, 2007 & 2019). It is therefore important that new entrants are not classified as homogenous, but that the different typologies are considered in the formation of coherent policies which needs to be well-targeted to accelerate economic growth and development.

Cousins (2013) and Hall (2015), argues that the main reason for the classification of farmers, is due to the following factors:

- a) combining capital and labour in different degrees to reproduce or either supplement livelihood sources or promote capitalism,
- b) employing different marketing strategies depending on their production output capabilities, as well as
- c) the extent to which production is pursued, such as subsistence while others may produce moderate surplus and others for target-orientated markets both local and/or export.

The Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF) would be incorporated from a theoretical perspective to assess what capabilities, asset classes, and activities are required to contribute toward a sustainable livelihood (Scoones, 1998). Within the application of the model, it is important to assess the various strategies employed to create resilience to absorb shocks and stress from the external environment. Furthermore, a sustainable livelihood should be able to maintain and enhance capabilities and provide opportunities for the next generation, as well as to contribute towards the livelihoods of others both in the short and long term.

The SLF theoretical framework is widely adopted within political economy debates concerned with rural development and poverty reduction, to depict how the combination of different livelihood resources (natural, human, financial, social) influences the livelihood strategies (enable the intensification or extensification of agricultural activities, ability to diversify, or demonstrate the ability to be resilient). Importantly, the institutional and organisational process within the macro environment is identified and

determines how it influences the outcome of livelihood strategies employed, and ultimately results in the achievement of a sustainable livelihood framework or not.

Considering the previously mentioned, it can be agreed that “land redistribution is immensely complex and messier than anticipated” (Hall, 2007). In addition, land transfers by itself will surely not secure and route prosperity to wealth creation for smallholder farmers (Hall, 2010). Available literature acknowledges various shortcomings within the land redistribution process; however, the success of existing land reform participants is minimal. The study therefore attempts to highlight factors that contribute toward the development and underdevelopment of PLAS beneficiaries within the ambit of the Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF).

1.4 PROBLEM STATEMENT, RESEARCH QUESTIONS, AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

1.4.1 Research objectives

The primary research objectives are to:

- Assess the differentiators of the Pro-active Land Acquisition Strategy (PLAS) in relation to its predecessors, which fosters development and underdevelopment.

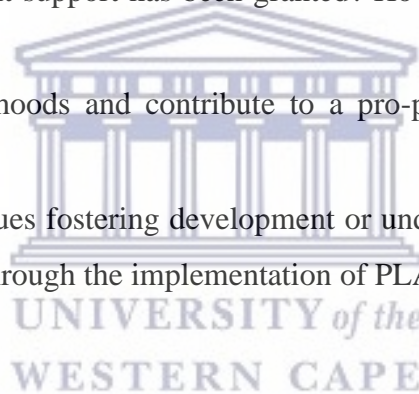
To achieve the primary objective, the following secondary objectives will be addressed:

- Determine how the policy could attribute toward the acceleration of the land redistribution agenda.
- Assess whether the implementation of PLAS is aligned toward redressing social justice and in specific tenure security.
- Determine whether the National Policy for Beneficiary and Land Allocation guidelines are implemented coherently to identify and select beneficiaries.
- Assess the different post-settlement support strategies implemented.

- Provide recommendations which could enhance the development of intended land redistribution beneficiaries.
- Determine whether PLAS has the potential to improve the livelihoods of new entrants to foster “*accumulation from below*”.

1.4.2 Research questions

- To what extent does the implementation of PLAS provide tenure security?
- How is the implementation of the PLAS policy used to ensure that land transfers remain productive and can reproduce?
- What type of post-settlement support has been granted? How effective was the implementation thereof?
- Does PLAS improve livelihoods and contribute to a pro-poor strategy in the South African agrarian sector?
- What are the underlying issues fostering development or undeveloped under the auspices of the land redistribution agenda through the implementation of PLAS?



1.4.3 Research Design

The research design used mainly depends on the type of social enquiry, time, and resources available, flexibility and innovation required in the structure of the report (Babbie *et al.*, 2010; Creswell, 2014). Due to the complexity of the research problem, a mixed research approach will be employed to assess how the Proactive Land Acquisition Strategy (PLAS) has been implemented within the Western Cape. Thus, both qualitative and quantitative research approaches would be used to conduct an explanatory research study to answer ‘who’ as well as ‘what and how’ questions pertaining to the research. Qualitative and quantitative methods give us different, complementary pictures of observations. Unfortunately, because qualitative research tends to assess the quality of things using descriptive words and images whilst quantitative research relies on human input into computers, it is those quantitative strategies which are regarded to be more scientific than qualitative research. On the other hand, qualitative research

requires more precise and careful interpretation of definitions and procedures and be more precise in their writing than most other scientists (Lune & Berg, 2017). Due to the difference between qualitative and quantitative research methods within the field of social sciences, the two methods complement each other (Lune & Berg, 2017).

A semi-structured questionnaire was developed to capture both the primary and secondary objectives and ultimately answer the listed research questions. The justification thereof is to provide a more in-depth understanding of each respondent's view as well as experiences. Bryman (2016) reiterates that semi-structured questionnaires provide the researcher with more freedom to explore the research problem and to have an open mind regarding the concepts and theory to be adopted within the study. A combination of qualitative and quantitative-led questions has been incorporated to obtain sufficient information to formulate an in-depth case study of each respondent.

The study sample is limited to Western Cape PLAS beneficiaries and associated parties within the field of land reform project implementation. Given the available and public information, PLAS beneficiaries would be randomly selected. Hence, probability sampling would be conducted within each municipal district of the Western Cape to capture the skill and competency of each beneficiary section, establish whether there is a correlation between the beneficiary selection and the land use as well and complexity of the respective agricultural commodities within each specific municipal district. A case study approach will be adopted to assess the information retrieved from the questionnaires to narrate the different experiences and observations of each of the research respondent in the most accurate manner (Bryman, 2016).

1.5 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

A list of PLAS beneficiaries is not available to the public. Transparency regarding the publication of beneficiaries has again come to the fore, with the recent Ivan Cloete debacle previously mentioned. It is for this reason that the Western Cape Provincial Minister responsible for Agriculture, Dr Ivan Meyer, has requested Ms. Thoko Didiza (National Minister responsible for Agriculture, Land Reform and Development or DALRRD) to publish the list of land reform beneficiaries within the Western Cape Province.

The action by the Western Cape Provincial Minister suggests that his department is not fully aware at present of who the lawful beneficiaries are of each individual land reform transfers. This was confirmed to some extent since a query was lodged to the acting Chief Director of Farmer Support and Development at Elsenburg, Mr Jerry Arries. Mr Arries who in turn directed the request to Mr Jacques Pheiffer, Director of Strategic Land Acquisitions within the Western Cape (falling under the ambit of DARRLD). The DARRLD official confirmed via email that permission is required to share various information, which has not come to the fore.



The alternative was to use my own networks within the agricultural transformation space, in addition to the knowledge accumulated within the past 12 years. A valuable network exists, which stretches from my internship at the Western Cape Department of Agriculture, and employment at HORTGRO (umbrella association for the deciduous fruit industry) as well as my current position in the agricultural sector at a commercial bank.

1.6 ETHICS CONSIDERATIONS/STATEMENT

The moral integrity of a researcher is of utmost importance to ensure that the research process and findings are trustworthy and valid. Hence, ethics remains a critical part of the research process to ensure that the

research results presented, and the recommendations put forward are regarded trustworthy (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011).

It is thus important to note the following:

- The consent of respondents must be obtained voluntary prior to any participatory engagements.
- Respondents must be fully informed regarding the nature of the study, how their input would add value to research study as well as the potential risk involved.
- The rights of respondents must be protected, and their participation will only be disclosed if consent is provided.
- Sensitive information regarding each respondent's experience will be discussed with the research supervisor before it is published.



1.7 Chapter outline

Below is an outline of how chapters would be structured in this research report:

Chapter 1: Introduction will provide background and contextualisation of the land question, and how the Pro-active Land Strategy (PLAS) is contributing to overall land reform objectives.

Chapter 2: Literature review in which existing literature on the research topic would be assessed, to contextualise the trajectory of land redistribution policies implemented prior to PLAS. Research debates such as the below listed will be highlighted and demonstrate how this study will contribute to the existing debate.

- Key measures highlighted in the Policy on Beneficiary Selection and Land Allocation, to enhance implementation of PLAS.
- What implications does PLAS have on security of tenure and the social-justice debate?

- Post-settlement support landscape from the government to intended beneficiaries and how implementation takes place.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework argument put forward by Prof Cousins which is to foster land reform policies which promotes ‘capital accumulation from below’, rather than the capitalist ideology which fosters ‘capital accumulation from above’.

Chapter 4: Research Methodology, provides a description of the research design and methodology employed.

- How sampling was conducted.
- Study participants selection.
- Unstructured questionnaire design.
- Data management: collection, analysis, and ethics compliance.

Chapter 5: Present analysed data in a case study format. Indicate which factors does each case study highlight in relation towards the development and/or underdevelopment of the land redistribution agenda. Furthermore, a brief synopsis of the overarching findings will be put forward.

Chapter 6: Provide summarised remarks on research, main recommendations put forward and conclude on the research project.



CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

South African land reform trajectory: analysing the progress on the quest to address the land question within modern society.

2.1 Introduction

The opening statement of Sol Plaatjie's book *The Native Life in South Africa*, is a good reflection of the reason why the land question remains a meaningful discussion within modern society. Plaatjie's book (1914 as cited in Remington et.al, 2016), describes that the Friday morning of 2 June 1913, in which the native within South Africa found themselves not just a slave, but a pariah which is synonyms to an 'outcast' within their birth country. This was not out of free will, but due to the proclamation of the Natives Land Act of 1913 enforced by the Apartheid government (SA History, 2021). This colonial dispossession legislation prohibited natives from buying or renting land, except in demarcated areas within small reserves which consisted mainly of wasteland as it was severely overcrowded. Accordingly, Plaatjie depicted a situation in which "4,50 million natives were located to an area the size of 1 out of 18 parts of the Union, which translates to less than 6% of the land whilst the 1 million whites were afforded an opportunity to occupy the balance (17 out of 18 parts) which equates to approximately 94% of the Union".

Ultimately, the farming landscape changed for natives in South Africa, as they were confined to either being share-croppers or tenant labourers, which Plaatjie describes as a 'give-and-take policy of live and let live':

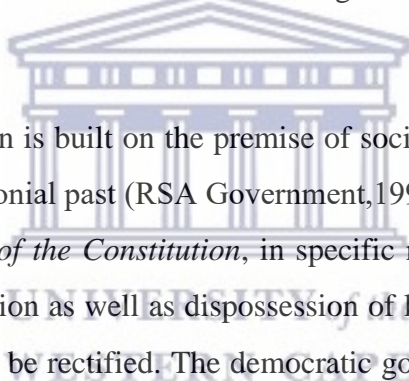
"...and see how willingly the Native toils in the fields; see him gathering in his crops and handing over the white farmer's share of the crop to the owner of the land (Plaatjie, 1914, as cited in Remington et. al., 2016).

Land dispossession regulations were entrenched by the apartheid government for nearly 350 years, whereby native or indigenous people were disposed from their productive land (Cousins, 2016). Hence, it could be questioned whether the progress to date could be compared with the prolonged legacy effects of the ‘hard-wired capitalist system’. The Freedom Charter adopted by the democratic ruling government, the African National Congress in 1955, proclaims that ‘South Africa belongs to all who live in it’. It further, acknowledges that ‘*our people have been robbed of their birth right to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality*’ (ANC, 1955; SA History, 2021). The premise of the Freedom Charter further echoes that ‘*the land shall be shared and re-divided amongst those who work it*’, which should be the first point of departure in terms of policy formulations pertaining to the intended beneficiaries of the newly democratic process to redistribute land.

It is for this reason that the Government of Unity, drafted a policy directive to achieve socio-economic justice which aimed to redress the inequality and reduce poverty through the mobilisation of national resources (RDP, 1994). The government was however faced by a challenge in which it needed to create independence, reconstruct society, and foster developmental aspirations on the one hand. While, also creating the required economic growth on the other hand, to ensure that the government has the required fiscal means to fund the ‘reconstruction and development’ agenda of the democratic government (Greenberg, 2014).

Saul (2012) as cited in Kepe & Hall (2018), questions whether the South African government is in fact confronting the reality that we are ‘*living under falls pretences of decolonisation or recolonisation*’? Which is the illusion of being liberated and portraying socio-economic freedom or equality, on the one hand, while none of the democratic efforts has led to redistributive justice within modern society. High unemployment, poverty levels and inequality within the economy, is still very much evident within society. Land is a central feature of the colonial systems and institutions, hence the importance of addressing the land question within the decolonisation debate should be acknowledged. Agri SA (2020), also

reaffirmed that the ownership of assets such as land is fundamental in unlocking the financial value thereof and to leverage financial and economic prosperity within modern economies. It further argues that the best performing economies within the world has used land to generate wealth, foster economic growth and prosperity (Agri SA, 2020). This notion is further supported by Kirsten (2017), but importantly the two ideological conflicts which exist between liberal economist and the rural sociology or the political economic school of thought is acknowledged. Liberal economist supports the notion that land is a productive asset which is critical for economic development, while the latter ideology views land differently as it is associated with a sense of belonging and strategy used to contribute towards a sustainable livelihood. This once again, affirms that land ownership is paramount in addressing the land question and the economic implications it has on the marginalised within a society.

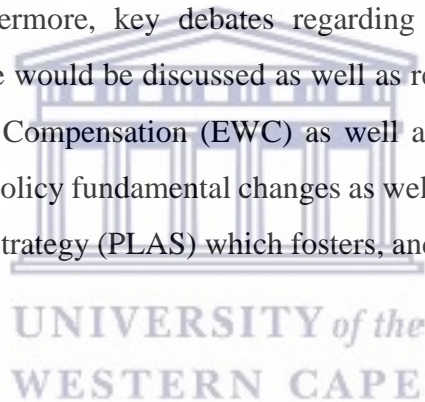


The South African Constitution is built on the premise of social justice, with the intention to “*heal the divisions*” of our colonial past (RSA Government, 1994). The property rights clause, as promulgated in *section 25 of the Constitution*, in specific requires that security of tenure infringed by racial discrimination as well as dispossession of land ownership as promulgated by the 1913 Natives Land Act be rectified. The democratic government undertook to redress past injustices through the implementation of a land reform agenda. The land reform programme consists of a three-pillar programme namely: land redistribution, land restitution and tenure security (SA Parliament, 2012). The study would however focus on land redistribution, which entails the transfer of land to previously marginalised individuals. The three sub-programmes of land reform are however designed to complement each other, as restitution and tenure security are rights-based and not intended to change the racial profile of the agricultural sector (PLAAS, 2016). On the other hand, the land redistribution programme is not rights-based and aims to transform the historical agrarian ownership structure characterised as being white male dominated (PLAAS, 2016). On the other hand, restitution involves the restoration of the disposed land by claimants who were forcefully removed from their land prior to the 9 June 1913 cut-off date through the enacting of the Natives Land Act. Lastly, land tenure is enacted to provide security of tenure to qualifying land occupants on both

commercial and communal land who fall victim to historical discriminatory practices (Lahiff, 2000; SA Parliament, 2012).

2.2 Overview of chapter

This chapter captures the discourse within the agricultural policy and how these fundamental changes have influenced the land reform agenda to date. With specific reference to the necessary farmer support and development that should accompany land transfers, for the “new farming class” to emerge through their participation, productive use of agricultural land and contribution to economic development and thus improve the livelihood of the rural poor (Jacobs *et al.*, 2003). Furthermore, key debates regarding the evolvement of the land redistribution policy discourse would be discussed as well as recent developments pertaining to the Expropriation without Compensation (EWC) as well as the Land Claims Court and Commission. Lastly, the key policy fundamental changes as well as those continuing under the Pro-active Land Acquisition Strategy (PLAS) which fosters, and hampers development would be discussed in more detail.



2.3 Agriculture and land reform policy discourse since democracy

2.3.1 Agricultural policy discourse

At the dawn of the new democratic dispensation, agricultural restructuring was already well underway since the early 1980s (Greenberg, 2014). It started, with deregulation in the financial sector during the 1977s, following the De Kock Commission of Inquiry recommendations put forward in 1985 which put forward an argument that it would be in favour of national interest to open the domestic economy and to compete within the international market (Bhana, 1992). This entailed the adoption of market-related interest rates, the disbanding of prescribed investment, the relaxing of exchange controls and creating an enabling environment to facilitate an efficient foreign exchange market. Subsequently, existing agricultural policies

were deregulated, and land and water policies were separated. The landscape changed significantly in that direct government subsidies towards the agricultural industry was significantly reduced and single marketing channels with fixed price mechanism were abolished. Farmers had to compete in a free-market system which created opportunities for the ‘already progressive’ or ‘modernised’ commercial agricultural sector, but which halted progress for the new entrant farmers which created an unlevel playing field.

Kirsten (2017) acknowledged that the survival of white-owned farms during the apartheid era was backed by ‘massive government support programmes’ which existed in the form of direct state subsidies, exploitive labour legislation and controlled agricultural marketing boards. In addition, he states that each district had well-equipped staff to provide agricultural technical service. Furthermore, these white farmers managed to survive and were able to have ‘simple, yet decent livelihoods’, which enabled them to provide a good educational basis for the generations after them (Kirsten, 2017). Whites were thus able to climb the social ladder through ‘Afrikaner empowerment’, and shift to non-agricultural sectors in the event where farming was not viable when the magnitude of government support was withdrawn. A trend of increasing farm consolidation continued after democracy, as non-viable farming units were sold to the most successful neighbouring farmer (Greenberg, 2014; Kirsten, 2017).

The mass roll-out of direct government support intended by the democratic government, for new farming entrants was highly politicised and dismantled, not matching up to the apartheid government support packages previously received by the commercial sector (Greenberg, 2014; Kirsten, 2017). The *‘failure of post-settlement support stems from the non-alignment of conceptualisation land reform beyond the transfer of land, poor communication and a mismatch in the implementation amongst the government departments’* responsible for land reform and rural development as well as agricultural development (Jacobs, 2003, as cited in Lahiff, 2000). Government budget allocations have mainly been inadequate toward the needs of land restitution and land redistribution beneficiaries (Kirsten, 2017). As highlighted in some

instances applicants are discouraged from lodging new grant applications due to a backlog in the implementation of existing commitments (Lahiff, 2000). A good example thereof is that the Western Cape Department of Agriculture has already put forward a notice, for the closing-off of applications for the Comprehensive Agricultural Support Programme for the 2022/2023 government financial year. Applicants were expected to be submitted by the end of July 2021, to obtain approval for the subsequent budget cycle. This could be problematic within farming, as internal and external factors are everchanging and hence a quick adaption response is key within the sector.

The fact that Agri SA (2020) is calling on the government to provide state support on the ‘same footing’ between the emerging farming class and the already established commercial farming class is quite alarming. In addition, property rights were strengthened and protected during the consultative process and drafting of section 25 of the Constitution and only allows for the expropriation of land in the public interest provided that just and equitable compensation is paid by the State (Cousins, 2016).



2.3.2 Land reform policy discourse

Land reform was listed as a democratic milestone, specifically access to land and settlement support. Initially, seven projects formed part of the first pilot under the Government of Unity (RDP, 1994).

Table 1: Chronological order of the land reform policies is listed for ease of reference to the discussion which follows hereafter.

Presidential era	Name of policy	Intended/unintended policy implications
Mandela era	Settlement Land Acquisition	Grant system, based on a means test of R16,000 annual income per household.
	Grant (SLAG)	Targeted towards pro-poor citizens.
		Groups based farming unintended consequence, due to grants being insufficient in relation to the market value of these farms.
		Market-based land purchase.
		Title deeds transferred to beneficiaries actioned.
Mbeki era	Land Redistribution and	Grant system, changed to include an own contribution rather cash or in-kind, which ranged from R5,000 to R400,000 per individual.
	Agricultural Development	Sliding scale of grants ranged from R20,000 to R100,000 per individual.
	(LRAD)	Targeted approach changed towards building a commercial farming class, with resources to contribute towards farming venture.
		Market-led land purchase.
		Groups based farming phenomenon continued.
		Title deeds transferred to beneficiaries.
Zuma era	Pro-active land acquisition	State became the sole owner of land, hence no transfer of title deed.
	Strategy	Caretaker appointed, whereafter lease issued on trial three-year period long term lease of 30 years. Renewal of an additional 20 years effective.
		Targeted towards commercialisation.
		Group based farming disband. Targeting based on beneficiary selection and Land use allocation policy (recently drafted).
		Market-led land purchase continued.
Ramaphosa era	Expropriation, without	Constitutional review of section 25 of the Constitution, to allow fo the expropriation of property by the state with nil compensation.
	Compensation (EWC), along the	However applicable given certain conditions as stipulated in the EWC Bill (2020).
	Pro-active Land Acquisition	The state remains the custodian of the property.
	Strategy	

Sources: Heinz, 2003; Greenberg, 2014; Moya and Mamobolo, 2014; Kirsten, 2017.

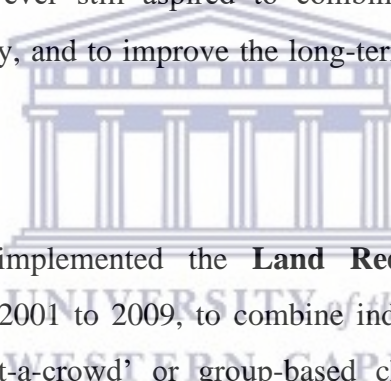
The Mandela government implemented the **Settlement Land Acquisition Grant (SLAG)** from 1994 until 2000. The aim was to provide land to pro-poor rural households and to seriously transform the power, political, social, and economic relations within society (Moya & Mamobolo, 2014). The grant was dependent on a means-test, and targeted at rural households earning below R16,000 per annum. The land redistribution grant was equivalent to the RDP housing grant, which also gave rise towards the establishment of Communal Property Associations (CPAs) as grants were insufficient to purchase large-scale farms (Greenberg, 2014; Kirsten, 2017). A shortcoming highlighted by Kirsten (2017), who was privileged to work closely with policy makers to date, is that the state failed to implement the subdivision legislation during the late 1990s and has thus not subdivide large-scale agricultural land. Hence, the combination of grants led to the ‘rent-a-crowd’ or group-based phenomenon. Land was purchased on the open land market, and the transfer of title deeds was actioned (SA Presidency, 2017). It could thus be argued that the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) framework was leaning more toward the fostering of livelihood strategies and opportunities through the land ownership transfer from a notion of ‘creating wealth from below’. Private consultants who assisted beneficiaries with farm planning however pursued a contradicting notion of perpetuating the commercial agriculture model, and that those beneficiaries would collectively preserve the commercial characteristic of the existing agricultural sector (Greenberg, 2014).

The **shift from the RDP to the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR)** economic framework during the mid-1990s, consisted of the adoption of a market-orientated, neo-liberal stance. Government set ambiguous economic growth targets for the five-year period ending 2000 (Heintz, 2003). Ultimately, the acceleration of economic growth was anticipated through the restructuring of the economy, by achieving the below mentioned:

- Sustainable economic growth of 6% per annum, greater than the 3% per annum obtained at the time.

- Creating 400,000 new employment opportunities. ○ Increasing export opportunities of non-gold commodities by 10% p/annum.
- In turn, expanded production output and exports would realise increased investment opportunities, especially foreign direct investment.

The justification for the radical shift from a socialist approach toward the implementation of a neo-liberal economic framework in the form of GEAR, was that faster growth in the macroeconomy could enhance and direct the developmental agenda of the democratic government (Cousins, 2016; Karriem & Hoskins, 2016). Thus, the creation of wealth and economic prosperity were fostered from a ‘top-down approach’, rather than a ‘bottom-up approach’. Land reform however still aspired to combine asset redistribution with the enhancement of tenure security, and to improve the long-term prospects of employment and income distribution.



The Mbeki administration implemented the **Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development (LRAD)** from 2001 to 2009, to combine individual grants to acquire larger commercial farms. The ‘rent-a-crowd’ or group-based challenge persisted, due to the combination of individual and own contributions to acquire a larger sum of money based on a sliding scale (Greenberg, 2014). Grant funding previously from R20,000 to R100,000 per household was increased to a maximum as per the sliding scale of R431,000 per individual. Within larger groups conflict arises among interest shared objectives and dividends were ultimately lesser. In addition, it was more expensive for government to support larger commercial farms which were purchased on the open property market. Title deeds continued to be accompanied in land redistribution transfers (SA Presidency, 2017).

The focus stemmed away from the pro-poor households (i.e. means-test based) and poverty alleviation towards the establishment of an elite black commercial farming class, who could contribute larger own contributions and lean more towards commercial agriculture production

(Greenberg, 2014; Cousins, 2016). Interestingly, Prof Johann Kirsten (2017) indicated in his inaugural speech at the University of Stellenbosch, that the newly appointed Minister Thoko Didiza disbanded SLAG, and appointed an agricultural economist from the University of Pretoria with the drafting of a newly formulated policy with a new aspired vision toward the formation of a black commercial farming class (Kirsten, 2017). O'Meara (1996) as cited in Greenberg (2014) put forward an interesting argument, in that commercial farming was the core social base of the National Party's rise of power. The gradual shift in economic and political power, merely took on an indirect position in policy formulation and lobbying with the formal removal of the apartheid government during the ease of transition (Greenberg, 2014).

Market-orientated, liberal economic policies however, did not yield the socio-economic aspirations required to transform the economy and 'eventually free it from the historical injustices of the past' (Heintz, 2003). Given the progress achieved by the democratic government, there has been a lack in achieving government's macro-economic strategy which entailed to simultaneously address economic growth, create large-scale employment opportunities, as well as making meaningful strides with regards to land redistribution. Heintz (2003) and Moyo & Mamobolo (2014) argues that macro-economic policies, should move away from being market-orientated which leans more towards the notion of a 'trickle-down effect' as opposed to 'bottom-up' economic development strategies. Cousins (2016), also acknowledges that the land question is complex, especially given the quest by the post-apartheid land polices to redress past injustices and create sustainable livelihoods, creating employment opportunities, fostering equitable participation in the economy while creating the necessary economic growth. The big question is thus whether our government can create a balance between the developmental agenda and economic growth and whether it is achievable within the current economic systems?

The ANC's **Land Summit in 2005**, was held to review and address the failures of the land redistribution implementation. A decision was taken in that land and agrarian reform should move toward a new trajectory to ensure that its contribution towards higher economic growth, employment and equality is achieved by 2014 (DLA, 2006). Subsequently, all previous land policies were revoked, and a new policy was formulated each with its own agenda and target class:

- i. the state was provided with a more active role within the land market and the Pro-active Land Acquisition Strategy (PLAS) was adopted,
- ii. area-based land redistribution planning was promoted,
- iii. the drafting of an Expropriation Bill to change the provisions of section 25 of the Constitutions, as well as
- iv. the introduction of Land Holdings Bill, which put forward land ceilings for different categories of landowners (Kepe & Hall, 2018).

The Pro-active Land Acquisition Strategy (PLAS) was approved in principle during July 2003 and implemented since 2016 by the Zuma administration which prioritised rural development and reform, and food security with the formation of a dedicated National Department of Land Reform and Rural Development.

The objectives of PLAS are that the:

- (i) demand for land should be needs-based, and the
- (ii) supply of land should be state drive (DLA, 2006).

In principle, the argument for the implementation of PLAS was to first, accelerate land redistribution. Secondly, to acquire land in nodal areas or agricultural corridors, and thirdly to improve the selection of beneficiary (DLA, 2006). PLAS has indeed been the programme under which government has acquired the largest share of land for redistribution purposes. During 2019, 42% of the land acquired for redistribution was under PLAS followed by LRAD (24%),

Municipal Commonage Grants (17%) (SA Government, 2019). However, governments intention with the rapid release of state land and post-settlement support as emphasised in the Agriculture, Land Reform and Rural Development Department (DALRRA) Budget Vote 2020/21 is questioned (SA Government, 2020). In addition, the President also prioritised the release of 700,000 hectares of state land in seven out of nine provinces for agricultural production during the 2020 State of the Nation. Only 135,000 hectares or 19% were allocated during the Ministers Budget Vote during June 2020 (SA Government, 2020). Again, questioning the political will of the current government in securing the tenure rights of South Africans and fostering the redistribution agenda.

National government budgets were reprioritised to appropriate funding toward the COVID-19 pandemic. This brought about that the Department's budget was reduced by R2,4 billion to R14,40 billion, which subsequently led to a reduction of R544 million in the land reform budget and the prioritisation of already committed land acquisitions only (SA Government, 2020). The ability for government to commit to the acceleration of land redistribution efforts is questioned especially considering the medium-term expenditure framework targets.

Table 2: Land redistribution acquisitions from 2017/18- 2019/20 (actuals) ; 2020/21- 2023/24 (estimations)

2017/18 – actual audited	155,791	85,568
2018/19 – actual audited	85,325	81,000
2019/20 – actual audited	92,643	92,643
2020/21 – estimate	23,973	23,973
2021/22 – estimate	25,173	25,173
2022/23 – estimate	26,430	26,430
2023/24 - estimate	28,000	28,000

Source: DALRRA Budget Vote 2020/21 (2020)

It is evident from the table above that land redistribution targets in terms of strategically located hectares to be transferred are on a diminishing trend. At this juncture, it is evident that the acceleration of land redistribution efforts seems like a daunting task, as was emphasised by the High-level Panel led by President Mohlanthe (2017). Especially given that it is reported that only 6% of the 30% of land earmarked for redistributed have materialised. The budget allocation of 6,4% (2020/21) from R1,05 million to R770 million is questionable given the political popularism connotated with land redistribution (SA Presidency, 2017).

2.3.3 Progress on the Expropriation, without Compensation (EWC) Constitutional changes

The Expropriation Bill (23 of 2020) was enacted and repeals the Expropriation Bill 63 of 1975 and 2016 versions, as it was not aligned with the equitable redistribution aspirations of the Freedom Charter. The process entails the amendment of section 25 of the Constitution, to allow for the expropriation of property without compensation. At present, expropriation can only be enacted within the general application of the law, provided that is done in the interest or pursuit of the greater public (RSA Government, 2020). The democratic government's commitment towards achieving land reform objectives falls within the ambit of the public interest and purpose condition noted. Although expropriation of property, could historically be actioned it was subjected to just and equitable compensation being determined by the affected parties or a court of law based on the following conditions, as per the below mentioned (RSA government, 2020):

- the agreed compensation, time, and the manner on which the expropriation is justified as being just and equitable,
- the current use of property should be considered,
- the historical acquisition and the use should have been considered,
- the market value of the property,
- the government's intervention and subsidy acquired,

- when the acquisition was done, as well as the capital improvements made,
- and lastly the purpose of the expropriation.

It is no doubt that the expropriation process is a time consuming and a costly process, which requires the allocation and dedicated resources. The Expropriation Bill of 2020 stipulates that power to expropriate property on behalf of the state is vested in the Minister of Public Works. The ability of the state to successfully coordinate various executive functions at a national sphere level is questioned, as required in the event to facilitate the expropriation process. In addition, well-structured coordination is required to combine specific information by the property valuer, surveyor, and the current owner to determine aspects such as the lawful size of the property and water rights attached to the property. The local municipality also plays a vital role within the process, such as the issuing of the expropriation notice to the owner of the land and the affected parties. To date, government bureaucracy and its inability to coordinate successfully has been highlighted as a shortcoming. Thus, the question remains what would change during the implementation of the Expropriation without Compensation legislation.

It is proposed that the ‘just and equitable compensation’ conditions as currently stipulated in section 25 of the Constitution should be waived. Important to note, is that going forward the proposed compensation would be based on ‘reasonable terms’, which strives to create an equal balance between the interest of the public and the property owner or holder affected by the expropriation. However, as per the latest amendment to the Expropriation without Compensation Bill, nil compensation could be justified under the following conditions:

- In event where land is not used in a productive manner, and to generate an income.
- Land laying fallow for speculation purposes.
- State land which was obtained for free.
- In the event where land was obtained and not used for the intended purpose or function, and where there is no concrete future use for the land.
- Abandoned land where the owner is failing to exercise control over the land.

- In the event where the market value of the property is lesser or equal to the present value of direct state support investment, or subsidy received for the acquisition and beneficial capital improvements received by the apartheid government.
- In the event where the nature or condition of the property poses a health and safety or a physical risk to either a person or other property.

The initial proposal included in the 2020 Bill stipulates that a court could be approached in the event, where parties are unable to reach an agreement pertaining to the compensation. However, the recent development among the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) during the final meeting of the ad-hoc Committee responsible for overseeing the expropriation legislation public consultation process, suggests that a peaceful and law-abiding expropriation process is off the table (PMG, 2021). The EFF proclaimed '*that the time for reconciliation is over, and that it is now time for justice to prevail*', alluding to the fact that it wants to fast-track land redistribution (PMG, 2021). On the other hand, the ANC's counterargument is to implement expropriation without compensation, subjected that it:

- increases and stabilises food security and agricultural production, and
- that property is returned to those from whom it was taken under the colonial and apartheid system (ANC 2017 State of the Nation Address, as cited in PMG, 2021). The EFF has broadened the scope of proposals to be included in the EWC legislation, which includes the state to remain the custodian of the expropriated property which is advancing the EFF's nationalisation of resources agenda. Furthermore, it does not agree with the interference of the courts in the mediation process between the exportation agent and the affected party in determining the compensation threshold. Thirdly, the EFF also wants the cut-off date for restitution claimants to be extended to include land dispossessed prior to the 9 June 1913 deadline (RSA Parliament, 2021).

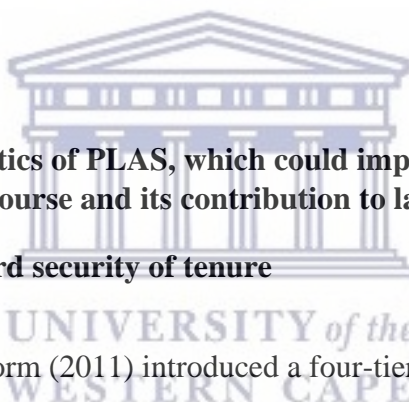
The Expropriation Bill proposes the handing over of a title deed by the current owner; however, no clarity is provided in the event where property is bonded as collateral at a financial

institution. In turn, the balance sheet of the financial institutions would be negatively affected, as the value of the assets provided for collateral would be valued at a lower value than the liabilities (i.e., credit facilities) granted to the farmers. The Banking Association of South Africa (BASA) has highlighted that the uncertainty pertaining to the finalisation of the proposed changes to section 25 of Constitution is impacting heavily on investor confidence and has a detrimental ripple-effect on the market value of land. The internal factions in the governing party, the ANC should also be acknowledged in that the ‘radial economic transformation’ faction led by former President Zuma agrees with the nationalisation of resources. While the liberal economic faction steered by President Ramaphosa is of opinion to address EWC in a manner which put the necessary mechanisms in place to ensure future investment, no damage to agricultural production and keeping food security intact. The chairperson of the Committee overseeing the amendment of section 25 of the Constitution emphasised that “*the role of the state is to be a property holder, intermediary and regulator of land reform through redistributive functions*” (Rapport, 20 June 2021). This once again confirms the multiple roles the state is playing within the redistribution process, instead of creating an enabling environment for redistribution to take place. Hence, with municipal elections nearing towards the end of 2021 it is anticipated that the populist political statements would intensify among political parties.

2.3.3 Is the role of the Land Court and Land Commission still relevant?

The Land Court Bill (11 of 2021) was introduced to the Minister of Correctional Service and Justice on 23 April 2021 (RSA Parliament, 2021). The main purpose of the legislation is to establish a dedicated court, which acts as a division of the High Court. The main function of the court would be to provide administrative and judicial functions to grant orders and relief or impose sanctions pertaining to land matters solely. This stems from section 25 of the Constitution which depicts that the state should take legislative and reasonable measures to foster: (i) equitable access to land; (ii) achieve land, water, and related reform; (iii) and to address past injustices.

Section 22 (1) of the Restitution of Land Rights Act, 1994 (Act 22 of 1994), known as the Restitution Act requires the establishment of a Land Claims Court (LCC). The court is required to have executive jurisdiction with restitution as well as land reform matters pertaining to the Labour Tenants Act. The Advisory Panel on Land Reform and Agriculture (2020) has put forward recommendations that the Land Claims court should be enacted to handle all claims and adjudicate all land related matters and not merely restitution matters as it would have a limited lifespan in such event until restitution claims has been finalised. Hence, by strengthening the court's capacity through the appointment of a dedicated staff complement (i.e. a preceding judge president and four judges as per the Act), the court could play a significant role in determining guidelines to establish 'just and equitable' or nil compensation (RSA Presidency, 2021).



2.4 Fundamental characteristics of PLAS, which could impact on the overall success of the redistribution policy discourse and its contribution to land reform

2.4.1 Political will to safeguard security of tenure

The Green Paper on Land Reform (2011) introduced a four-tier tenure system, consisting of:

- (i) freehold privately owned land with limited extent,
- (ii) freehold property rights owned by foreigners,
- (iii) communal property right institutional user rights, and
- (iv) leasehold property right tenure system.

PLAS forms part of the last mentioned, where government remains the custodian of the property (SA Parliament, 2011). The initial undertaking under PLAS was for beneficiaries to be on probation for a three to five-year period. The 'cool-off' period was to assess whether beneficiaries are equipped with the necessary skills to farm successfully. However, the leasehold property rights regime has been in place which does not provide secure tenure rights as in the instance of freehold private owned land (Cousins, 2016). Hall (2015) and Kepe & Hall (2018) argues that government being able to retract from land redistribution beneficiaries,

in the event where land is not used in a commercially viable manner, it is in direct violation with affording previously disadvantages individuals with secure tenure rights.

The Provision of Land and Assistance Act, 126 of 1993 section 10(1)(a) depicts that the Minister of Land Affairs can pro-actively acquire land, from funds ringfenced under the Agricultural Holdings Account appropriated by Parliament (RSA Parliament, 1993). The Act further stipulates the terms and conditions under which the Minister can “sell, exchange or donate” any land acquired as per the discretion of the Minister within the parameters of section 11 of Act 126 (RSA Parliament, 1993). In accordance with the State Land Disposal Act (Act 48 of 1961) it is indicated that in an event where the state disposes land, it is required to provide documentation in such event in the form of an appropriate deed of sale and to register the transaction in the deeds register (RSA Parliament, 1961).

A parliamentary question from the Democratic Alliance (DA) on 15 June 2018, requested the Minister to provide justification for not allowing the transfer of state land on a wider scale to the intended beneficiaries due to uncertainty that prevails regarding lease periods (SA Parliament, 2018). In response, the Minister indicated that PLAS is intended to acquire strategically located land and to transfer by means of a leasehold, as per the decision taken at the Land Summit in 2005.

The lease period has since been detailed in the State Land Lease Disposal Policy or SLLDP (DRDLR 2013, which was revised in 2019), which puts forward a 30-year period with the option to renew for an additional 20 years (SA Presidency, 2017). This however nullifies the 2006 PLAS implementation plan which aimed to leasehold farmland for a trial lease period, after which the state could dispose of the land if satisfied with the qualifying terms and conditions prescribed by the Minister (DLA, 2006). Furthermore, it has also come to the fore that in some instances PLAS beneficiaries have difficulty in acquiring tenure security through

valid lease agreements. Due to the failure to renew lease agreements within reasonable time or cancelling lease agreements without any valid reason such as the recent case of Mr Ivan Cloete from the Colenso farm in the West Coast (SA Government, 2021; Farmers Weekly, 2020).

The above-mentioned, has been identified as a challenge which could be solved, with the National Development Plan (NDP) proposal of a stepped phased finance programme. Whereby a two or three-year rental free probation term is provided, followed by a long-term lease of 40 years. The free probation period is recommend to be followed by a commercial rental phase over a four-year period, whereby a portion of the rental fee would be ring-fenced in a sinking fund by a state institution such as the Land Bank which will eventually provide the lessee with a full title at the end of the full lease term. It should be acknowledged that not addressing the tenure of security of black farmers as part the land reform programme would jeopardise the structural reform within the agrarian sector (SA Presidency, 2012).

2.4.2 Notion towards promotion of the commercial ‘productivism’

Kepe and Hall (2018) stipulates that the trajectory towards *‘productionism’* could be deemed as a colonial notion of the government of what ‘it is willing to give’. The notion of viability and specific land size required is built on the premise of commercial production (Cousins and Scoones, 2010 as cited in Greenberg, 2014). Thus, if the land redistribution farms are not farmed in a ‘commercially viable manner’, regardless of the limitations such as limited land size and lack of timeous financial mechanisms to acquire production inputs, it is not regarded as viable. Hence, a lessee could still face the possibility of losing the land, which is in direct violation of the premise of the restoration of social justice which land reform was initially conceptualised to bring about. Mainly because previously disadvantaged farmers entering the agricultural sphere are expected to maintain the commercial construct (Greenberg, 2014).

The notion of ‘trusteeship’, whereby the state remains the custodian of the land under PLAS, is ascribed to be colonial in that the state would determine ‘*of those who are in a position*’, in

such an event the state would ‘*enable those that are not in a position to help themselves*’ (Kepe & Hall, 2018). One of the blanket requirements under PLAS, is that a mentor or an equity partner should be appointed, as they are regarded to be more-enabled farming partners. This somewhat underestimates the capabilities and the know-how of PLAS beneficiaries who have a vast amount of agricultural production and business expertise, which have been largely unable to acquire land either due to historical colonial laws or since they are not financially able to acquire land themselves.

2.4.3 Does smallholder farmers still have a role to play within the context of modern agriculture in South Africa?

Greenberg (2014) argues that land reform should not automatically be connotated with smallholder farming. The argument is valid since there is no clear linkage between smallholder agriculture and the initial aspirations of the democratic government’s land reform agenda. There was an ambiguous assumption that beneficiaries will use the land for subsistence production (Greenberg, 2014). It could thus be argued that this was already an indication of a gradual shift away from the Freedom Charter ideals ‘that the land shall belong to all, who work it’.

Beinart & Delius (2018) argues that there should be appreciation of the role smallholder agriculture could play within the land reform debate, however there is a need to understand the historical trajectory of smallholder farmers. Furthermore, there seems to be a misalignment in policy formulation to expand their participation in food production and food security, as well as to facilitate their livelihood. Smallholder farming was proclaimed to have been the focus during 2014, to contribute toward poverty reduction and rural development (Louw & Traub, 2013; Greenberg, 2014). It was further argued, that to understand the diversity among smallholder farming according to their livelihood strategies, the departing point would be not to assume that smallholders are homogenous. In addition, it is also important to address the

confusion that exists pertaining to the definition of small-scale agriculture in South Africa (Louw & Traub, 2013). Historically, the characteristics of a smallholder farmer have been well documented, and stems from being small, labour-intensive, using traditional production techniques which are regarded as being ‘backward’, the lack of constitutional capacity and support (Louw, 2013 as cited by Louw & Traub, 2013).

During the late 19th and early 20th century, smallholder production intensified significantly, and were able to diversify in new crops such as maize cultivation and reproduce for the market (Bernstein & Delius, 2018). Apartheid economic policies were entrenched by conquest, land dispossession, taxation, and other measures such as migrant labour which led to the destruction of the smallholder production (Bernstein & Delius, 2018). Thereafter, subsistence production was no longer in place and the transferring of skills and resources were also implicated. Hence, the smallholder farmer livelihood strategy changed from subsistence agricultural production towards being dependent on low-skilled wage labour supplemented by government grants, as not all are able to reproduce (Louw & Traub, 2013; Beinart & Delius, 2018).



A study undertaken by Beinart & Delius (2018) investigated the extent farming households in modern day society.

The study revealed the following:

- There is consensus that there has not been up-to-date census information regarding the smallholder farming class. In later years, producer associations such as Grain SA, have started to incorporate the extent of plantings and the production output stemming from a non-commercial level.
- There has been an increasing trend of land laying fallow within the former homelands in Ciskei and Transkei districts since the early 1990's.
- Farming is mainly cultivated on smaller plots adjacent to homesteads, as opposed to larger fields away from home.

- Only 40% households with access to land, within the Matatiele district cultivated their land.
- Smallholders deem the investment required for cultivating crops too risky, hence they sometimes resolve to less riskier investment options.
- In general, there is also a notion that smallholder farming does not compensate for the hard work that is required.
- Interestingly, a case study previously conducted by Beinart, Mnswana, Notshela (as cited in Beinart & Delius, 2018) depicted that previously disadvantaged individuals (PDI's) have purchased more than 55% of the total area of the Isidenge Valley in Stutterheim. On average, farming is done on smaller plots of 42 hectares, with some of the larger plots being 60 hectares in extent of which 50% of cultivation is under irrigation and the rest on open field.

Louw & Traub (2013) also conducted a study, which included a sample of 634 households. They argue that government's land redistribution focus should primarily be on the farming households, who are able to reproduce and market their produce. State support should rather be geared toward affording these households with adequate land to farm as well as the provision of production inputs. Furthermore, this category of farming household tends to supplement their farming activities with non-agricultural activities such as wage or salary income and tend to invest more family labour into the farming operations. Access to credit, market access, skills transfer through the systematic application of technological advances are among the other challenges faced by this farming household.

It is, however, important to not adopt a one-size-fits all approach toward the policy formulation for smallholder farmers, but that it should be earmarked toward various typologies (Cousins, 2013; Greenberg, 2014). Furthermore, it should be acknowledged that smallholder farmers are not homogeneous and hence a one-size-fits-all approach would not yield the desired outcome. In some instances, the subsistence production role is vital to curb poverty reduction and diversifying access to food for the poor within society (both in urban and rural areas).

2.4.4 Beneficiary selection, and elite capture

The implementation of PLAS (2006) depicts that previously disadvantaged individuals, specifically black people residing in communal areas, with farming skills and insecure tenure rights or pro-poor people as widely classified will be the targeted beneficiaries. 'Elite capture' or the 'elite black commercial class' has become a phenomenon associated with beneficiary selection benefitting from the LRAD and PLAS land redistribution policy directives, which is in direct conflict with the pro-poor policy initially adapted (SA Parliament, 2016 & 2017; Mtero *et al*, 2019). With the Ivan Cloete PLAS land eviction it has once again come to the fore that military veterans were favoured above the pro-poor beneficiary selection criteria put forward during the initial Implementation Plan for PLAS (2006). A means-test was subjected to marginalised groups such as the landless, women, farm workers, labour tenants, urban and peri-urban dwellers, as well as the disabled and youth (SA Parliament, 2006 & 2020).

In response to the above, as well as the lack of recent policies to address the needs of the 'middle line' referring to the emerging or smallholder farming class in relation to the policy aspired commercial farming class, government has recently gazetted the National Policy for Beneficiary and Land Allocation (SA Parliament, 2020). The newly drafted policy outlines the qualifying categories of beneficiaries aligned with the various land needs that persist such as agricultural production, commonage, human settlements, and industrial development (SA Government, 2020). Important to note, is the direct inclusion of special targeted groups such as the unemployed agricultural graduates, military veterans, state land residents and industrial and residential development under the qualifying criteria for land allocation (SA Parliament, 2020).

The specific categories targeted for agricultural production are listed below, and is an expansion of the State Land Lease and Disposal Policy (DRDLR, 2013) categories for beneficiaries:

- (v) households with minimal access to land mainly for subsistence farming,

- (vi) small-scale production intended for subsistence farming, and which are also able sell surplus production locally,
- (vii) medium-scale commercial production with aspiration to expand their production size, but who are constrained by land size, and
- (viii) large-scale commercial or mega farmers disadvantaged by either their proximity to the marketplace or who are resource-constrained, but with the potential to expand further (SA Parliament, 2020).

Important to note, is that categories one and two are targeted toward labour tenants and farmworkers on a proposed minimal rental fee of R1 per annum (SA Government, 2020). While category three and four are targeted toward the state lease option of 30 years with the option to renew for a further 20 years. The first five years will be on a probation term, with no rental whilst a rental equivalent to 5% of the net income would be payable for rent in the remaining period after the probation term.

AgriSA (2020) indicated in a parliamentary feedback paper, that the Beneficiary Selection Policy is long overdue. The commercial agricultural organisation which originated in 1904, agrees that land should be transferred to land redistribution beneficiaries as allowed by the Provision of Land and Assistance Act (Act 126 of 1996), which gives the Minister of Land Affairs the necessary provisions to dispose of land. It further shares the same sentiment by Hall & Kepe (2017) regarding elite capture in the land redistribution process, and therefore asks the question who is going to get what portion of the land reform pie?

The proposal from Agri SA's side is that beneficiaries should be selected through an area-based selection process by way of farmers in the same area, and that land transfers should be subjected to appointment of mentors. Furthermore, it suggests that beneficiaries should be promoted from a grant-based system and gradually introduced to a soft loan scheme regulated by the financial institutions which already has structured economic ecosystems in place. The different typologies supported under the land redistribution programme is welcomed, Agri SA however

requires further elaboration on each of the mentioned categories listed in the Beneficiary Selection Policy (Agri SA , 2020).

On the issue of preserving the commercial status of the sector, Agri SA's sentiment is that South Africa has restricted arable land of 1/3 which could be allocated towards crop production, in accordance with different rainfall patterns of specific areas (Agri SA, 2020). Hence, the concern is that the land should be allocated to people with the necessary expertise who are able to farm it in the most productive and efficient manner. This once again connotes the 'commercial productivism' which is deemed as the only viable manner to bring forth the largest production output with minimal inputs required. It is for this reason that the newly drafted National Policy for Beneficiary Selection and Land Allocation Policy, prioritises the various categories of farmers to be earmarked for land redistribution going forward.

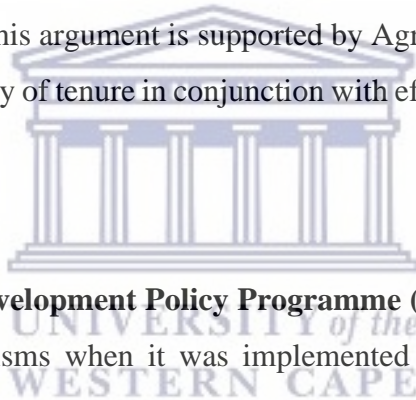
The policy further requires a skills audit to be conducted, to determine whether the beneficiary has the necessary expertise in the agricultural sector and how it matches with the farm potential. Furthermore, it is also a requirement for the beneficiary to have a bankable business plan, offtake agreements, and own investment to contribute towards working capital requirements and development shortfalls (DRDLR, 2020). The implementation thereof is questionable as identified by a PLAS departmental evaluation conducted in 2015 which indicated that skills audits were not conducted in many provinces, regardless of the PLAS Manual stipulating that for beneficiaries to acquire land, the Department must assess whether the land use and resources available are complementing the skills and competencies of the intended beneficiary (DRDLR, 2015).

Elite capture or the handful of financially savvy individuals can satisfy the newly formulated criteria streamlined with the creation of an emerging black capitalist farming class (Cousins, 2016). There is no doubt that there is a mismatch between the land redistribution beneficiaries

which are ‘legally forced’ into becoming passive participants within the land reform process, as opposed to being actively part of the process (Cousins, 2016). This is concerning as the playing field is not level between historic white commercial agricultural participants and new entrants into the sector (Kepe & Hall, 2018). The factors of production owned and which these farmers can leverage against, has a significant gap between the different socio-economic groups. In short, it is therefore evident that the one group is more advanced than the other.

2.4.5 Lack of post-settlement support, extension services and associated red tape

Hall (2016) indicates that successful redistribution stems from 1/3 land or asset acquisition and 2/3 post-settlement support. This argument is supported by Agri SA (2020) that access to land is not sufficient, but the security of tenure in conjunction with effective pre-and post-settlement is required.



The **Recapitalisation and Development Policy Programme (RECAP)** revoked all previous land reform funding mechanisms when it was implemented in 2010, to revive failed and struggling land reform programmes. Implementation of the programme was stretched over a five-year period, on a sliding scale as depicted below:

- Year 1: 100% of funding allocated toward infrastructure and operational cost.
- From year 2 to 5, funding is mainly allocated toward development on a reduction of 20% in the allocated budget per annum in accordance with the approved business plan.
- Hence, 80% in year 2 followed by 60% in year 3, 40% in year 4 and 20% in year 5.
- The notion was that operation capital would be financed through the proceeds from year 1, for reinvestment in year 2 and thereafter (University of Pretoria, 2013).

The objective under the RECAP programme is for new entrant farmers to increase agricultural production, securing food production and enable smallholders to graduate to commercial level,

to meaningfully create employment opportunities as well as establish rural nodes (University of Pretoria, 2013). However, it requires a business partner from the private sector, to act as a mentor or co-manager and participate in a share equity scheme or contract farming. Evidence also came to the fore that certain mentors were not transferring the necessary skills to new entrants and subsequently are using the land reform vehicle as a ‘milking cow’ for their personal economic gain (Cousins, 2016). The Presidential Commission in 2013, revealed that the intended beneficiaries of the land redistribution programme are not reached and that it is mostly elites who benefit (Cousins, 2013). Available funds were allocated to a small base of beneficiaries and no large-scale job opportunities were created; the opening of market access opportunities also remained a challenge. The same challenges were reported as far back as 2013 during the external departmental evaluation, which indicates that not much has changed (University of Pretoria, 2013).

Below are a few extracts from the external valuation report conducted by the Business Enterprises at the University of Pretoria Pty Ltd, to assess the implementation of RECAP since its inception from 2010 till June 2012.

- The sustainability of the grant system was questioned, and it was suggested that it be replaced by subsidised loan funding, as government funding is limited.
- RECAP spending per project is relatively high in relation to the economic sustainability of land redistribution projects, average spending amounted to R2,90 million, while Free State projects were the highest at R3,90 million although 55% of these projects were generating farm income.
- It was also recommended that the selection criteria for strategic partners and mentors be reviewed to ensure competence and the transfer of skills.
- The current funding mechanism was designed in accordance with the ‘one-size-fits all’ approach, which does not cater for various agricultural enterprises and ecological characteristics.

Post-settlement has once again surfaced during the Advisory Panel on Land Reform and Agriculture findings (2019), through which it was highlighted that there is no law that obligates government to provide such a service. This is in direct contrast with the mandate of the Department of Agriculture, Land Reform and Rural Development (DALRRA) which is to provide farmer support services for development such as the **Comprehensive Agricultural Support Programme (CASAP)** as well as the Recapitalisation Programme (SA Parliament, 2019). Support to intended beneficiaries are generally decentralised and subsequently time lagged, regardless of whether timeous implementation of agricultural activities is required to avoid production deficiencies (SA Government, 2018).

In addition, capacity in the state is also constrained as the Minister of Agriculture, Land Reform and Rural Development indicated during the 2020/21 Budget Vote that the ratio of extension officers to farms is currently 1:850 which is aspired to be reduced to 1:250 through the recruiting of an additional 10,000 extension officers nationwide (DALRRA, 2020). Phuhlisani (2008) as cited in Greenberg (2014) highlighted that during the apartheid era there was a 1:21 ratio between extensions officers in a district and the commercial farmers serviced, while the ratio has increased to 1:85 for the servicing of subsistence and smallholder farmers within the new dispensation. Although there has been an Extension Recovery Plan implemented since 2008, to retrain staff to the new norms and standards which include subsistence and smallholder agriculture, introduction of technology and the upgrading of qualifications. There has been a clear split in extension services, on the one hand extension officers previously employed by the previous government are being employed as technical consultants by the private sector and in instances indirectly contracted by government. This is concerning since the 2015 PLAS evaluation have indicated that there seems to be no accountability at national level with regards to the implementation of the overall PLAS framework.

2.5 Land redistribution: Implementation progress to date

Scholars such as Ntsebeza (2007); Walker & Cousins (2015); Kepe & Hall (2016) and members serving on the Presidential Advisory Panel on Land Reform and Agriculture (2019) have stated that the implementation of land redistribution has not been successful to date. After the Zuma-administration took office in 2009, there has been a significant slowdown in the transfer of land to the intended beneficiaries of the land redistribution programme (Boshoff, *et al.*, 2018). South Africa has 1,22 billion hectares of land of which 17,112,800 hectares are allocated toward the former homelands (as per the 1913 and 1936 Land Act) and a further 105,267,300 hectares are arable (SA Parliament, 2016). Commercial white-owned farm property owners owned ±82,76 million hectares during 1993, of which the democratic government prioritised 30% or 24,83 million hectares for redistribution to marginalised individuals by 2014 (Binswanger-Mkhize, 2014 & DARDLR,2015).

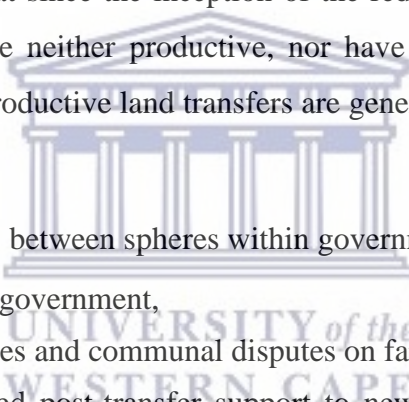
Synopsis of the progress on land transfers to date, summarised below:

- Land redistribution efforts have only yielded 5,46% or 4,70 million hectares of the targeted 30% or 25,855,808 hectares between 1994 and 2016 (SA Parliament, 2016; Kepe & Hall, 2016).
- Hence, a decision was taken to shift the 2014 land reform target to 2030.
- In 2019, 25 years since the dawn of democracy, a review of the redistribution plan revealed that only 4,87 million hectares or 5,439 farms were acquired under redistribution (SA Presidency, 2019).
- The most recent land redistribution transfer was announced during the 2021 State of the Nation Address. During his speech, President Ramaphosa indicated that 5 million hectares were allocated through the land acquisition process which resulted in the transfer of 5,500 farms benefitting 300,000 beneficiaries (SA Parliament, 2021).

Beinart & Delius (2018) however argues that previously disadvantaged individuals already occupy 27% of land held in South Africa compared to government reports that only a small

percentage has been transferred. They argue that should the 17 to 18 million hectares in the former homelands, the 4 million hectares of state land and the 2 to 3 million hectares which was purchased privately by previously disadvantaged individuals be taken into consideration – it would portray a different outcome. The same sentiments are shared by Kirsten (2017), who also puts forward the same argument. This is somewhat disappointing, since it seems that the argument is that the land owned by black farmers should be restricted at 30% of the arable land in South Africa, and that the white commercial agriculture sector should remain intact and ‘gracefully’ allow the newly entrants ‘*limited seats at the table*’.

There is however concerns that since the inception of the redistribution programme, a large portion of land transferred are neither productive, nor have they received sufficient post-settlement support. These unproductive land transfers are generally reflected through an array of factors such as:

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- conflicting policy agendas between spheres within government,
 - monetary instability from government,
 - poor managerial capabilities and communal disputes on farm level,
 - lack of sufficient packaged post-transfer support to new entrants into the agricultural sector, to mention a few factors hindering the pace of agricultural land transfers, as well as the realisation of the productive use of land that was previously transferred under the land reform programme (Partridge, 2014).

In 2014, an external evaluation was conducted on land reform businesses in the Western Cape over a five-year period. The evaluation concluded that 62% out of 246 agricultural projects achieved a success rate, while 38% failed (of which 24% incurred challenges and 14% totally failed) (WC DoA, 2014). A follow-up external valuation followed, starting in 2019, for the past five years. It concluded that the success rate had increased to 72%, followed by 24% that still incurred challenges and 4% which totally failed (WC DoA,2019). The parameters used to assess study participants included environmental, social-economic, and economic measures.

Given the challenges, government should question whether it is rational to expect previously disadvantaged farmers to succeed in transforming the agricultural sector. Especially, given that the sector has been built on the premise of white commercialisation which accumulates wealth from above. It is therefore no doubt that smallholder farmers cannot penetrate the agricultural sector without adequate and comprehensive post-settlement support, and ultimately “accumulate from below” (Cousins, 2013).

2.6 Conclusion

The implementation of land redistribution to date, is far-fetched from the socio-economic liberations that were longed for when the new democratic government took office. It could be argued that the list of aspirations of creating an equal society, access to opportunities for all, and the redistribution of the country’s natural resources and in specific land is a quadrium. While, on the other hand, steering the economy on a path of prosperity that yields an enabling environment in which much-need employment opportunities and poverty reduction is vital and remains a daunting task.

The shift from a socialist approach toward a more liberal-economic approach has been worrying—especially given the ruling governing party’s 1955 political Freedom Charter proclamation ‘that the land shall belong to all who work it’, since the tables have turned some time ago. It could be argued that the populist political agenda within modern society ensures that political parties remain in power, while the *‘rules of the game’* have significantly changed over the inception of democracy. This is worrying, as the expectations of the masses have remained intact with what was originally fought for, hence it seems that reality has not yet taken effect within the ideological narrative of disadvantaged people.

The NDP (2012) recognises that to deepen democratic rights, political emancipation should be translated into economic wellbeing, the enhancement of better educational, and economic opportunities required to eliminate inequality that persist within communities in South Africa (SA Presidency, 2012). It further states that no political democracy or economy could persist if the masses remain without land (i.e., factor of production and tangible assets which enables them to participate in the economy) as initially envisioned in the RDP (1994). Hence, the question of whether colonial systems and institutions are perpetuated within modern economy or whether land redistribution efforts to date can be regarded as ‘decolonial’ is a matter of realism.

The land redistribution programme has undergone tremendous policy assessment, through the changing of the policy framework names and the prioritising of key objectives such as redressing the agrarian landscape, creation of employment, and most importantly creating equality (Cousins, 2016). Ultimately, the policy framework has not been coherent and there seems to be a ‘deliberate vacuum’ between land and agricultural policies which have still not been addressed through the amalgamation of the newly formed Department of Agriculture, Land Reform and Development.

In my opinion, I think it depends from which perspective you view the land redistribution issue, to fully comprehend the complexity that comes along with checking the balance between socialism and the neo-liberal school of thinking. What I can however attest to is that the masses who are voting for the governing party are becoming impatient with the political manipulation of ‘the land belongs to all, who work it’. Change is required, and it is only the marginalised citizens of society who could decide upon the rate of change, whether it would be another policy framework change or ultimately in who governs the policy discourse.

CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

Theory is described as the revision, correction or summation of past knowledge embedded in propositions which captures broad perspectives and knowledge in general frameworks or explanations (Pieterse, 2013). Social theory is defined as the systematic enquiry into how dynamics change and develop within society (Harrington, 2005). In specific, social theory applies a different set of methodology (which could either be qualitative or quantitative or mixed methods) within a specific context to explain social behaviours pertaining to power relations, the structural nature of a society in relation to social classes, gender, ethnicity, culture, and religion to mention a few (Harrington, 2005).

Development theory is an umbrella of theories which examines broader issues that hinders development for some classes within society, while fostering the development for others (Pieterse, 2013). Through the assessment of specific developmental issues or problems such as poverty, inequality, and rural development (to mention a few) within a social construct, a particular micro-theoretical framework is used. Theory within the social science discipline is the cornerstone which capitulates the perception of society, knowledge, social and political belief and establishes through empirical evidence whether there is an explanation for social behaviours (Pieterse, 2013).

3.2 Overview of the chapter

This chapter captures the evolvement of key development theories over time from the early 1990's till the 2000's. The main discussion entails the Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLA) and its relevance towards the research question. The core elements of the SLA are highlighted, in addition to its advantages and disadvantages in respect of the application of the

theoretical framework within the social sciences discipline. Lastly, the chapter concludes with the relevance of the SLA theoretical framework application in addressing the research questions highlighted to address the main objective of the study which is to assess how the Pro-active Land Acquisition Strategy (PLAS) contributes towards the development or underdevelopment of land question, if compared to preceding land redistribution policies.

3.3. The evolution of development theories

Table 3: Evolution of development definitions over the years

Period	Perspectives	Characteristics associated with the evolution of development
1950	Modernization theory	Growth, political and social modernisation.
1960	Dependency theory	Wealth accumulation – national, auto-centric level.
1970	Alternative development theory	Human flourishing.
1980	Human development theory	Capacitation, enlargement of people’s choices.
1980	Neoliberalism theory	Economic growth accompanied by structural reform, deregulation, liberalisation as well as privatisation.
1990	Post-development theory	Authoritarian engineering and disasters.
2000	Millennium Development Goals	Structural reforms.

Source: Harrington, 2005; Willis, 2011

For this discussion, the focus would be on different development theories post 1950. It is however important to acknowledge that these theories have their origin from preceding theories which were developed in the early 1980s within Europe. Classical economic influencers of development theories include among others, Adam Smith, who published ‘*An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*’ in 1776 (Willis, 2011). Smith enquired how the promotion of the mercantile economic trade policy in Western Europe led to the uprising of the mercantile class within society, while being detrimental toward the development of the greater of society

(Willis, 2011). John Keynes (1936) further argued that contrary to the classical economic belief to use the market as a mechanism to maximise resource efficiency, it does not guarantee the well-being of all within society. Keynes (1936, as cited in Willis, 2011) argued that the free-market system cannot be used as a yardstick measure to enhance economic growth, but that the government has a vital role to play through the promotion of direct investment in the economy or through government itself enhancing development (Willis, 2011; Pieterse, 2013). Eventually, the key argument is to use economic growth to increase economic activity and in turn create much needed employment opportunities, to improve people's livelihood (Pieterse, 2013). Thus, promoting a top-down approach towards development.

Below follows a discussion pertaining to the main development theories which evolved over time. These theories were benchmarked against the SLF, which have been selected as the main theoretical influence that would be applied within this study.

3.3.1 Modernisation theory

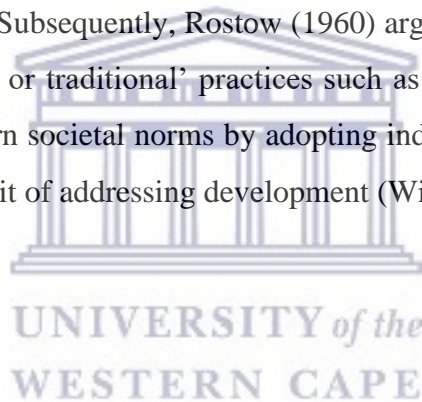
'*The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto*' by Walt Rostow (1960) captures the singular path of the five stages of economic development through which an economy shifts over time (Willis, 2011). The five stages of economic development commence with:

- (1) *Traditional society*: captures the era in which subsistence and hunter-gather societies formed the core of economic activity.
- (2) *Pre-conditions for take-off*: the era after independence was obtained, followed by increased investment in infrastructure which contributed to higher production.
- (3) *Take-off*: era characterised by increased foreign direct investment, due to the expansion of exports. Economies are also subsequently able, to increase investments in mass infrastructure projects.

(4) *Drive to maturity*: this stage of economic growth is characterised by increased agricultural output in which economic sectors start to reproduce surpluses with the aim to become export oriented. Furthermore, economic policies also became a focus area for governments.

(5) *The age of high mass-consumption*: recognised by the uprise of the middle-income class within society; characterised by a shift from rural to urban centres for society to be closer to government services as well as formal employment opportunities. Subsequently, the expectation is that there would be an increase in consumer purchases as well as subsidisation (Willis, 2011).

Modernisation theory further captures why specific economies are more developed if compared to less developed economies. Subsequently, Rostow (1960) argued that economic development, should adapt from ‘backward or traditional’ practices such as traditional agricultural societies and shift towards more modern societal norms by adopting industrialisation and technology, to use economic growth in pursuit of addressing development (Willis, 2011; Pieterse, 2013).



3.3.2 Dependency theory

The dependency theory assess why Northern countries are progressing, at the detriment of underdeveloped countries situated in the South. The theory latches on the five economic stages of economic development put forward in the Modernisation theory. Hence, the argument is that Northern countries progresses more favourably, due to the incorporation of industrialisation and technological advances within their respective economies. On the contrary, the classical economic argument is that less-developed countries have yet not emerged through the various economic growth stages and rather remained in the ‘ancient, feudal, or traditional society economic growth stage out of their own will (Willis, 2011). The argument does not consider how the global economic system has been engineered through the enrichment of the North through the ‘national’ accumulation by means of the extraction of raw materials and cheap labour from the South (Neverdeen Pieterse, 2013). Processed and manufactured goods (through industrialisation and adaptation of technology) done at cheap labour permits the North to resell

finished goods and services at a premium to poorer countries, thus exploiting the South off its factors of production (Willis, 2011; Neverdeen Pieterse, 2013).

3.3.3 Marxism

Karl Marx (1904, as cited in Willis, 2011), who is the main influencer of the dependency theory, indicates that from a socialist perspective there should be communal ownership of assets rather than private property rights which are promoted under capitalism. From a social economic system, an argument is put forward that people should rather be labourers in accordance with their abilities and subsequently they would be able to provide in their own needs (Willis, 2011). Marx depicts the relationship between capital and labour, through the representation of three different forms of 'modes of production', known as the systems of social relations which organises production, namely:

- i. *Ancient, feudalism or traditional:* society characterised by ancient tribal societies, where communal land ownership is still practised.
- ii. *Capitalism:* society divided into two categories: the owners of production and those whose who do not own, who is subjected to being labourers.
- iii. *Socialism or Communism:* communal ownership of the means of production (e.g., capital, labour, land, and entrepreneurship), by the government (which is socialism) or ownership by the people (which is communism) (Willis, 2011).

Marx, however, argues that capitalism is necessary within an economic system to progress towards a state of socialism (Willis, 2011). Social relations in organising production under the capitalist system under which excess labour became redundant as industrialisation and technological advances progressed was preferred above the pre-capitalist social system as it is regarded as being 'backward' and 'irrational' (Moir & Fourie, 2014). However, Marx argued that it was 'inevitable' that socialism would eventually overthrow or revolt against the capitalist system (Willis, 2011; Moir & Fourie, 2014). Important to note, is the fact the ideological

framework did not foresee that the capitalist system would adapt to co-exist alongside socialism (Moir & Fourie, 2014).

3.3.4 Neoliberal theory

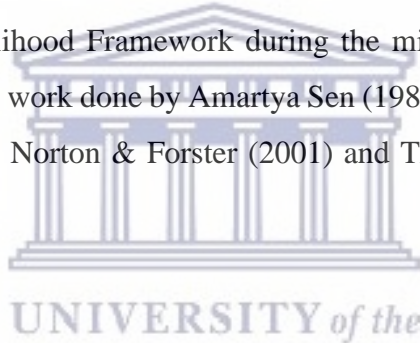
The neoliberal thinking towards economic development promotes the decentralisation of the development agenda from national to regional or local level, through limiting the role of the state in some instances as it is preserved as distorting the functioning of the free market (Neverdeen Pieterse, 2013). Hence, the main argument is to resolve to market-led approaches to address economic development challenges (Willis, 2011). In doing so, the aim was to free-up economic systems in the early 1980s through the deregulation of markets, privatisation, as well as liberation to open global trade and politics (Neverdeen Pieterse, 2013).

3.3.5 Capability approach or Human development theory

Earlier development theories which focussed on addressing the ‘trickling-down’ effect in a quest to improve the livelihood conditions of the poor had limited success of achieving filtering down economic prosperity to all citizens within a specific population (Hettne, 1995, as cited in Willis, 2011). Furthermore, there was also a shift from economic policy formulation at a macro-level towards a people-centred or ‘bottom-up’ approach to rethink the role of development in the contribution towards to people’s living standards. Amartya Sen’s work on human development shifted development thinking towards the evaluation of people’s capabilities, entitlements, social arrangements, as well as how policy formulation impacts on changes in society (Robeyns, 2005). Hence, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)’s Human Development Reports’ define of development ‘as the enlargement of people’s choices’, as the capability approach is people-centred in that it assesses what people’s capabilities are in relation to what their life outcome could potentially be (Robeyns, 2005).

3.4 HISTORY AND CONCEPTUALISATION OF THE SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOOD FRAMEWORK (SLF)

The Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF) or Approach (SLA, as it is also known) has significantly influenced the development school of thought from the early 1990s. The SLF mainly focusses on the way the objectives, scope and priorities towards development is understood (Ashley & Carney, 1999; FAO, 1999; UNDP, 2015). Important to note, is that the conceptual framework is not static and has evolved over the years. The British Department of International Development (DIFD) and the UNDP was one of the earlier developmental agencies which adopted the Sustainable Livelihood Framework during the mid-1990s. The prominent UNDP guideline draws from previous work done by Amartya Sen (1981); Chambers & Conway (1991); DFID (1999) expanded on by Norton & Forster (2001) and Thennakan (2012) (Oxfam, 2013; UNDP, 2017).



The outcome of a UNDP study that analysed the impact on livelihoods of environmental impacted projects was the outcome of a full research project as well as a guideline note for the application of the SLF and the assessment within the development discipline. During 2017, the UNDP SLF discussion paper was broadened to demonstrate, the following:

- (i) The importance of drawing from the SLF to demonstrate how the UNDP interventions on the environment can contribute to human development.
- (ii) As well as the usefulness of the SLF methodology to improve the monitoring and the evaluation of development programs and projects (UNDP, 2017).

3.4.1 Definitions pertaining to sustainable livelihood

Sustainable (noun) is defined *'as the ability to continue or be continued for a long-time'* as per the Oxford dictionary. On the other hand, sustain (verb) is defined as *'something that is provided to a person in a sufficient quantity to meet the needs to live or exist'*. While sustainable as an adjective is defined as *'pertaining to the ability to continue over a period'*, as per the Cambridge dictionary. Furthermore, livelihood (noun) is defined as *'a means of securing the necessities of life'* according to the Oxford dictionary, while the Cambridge dictionary defines it as *'a way someone earns their money to pay for food, place to live, clothing and other necessities to survive'*. If the various definitions are combined in laymen terms, a sustainable livelihood could be defined *as the ability to obtain a means in life, which would be sufficient to meet basic human needs to ensure and enhance survival and existence.*

The SLF is an analytical methodology developed to assess and understand the lives of people, to reduce poverty, and to understand what strategies are used to ensure resilience in the event where shocks and stresses are confronted throughout their lives (Ashley & Carney, 1999; Oxfam, 2013; UNDP, 2017). The SLF incorporates a responsive and participatory approach in which skills, abilities, assets (both material and social) are required to make a means of living (Kollmair & Gamper, 2002). A livelihood is regarded to be sustainable in the event where individuals, households, and communities can resiliently cope and recover from stresses and shocks, and be able to maintain or enhance their abilities, skills, and assets (Chambers & Conway, 1992 as cited in; Kollmair & Gamper, 2002; UNDP, 2017). Furthermore, it implies that individuals, households, and communities would be able to maintain and improve their current and future skills, and assets without exploiting the availability and supply of natural resources (UNDP, 2017).

Subsequently, the methodology is used to identify the following ideological concepts when analysing a development challenge:

- i. Systematic and manageable analysis of a developmental challenge (e.g., poverty) and its causes, through determining the basic needs (goods and services) of individuals and communities.
- ii. Assessing how a living is earned, through the promotion and widening of opportunities as well as understanding the constraints.
- iii. Assessing whether the context in which support, and project objectives and solutions were designed were formulated through the prioritisation of people's needs and their priorities at the centre.
- iv. Identifying factors which could strengthen the resilience in instances of stress as well as crisis.
- v. Acknowledge the important role structural and institutional constructs play in determining livelihood outcomes (Ashley & Carney, 1999; Oxfam, 2013; UNDP, 2017).

Furthermore, the methodology attempts to analyse the various factors which affect choices and subsistence and examine how these factors interact within the livelihood ecosystem (UNDP, 2017).



3.4.2 Core elements of the Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF)

The SLF methodology is interrelated, which affects the context, behaviour, capital, institutional influence, and dynamic subsistence strategies employed. It has a strong interdependence between:

- The structures and process to transform and the level of vulnerability.
- The achievements or outcomes in livelihoods and assets which influence livelihood.
- While being a highly dynamic relationship (with a certain level of influence) within a series of activities (DFID, 2002).

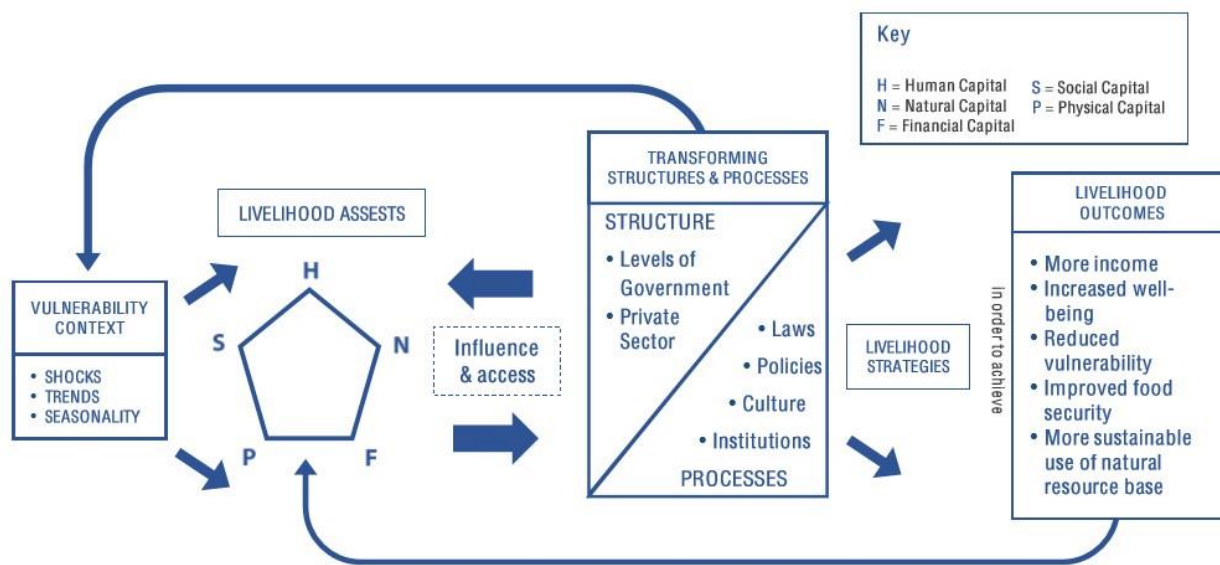


Figure 1. Sustainable Livelihoods Framework. Graph from DFID (1999).

3.4.3 Discussion of the core elements of the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA)

3.4.3.1 The vulnerability faced within a specific context

- The context of vulnerability refers to the external environment in which people function, and comprises of shocks (e.g., natural disasters, economic crisis), trends (consumption and production trends) as well as seasonality (price movement due to seasonal production) (Kollmair & Gamper, 2002).
- Important to note is that it comprises of factors that a person has the least control over.

3.4.3.2 Strategies used to protect, sustain, or improve livelihoods

- Consists of a range of choices, activities undertaken to achieve livelihood objectives (Kollmair & Gamper, 2002).
- Improved livelihood objectives may vary from increases earnings, improved well-being, improved food security, reduced vulnerability and being able to resiliently recover from shocks and stresses such as health or an earthquake (Kollmair & Gamper, 2002).

3.4.3.3. Analysis of the difference types of capital employed

A range of assets is required to achieve self-defined goals. As none of the capital endowments employed are self-sufficient to yield the desired outcome if employed independently (Kollmair & Gamper, 2002).

Human Capital: is multi-faceted and includes a variety of human attributes such as abilities, knowledge and experiences, skills, and the physical state of health of an individual or community (Kollmair & Gamper, 2002; UNDP, 2017). If the mentioned factors are combined, it allows people to engage in different strategies to fulfil their own objective for their livelihood outcomes (UNDP, 2017). On the other hand, it could be difficult to quantify human capital and it is important to note that the local context such as indigenous knowledge plays an important role within the formation of human capital behaviour.

In addition to its underlying value of human capital, it also plays an important role as it is required to leverage other forms of capital. Thus, human capital cannot be used in isolation, but should be used in combination with other capital sources to realise the desired livelihood objective. Furthermore, support structures could be in the form of direct and indirect form, which would include the reforming of processes (UNDP, 2017).

Social Capital: refers to social resources, which people rely upon to open access to institutions with greater scope of access to action or influence, towards seeking their livelihood objectives. Examples thereof include the informal participation in social networks and connectedness, as well as membership in a formalised group such as an association, and local authority which adopt certain norms or rules with a common goal or interest (Kollmair & Gamper, 2002; UNDP, 2017).

Social capital fosters informal safety nets, within a community based on a relationship of trust, common purpose, mutual benefit, and exchange of cooperation (UNDP, 2017). As social capital is more closely linked to structures and processes including policies, institutions, and legislation

it could enhance transformation which is necessary to shape the livelihoods of people within society. Social capital provides access to different forms of capital, livelihood strategies, social constructs necessary within decision-making and influences the terms of exchange between the different forms of capital (UNDP, 2017).

Natural Capital: includes stocks of natural occupying resources, from which future products and services could be developed with the aim of contributing towards livelihoods. For example, natural capital or resources refers to soil, water, air, and genetic reform which can be used as inputs to create additional benefits. Further examples of products and services which could be developed from these natural resources included amongst others: primary food production; secondary and tertiary food chains and protection against soil erosion used to support livelihoods (UNDP, 2017).

It is vitally important to understand the extent that people are dependent on natural resources to sustain their livelihoods. As natural resources are again closely linked to the vulnerability context which deals with how individuals and communities deal with stress and crisis. Secondly, the existence of natural resources should be acknowledged, but importantly access and the rights associated to obtain access to these natural resources is also of vital importance (UNDP, 2017).

Physical Capital: refers to basic infrastructure associated with changes in the environment, which generally impact on the level and mode of communication as well as access to basic services. While production inputs required refers to tools, equipment, seeds/plants needed to increase productivity to support their livelihood (UNDP, 2017).

Financial Capital: refers to financial resources, which can either be available stocks (e.g., saving funds) or the inflow of money which is employed to achieve livelihood objectives.

3.4.4 Policies, institutions, and processes

Structures or processes are embedded in all forms of capital, hence any hinderance or bottlenecks within the development process would require interventions to address the challenges at hand (UNDP, 2017). Important to note, is that the intervention can either be in a direct or indirect manner. Direct intervention could be in the form of addressing specific issues relating to the Comprehensive Agricultural Support Programme (CASP) and streamlining the application process and the implementing of CASP with the actioning of critical farming activities (either in the form of production inputs or infrastructure). On the other hand, indirect support could be the reforming post-settlement support for new entrant farms such as the recently introduced blended-finance model, through lobbying credit from commercial financial institutions with the available grant funding mechanisms at government's disposal.

3.4.5 Advantages and disadvantages of the Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF)

Advantages of the SLF

Advantages of applying the SLF methodology emanates from the broad analysis it could be used for, as well as the identification of all the key role players when analysis developmental problems (Kollmair & Gamper, 2002; FAO, 2009). Furthermore, the methodology could be applied on a micro or macro level such as individual, household or community level (Ashley & Carney, 1999). The SLF methodology further attempts to understand the history and context, by analysing the strategies and asset classes employed by people which result in a specific livelihood outcome (UNDP, 2017). The SLF is more people centred as it focuses on the livelihood outcomes as opposed to the outcomes of a specific project (FAO, 2009). Although, it is argued that the SLF is more useful in early stages such as the design phase of a project, as it could assist with the most effective sequence or process of specific developmental action. There is a deliberate focus intervention on specific entry points or priorities within the framework (e.g., livelihood strategies, assets classes or outcome) from which the SLF can be applied from within a broader analysis of

a specific developmental issue (Kollmair & Gamper, 2002). Lastly, the SLF is also an excellent tool to be used in the monitoring and evaluation of specific developmental challenges during the implementation phase to assess where adjustments could be made (Ashley & Carney, 1999).

Disadvantages of the SLF

On the contrary, the SLF is a broad framework and hence it could be time consuming to apply all the aspects of the SLF methodology. Hence it could become costly depending on the magnitude of analysis to be conducted (FAO, 2009). In addition, realistic project outcomes should be implemented. In terms of assessing sustainability, an agreement with regards to what is deemed sustainable should be obtained from the beginning to ensure that the application is consistent throughout the analysis (Ashley & Carney, 1999). O'Malley (2005, as cited on the Nelson Mandela Foundation, 2021) however, cautions against the definition used to define sustainability. Realism should accompany the application of the SLF, for example there should be realisation that there would be trade-offs when assessing the asset base available to research participants. Lastly, power relations and political dynamics also play a vital role in how processes, structures and institutions are formed and survive however, the SLF does not explicitly address the external impact of such relations on livelihoods outcomes (Ashley & Carney, 1999).

3.5 Relevance of applying the Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF) in assessing the land question

The Green Paper on Land Reform Policy Framework denotes that development is characterised as certain political choices, decisions, administrative practices, procedures, and institutions which denotes progress (RSA Parliament, 2011). Karriem & Hoskins (2016) further adds that development is a transformative process from 'economic backwardness and poverty towards modernised, industrial technological advances' within the economy. Hence, it can be concluded

that, underdevelopment is connotated by stagnation or ‘backwardness’ such as conditions brought about by colonial social and economic fragmentation and separation (RSA Parliament, 2011).

Given the land reform crossroad, Cousins (2013) strongly suggests that development within the agrarian structure should be addressed through the adoption of a bottom-up developmental approach to encourage “wealth accumulation from below”. This would ultimately address structural poverty and inequality as compared to the traditional capitalist philosophy of “accumulation from above”. A rethinking is required regarding the role of the new entrant farmer within the agrarian structure (Cousins, 2010). It is therefore important that new entrants are not classified as homogenous, but that the different typologies are considered in the formation of coherent policies which need to be well-targeted to accelerate economic growth and development.

Cousins (2013) and Hall (2015), argues that the main reason for the classification of farmers is due to the following factors:

- d) combining capital and labour in different degrees to reproduce or either supplement livelihood sources or promote capitalism,
- e) employing different marketing strategies depending on their production output capabilities, as well as
- f) extent to which production is pursued, such as subsistence, while others may produce for a moderate surplus and others for target-orientated markets both local and/or export.

Given the context, the SLF would be used from a theoretical perspective to assess what capabilities, asset classes, and activities are required to contribute towards a sustainable livelihood (Scoones,1998). Within the application of the model, it is important to assess the history, context as well as the strategies used to create resilience to absorb shocks and stress from the external environment. Furthermore, given the definition put forward pertaining to a

sustainable livelihood it would be assessed how new entrant farmers would be able to maintain and enhance their capabilities and expand opportunities.

The SLF theoretical framework is broad, thus it can be adopted within political economic and social justice debates concerned with rural development and poverty reduction, to depict how the combination of different livelihood resources (natural, human, financial, social) influence the livelihood strategies (enable the intensification or extensification of agricultural activities, ability to diversify or demonstrate ability to be resilient) (Robeyns, 2005). Importantly, the institutional and organisational process and structures within the broader framework can be identified and determine how it influences the outcome of livelihood strategies being classified as sustainable livelihood as per the SLF methodology or not.

The multi-dimension facet of the SLF, allows it to be applied on different typologies which include individuals or clusters such as households or communities, which makes it suitable for application within the study. However, it should be noted that the application and methods used under the SLF is quite exhaustive and may differ from an application perspective. In addition, the way economic prosperity and wealth are distributed from a social justice perspective and ultimately national building should also be factored in.

Cousins (2013) argues that it is evident that only a few new entrants will be able to reproduce and expand production, and thus the current land reform policy framework is likely to benefit better-off or 'elite' new entrants. In addition, there is only a small portion of new entrants who manage to secure niche, high-value agricultural products and who are able to "successfully" reproduce and supply excess produce in international orientated value-chains, which are compelled to stringent and costly market requirements in the domestic and global market (Hall, 2015). In light of this, it can be agreed upon that "land redistribution is immensely complex and messier than anticipated" (Hall, 2009). In addition, land transfers by itself will surely not secure and route prosperity to wealth creation for smallholder farmers (Hall, 2009). Available literature

acknowledges various shortcomings within the land redistribution process; however, the success of existing land reform participants is minimal.

3.6 Conclusion

The study therefore attempts to highlight the context in which livelihoods are currently sustained within the implementation of the Pro-active Land Acquisition Strategy (PLAS). Furthermore, the study will assess the activities, assets, skills, and the know-how available to PLAS beneficiaries within the broader context of the SLF, and determine what activities and strategies are used by the PLAS beneficiaries to make a means of living that would be able to sustain them within their present situation and in future. In the event where PLAS beneficiaries are unable to sustain their livelihood, the study attempts to highlight such hinderances and bottlenecks which hinders such beneficiaries to be resilient in instances of shocks and stresses along the way. Ultimately, the study aims to put forward recommendations that contribute toward the development or underdevelopment of PLAS beneficiaries within the ambit of the SLF.



CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

Social science is a discipline which involves the study of human behaviour and the causes and effect of human relations (Williman, 2006). It entails existing knowledge and traditions, as well as the quest towards reality within the social construct in which humans exist (Babbie, 2013; Lune & Berg, 2017). The social sciences discipline consists of research in the field of economics, politics, history, law, rural development, poverty, and inequality to mention a few and is different from natural science which follows a more linear research design and application of research methods (Bryman, 2016; Investopedia, 2017). Social science research generally originates from a form of inquiry by conceptualising general observations and blending it with philosophical viewpoints, with the aim to either describe, examine, or explore the cause-and-effect relations in society (Babbie *et al.*, 2010 & Babbie, 2013; Bryman, 2016). There are typically three forms of inquiry used in the social science discipline, namely:

- Quantitative research which leans towards answering research questions relating to “*what*”, and
- Qualitative research towards answering research questions relating to “*why and how*” (Lune & Berg, 2017).
- On the other hand, the mixed research approaches are a middle ground, which includes both qualitative and quantitative research designs (Creswell, 2014).

4.2 Overview of the chapter

In this chapter the characteristics of the research inquiry adopted within the social sciences discipline is discussed. In addition, how this would influence on the design of the research process as well as the research methods used in order to address the complexity of the research problem identified. The selection of the research methodology and methods would be justified, as this would influence the data collection and the manner in which data is represented. Lastly, the

chapter focuses on the ethical considerations that would inform the credibility and trustworthiness of the research output.

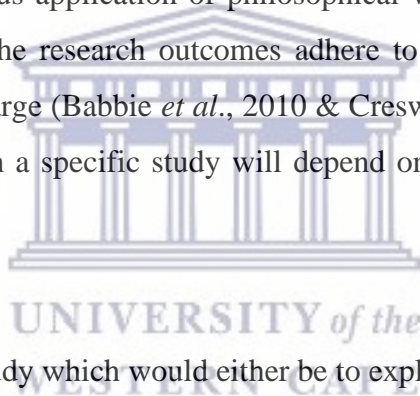
4.3 Research inquiry within the social science discipline

Humans conduct observations daily, both in a casual and semi-conscious basis within the social ecosystem in which they co-exist, and through their interactions with others (Babbie *et al.*, 2010). Scientific inquiry mainly includes two approaches, namely logic and observations (Babbie *et al.*, 2010 & Babbie, 2013). Logic inquiry is required to ‘discover meaningful patterns, rules or laws’ that justify the interactions among humans based on the general observations within society (Babbie *et al.*, 2010). On the other hand, observations could either be expressed in a descriptive form (numerical value) or provide an elaborative explanation of the relationship that exists between a dependent and independent variable (-s) within a specific study (Babbie *et al.*, 2010). A practical example of a generalised observation pertaining to the research problem that either describe, explain, or explore a social phenomenon would be to explore and understand how the newly formulated land redistribution policy, which is the Pro-active Land Acquisition Strategy (PLAS), is contributing toward the enhancement of beneficiary selection and how it correlates to the land use options available to these beneficiaries. Ultimately, the research would explain what differentiates it from preceding policies formulated. Lastly, it will also look at how the newly formed land redistribution policy is contributing toward the beneficiaries obtaining a sustainable livelihood and what are the strategies employed to a successful livelihood for each PLAS beneficiary.

Subsequently, humans form their own views and assumptions based on their personal observations rather than observations being evidence-based or scientifically verified (Babbie *et al.*, 2010). It is therefore paramount that consensus is reached on factual reality, to enlighten the path of human inquiry. It ensures that humans apply realism and are not overwhelmed and influenced by tradition or authority (Babbie *et al.*, 2010). However, it does not guarantee that human inquiry errors such as subjectivity, overgeneralisation and misconceived opinions

pertaining to general observations will not be encountered (Williman, 2006; Babbie, 2013). In an attempt, to address these errors social research is guided through the application of different research approaches in which theories are either tested by examining the relationship between variables (quantitative) or alternatively the views or perspectives of respondents are used to explain and understand a social problem (qualitative) (Creswell, 2014).

Social research needs to be conducted in the most ethical manner, to produce creditable, reliable, and justifiable outcomes (Creswell, 2014). These outcomes should be based on the analysis of observations, interactions, and power relations within a society (Bryman, 2016). This is obtainable through the rigorous application of philosophical views, different research designs and methods to ensure that the research outcomes adhere to ethical compliance as it would contribute toward society at large (Babbie *et al.*, 2010 & Creswell, 2014). The research method and techniques applied within a specific study will depend on the scope and complexity of a research problem.



The objective of a research study which would either be to explain, describe or evaluate a social problem (Williman, 2004; Babbie *et al.*, 2010).

- *Explain*: attempts to describe observations but has been designed to deal with complex social issues beyond merely obtaining facts to understand contextual elements.
- *Describe*: research relies on observations, thus requires data to be collected.
- *Evaluate*: compare, correlate, intervene or change two contrasting cases used to differentiate or find similarities (Creswell, 2014).

Research within the social sciences incorporates three key elements, namely theory, data collection and data analysis (Babbie, 2013). Existing literature is vital in understanding what is known about a subject matter, what conflict exists between authors, what key concepts and theoretical views have been applied as well as who the main contributors are (Bryman, 2016).

Concepts and theories are fundamental in social science, as this provides a guideline of how the research would be conducted. Depending on the research objective and the researcher's personal experience as well as training, there are three research approaches such as the inductive (descriptive or qualitative), deductive (numerical or quantitative) or a mixed-method approach that could be used in a research study. However, the approach used mainly depends on the type of social enquiry, available time and resources, flexibility, and innovation required (Babbie *et al.*, 2010; Creswell, 2014).

4.4 Research Methodology

Research methodology is the strategy or design used within the research process (Williman, 2006). As previously indicated, there are three major research strategies used, namely (i) quantitative; (ii) qualitative and the (iii) mixed approach (Creswell, 2014). The qualitative characteristic of a subject matter is conveyed by answering questions relating to '*what, how, when, where, and why*' which relates to the quality in describing the nature of things (Lune & Berg, 2017). Qualitative research refers to the meaning of the concepts, definitions, characteristics, metaphors, symbols, and descriptions of a social settings and the inhabitants of these social settings (Lune & Berg, 2017).

- On the other hand, quantitative research refers to the calculation, measuring, and the distributions of a subject matter. In terms of describing the size, extent, weight, number of a subject matter, for example '*how large something is, how many data subjects are there, or how it is likely are to encounter one*' (Lune & Berg, 2017).
- Qualitative and quantitative methods provide a different perspective, which are complementary depictions of observations. Due to the differences that exist among qualitative and quantitative research methods, within the field of social sciences the two methods complement each other (Lune & Berg, 2017). Since qualitative research leans towards the use of descriptive words and images, while quantitative research relies on human

input into computers, and are thus regarded to be more scientific than qualitative research. On the other hand, qualitative research requires more precise and careful in their interpretation of definitions and procedures and are thus clearer in the way they write if compared to other science fields (Lune & Berg, 2017).

Social research entails the systematic interpretation of the theoretical analysis through the application of various methods and principles applied to a research study (Igwenangy, 2016). Theories or ideologies are influenced by a certain set of beliefs or knowledge which have the potential to influence a research stance, as it is generally supported by a specific theoretical framework which is generally promoted by a specific philosopher (Williman, 2006). Creswell (2014) puts forward an argument regarding the four overarching philosophical worldviews that are generally applied in a research design and research methods undertaken by a researcher. Creswell (2014) further alludes to the fact that the worldviews or school of thought are interdependent. On the other hand, Bhattacharjee (2012) stresses the importance of interpretation and observation in understanding the social world which are grouped under the 'interpretivism' school of thought, while 'positivism' seeks to increasingly draw from natural science. As previously indicated natural science produces propositions according to specific laws, which are very precise and deterministic and independent from a personal observation (Bhattacharjee, 2012). While social science incorporates subjectivity and meaningful experiences which are less accurate, deterministic, and unambiguous. On the other hand, scientific knowledge from basic science (also known as applied science) is conducted within a physical environment through practical research (Bhattacharjee, 2012). Theoretical research is concerned with the aim of testing, generating, and enhancing thinking within a particular discipline to either generate new theories (lean toward inductive thinking) or testing existing theories (leans more toward deductive thinking) (Patten, 2002 as cited in Bhattacharjee, 2012).

Each worldview will be discussed in brief below:

i. **Social constructivist view:**

This philosophical view is generally applied when undertaking qualitative research and leans more towards an interpretivism school of thought. Broad, general, and open-ended questions are asked to allow the respondent to share their own views and perspective (Creswell, 2014). Furthermore, the aim of research adopted through this school of thought is to place reliance on the participant's perspective and observing their situation through their historical and cultural norms as well as addressing the social interactions among individuals (Creswell, 2014).

ii. **Transformative view:**

This worldview is applied in political research undertaken to address issues relating towards social injustices that requires redress, such as an action agenda pertaining to empowerment, inequalities, oppression, and domination which confronts social reform (Creswell, 2014). The transformative school of thought is generally applied in participatory action research which also leans more toward qualitative research (Creswell, 2014). The worldview advanced in the 1980s and 1990s as it originated from the postpositivist school of thought that did not consider the structural laws and theories that did not address the social reality the marginalised within society were confronted with (Creswell, 2014).

iii. **Pragmatic view:**

This worldview arises from actions, situations, and consequences which relate to interpretivism rather than post positivism which relates to conditions within a social construct (Creswell, 2014). Patton (1990) as cited in Creswell (2014) argues that the concern with this philosophical viewpoint is with selecting an application that works and finding a solution to a specific social problem. This is mainly due to the research methodology and methods mainly being centred around the research problem and the use of the application in understanding the research problem rather than being solution driven (Rossman & Wilson, 1985, as cited in Creswell, 2014). It is thus argued, that this philosophical view leans more toward a mixed-method approach of inquiry in

which the theory could be tested as well as new theoretical attributions be put into perspective (Creswell, 2014)

iv. **Post-positivist view:**

This worldview embraces a deterministic viewpoint in which probable causes are a direct result of a specific effect or outcome (Creswell, 2014). Hence, research undertaken through this philosophical perspective tends to determine and identify the root cause of a specific problem research which influences the effects or outcomes. Creswell (2014) argues that this viewpoint leans toward reductionistic thinking in that the intent of the research undertaken to result into a discrete set of variables which could be tested against a specific hypothesis and set of research questions (Creswell, 2014). This worldview is also applied within a mixed research method approach, as the knowledge applied is gained through careful observation and the measurement of constructs within society which produces both numeric measurements and outcomes derived from studying the behaviour of individuals (Creswell, 2014). The aim is to test hypothesis against a certain set of law or theory and the outcome would either be to validate or redefine a specific law or theoretical school of thought (Creswell, 2014).

The methodology used within a research study, would guide whether the method of inquiry would be deductive or inductive. Deductive research commences with general statements, logic is applied within the parameters of specific conditions after which a theoretical framework is applied to make sense of the observations and ultimately derive at a conclusion (Williman, 2006). Inductive research, however, commences with a specific set or pattern in observations, to build a theoretical framework and derives at a conclusion (Williman, 2006). As indicated in Chapter 3 of this research study, the Sustainable Livelihood Approach (SLA) would be adopted out of the mantra of developmental theoretical frameworks to assess what type of livelihood strategies PLAS beneficiaries are using, in addition to the asset classes available to enhance their livelihood outcomes.

On the other hand, research methods define the way or means in which the research will be conducted such as how data would be collected and analysed within the research process (Williman, 2006). It includes the different forms in which data would be collected:

- Open-ended questions are generally used in qualitative studies to allow respondents to provide an in-dept perspective of their experiences. While closed-ended questions are used in quantitative research which merely requires a specific answer such as yes/no or quantifying an answer in a numerical value (Creswell, 2014).
- Interviews provide an opportunity to acquire data from respondents which could either be in the form of a structured (pre-determined) or semi-structured interview with more flexibility to delve into critical matters uncovered during the interview with a respondent. Semi-structured interviews are thus useful in a qualitative research study. Surveys could be an advantage during a quantitative study when variables are measured and expressed in numerical form.
- The sample size of the population to partake in the study should be a meaningful representation of the population (known as stratified probability sampling), ensuring an equal chance of selection within the population group (Williman, 2004). Probability sampling is regarded as the most reliable and creditable, as nonprobability sampling incorporates the judgement of the researcher in the sample selection process which do not ensure the same equality in the selection process (Williman, 2004).
- Lastly, the way data would be analysed and represented is paramount (Creswell, 2014; Igwenangy, 2016). For this study, a case study design would be used to analyse and represent data. This would allow the selection of a sample to conduct a detailed study and to draw correlations among case study respondents. A case study would also provide the necessary flexibility to design the research in a manner which would allow for the research problem to be explained and to incorporate how well the theoretical framework can be tested (Creswell, 2014).

4.5 Selection of the research methodology, aligned to the aims of the research study (explorative, descriptive or casual)

Due to the complexity of the research problem, a mixed-approach research method will be adopted. However as reiterated by Ritchie & Lewis (2003) generally one approach is applied more than the other in the research enquiry or investigation. Thus, both quantitative and qualitative research questions, leaning towards ‘who’ as well as ‘what and how’ could be incorporated in the questionnaires to explain the research questions (Berg & Lune, 2012).

The following research questions, would thus guide the research process:

- To what extent does the implementation of PLAS provide tenure of security?
- How is the implementation of the PLAS policy used to ensure that land transfers remain productive and can reproduce?
- What type of post-settlement support has been granted? How effective was the implementation thereof?
- Does PLAS improve livelihoods and contribute to a pro-poor strategy in the South African agrarian sector?
- What are the underlying issues fostering development or undeveloped under the auspices of the land redistribution agenda through the implementation of PLAS?

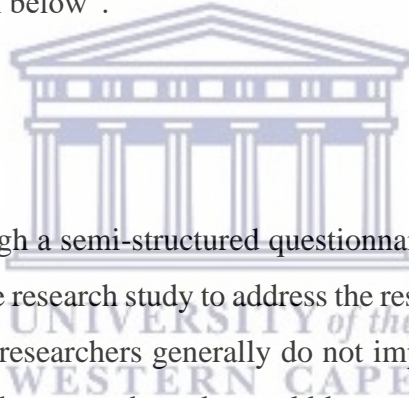
The objective primary and secondary objectives of the study are discussed hereafter.

The primary objectives of the research study are to:

- Assess the differentiators of PLAS in relation to its predecessors, which fosters development and underdevelopment.

The following secondary objectives have been developed in pursuit of achieving the primary objectives of the research study:

- Determine how the policy could attribute toward the acceleration of land redistribution agenda.
- Assess whether the implementation of PLAS is aligned toward redressing social justice, and specifically tenure security.
- Determine whether the National Policy for Beneficiary and Land Allocation guidelines are implemented to identify and select beneficiaries.
- Assess the different post-settlement support strategies implemented.
- Provide recommendations which could enhance the development of intended land redistribution beneficiaries.
- Determine whether PLAS has the potential to improve the livelihoods of new entrants to foster “accumulation from below”.



4.6 Data collection process

Data would be collected through a semi-structured questionnaire that captures both the primary and secondary objectives of the research study to address the research questions. Ritchie & Lewis (2003) argues that qualitative researchers generally do not implement data collection with pre-conceived theories or ideas. The research study would be performed from a mixed approach due to the complexity of the research question which justifies the notion that there is an interactive and non-linear relationship between theory and the data collection process (Maxwell, 1996 & Bryman, 2001 as cited in Ritchie & Lewis, 2003).

The justification for using a semi-structured questionnaire is to provide a more in-depth understanding of the viewpoint as well as experiences of each respondent in the participation of the PLAS implementation within the Western Cape. Bryman (2016) reiterates that semi structured questionnaires provide the researcher with more freedom and flexibility to explore the research problem, and to have an open mind regarding the concepts and theory to be adopted within the study.

4.6.1 Justification of the use of the case study approach

A case study approach will be undertaken as a guideline to analyse data retrieved from the semi-structured questionnaires (Lune & Berg, 2017). The reason therefor is to provide and to narrate an in-dept understanding into the different experiences and observations of each of the research respondents in the most accurate manner (Bryman, 2016). Furthermore, a case study approach will address the research problem from multiple perspectives and enables cases to be compared to one another (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). Important to note, is that although multiple data collection methods could be used when conducting a case study, the semi-structured questionnaire will form the main source of the data collection process (Lune & Berg, 2017).

4.6.2 Population sample

The sample size will be limited to PLAS beneficiaries within the Western Cape. In addition, related parties within the land redistribution project implementation sphere would be consulted to gain insight from an implementation perspective. Given the limitation of the national government to provide a holistic list of PLAS beneficiaries, the population sample would be purposefully selected within each municipal district of the Western Cape. This would ensure that the complexity and experience of the research respondents in relation to the agricultural activity undertaken within each specific municipal district are captured.

Further discussion follows under point 6, which addresses the target population discussion.

4.7 Characteristics of the research design

The following entails the main characteristics of a research design:

- **A research problem to be investigated** is generally observed within the social construct (Lune & Berg, 2017). The idea should however be turned into a research question to be

investigated, and which may change, shift, and take another form as the research process progresses.

- Conducting a **literature review** to obtain an in-dept understanding and background of the research idea or problem to be investigated. As well as to obtain a sense of what research development has been made pertaining to the matter.
- **Formulating research questions** which would support the investigation of the **research problem statement**.
- **Rationale for selecting a specific unit of analysis** answers the ‘who and what’ question of what unit of analysis would be studied, to create observations among the research subjects as well as identifying differentiating factors (Igwenangy, 2016). The sampling strategy (e.g., probability or non-probability) would play an important role in selecting the population size to be studied to ensure a representative sample.
- **Rationale on the selection of research method** to be used to complement the objectives of the study.
- Determine a suitable way the **data would be collected**, analysed, and stored. Data collection could entail amongst others: structured, semi-structured or unstructured interviews, surveys, or questionnaires depending on the aim of the research enquiry.
- Thereafter, **data would be organised** and displayed in a manner which informs the research or specific patterns in the data, which would also inform any further analysis or recommendations to be taken into consideration for future research studies to be undertaken.
- Lastly, the format in which the research results would be **disseminated** would be determined, to add toward the academic fraternity.

4.8 Target Population and types of data sources limitation

A list of PLAS beneficiaries is not available in the public domain. The Western Cape Provincial Minister responsible for Agriculture, Dr Ivan Meyer, has requested Ms Thoko Didiza (National Minister responsible for Agriculture, Land Reform and Development or DALRRD) to publish the list of land reform beneficiaries within the Western Cape Province. Transparency regarding information of PLAS beneficiaries has recently come to the fore again, with the Ivan Cloete from the Colenso farm debacle in February 2021, where the PLAS beneficiary was almost forcefully evicted from a PLAS farm to make way for a cooperative consisting of an Umkhonto weSizwe military veteran (LRC, 2021).

The action by the Western Cape Provincial Minister of Agriculture, suggests that the Provincial Department of the Western Cape and the National Department are functioning within silos and that there is a misalignment between the spheres of government. It thus raises the question, how could the Provincial Department of Agriculture service PLAS beneficiaries in a pro-active manner if senior officials are not aware of who the lawful beneficiaries of land reform transfers are within the province? To put matters into perspective, a query was lodged to the acting Chief Director of Farmer Support and Development at Elsenburg, Mr Jerry Arries, to acquire a list of PLAS beneficiaries within the Western Cape. In turn, the query was redirected to Mr Jacques Pheiffer, Director of Strategic Land Acquisitions within the Western Cape (under the ambit of DARRLD). A response was obtained from the DARRLD official, through email stipulating that permission is required to share such information. Subsequently, the information has not come to the fore even after a follow-up email which included officials from both departments.

To obtain a representative sample, alternative sources such as existing networks within the agricultural transformation and development accumulated over the past 12 years was used. A valuable network exists, which stretches from my internship at the Western Cape Department of Agriculture, HORTGRO (umbrella association for the deciduous fruit industry), as well as my

current role in the Agricultural office at a commercial bank to obtain leads and information. In addition, snowball sampling would also be exercised, which is a non-probability sampling technique known as accidental sampling (Babbie, 2013). This technique is especially popular when access is difficult and only a relatively smaller representative sample could be accessed of the larger population group due to limitations in accessing a more comprehensive and larger sample, such as the list of PLAS beneficiaries within the Western Cape (Babbie, 2013). Hence, each respondent on the initial non-probable sample list would be requested to make a referral of another respondent to be included, in the event where information would add toward to objectives of the research project.

Furthermore, it is also important to note that the land redistribution programme and the implementation thereof is political of nature. Thus, some respondents might feel that they will be victimised in the event of participation or that existing complaints investigated or legal cases under review might be jeopardised. While others might not deem their participation valuable enough to be heard by the correct audience to effect change within the current land redistribution framework. An example thereof is a previous wine farm which has been purchased by the government under the PLAS framework, and which has become an informal squatter due to the alleged placement of evicted farm dwellers from a commercial farmer onto the PLAS farm. Even though the farm already has a PLAS beneficiary who has already started with vineyards renewals and whom would have added to their own profile of wine production. The farm dwellers had allegedly burned down the vineyards for firewood and started to damage the farm infrastructure which makes it impossible to farm and continue with operations. The details of the prospective respondent were obtained through the snowball or accidental sampling, but the individual indicated that he would not be willing to partake in the study, and hence not be used as a case to represent within the study. As participation in the study is done through an ethical compliant manner, the decline of the potential respondent should be respected and hence no further detail will be included in the paper. The above detail was merely shared to illustrate the limitations

which exist in the form of victimisation and implications which might arise when a legal case is already underway.

4.9 Ethical Consideration: Informed Consent and Anonymity and Confidentiality

To ensure that the research process and findings of a research study is trustworthy and creditable, the rules of conduct and moral integrity of a researcher is of utmost importance (Williman, 2006). Ethical compliance within research remains a critical part of the research process to avoid any prejudgement or any harm which could potentially impact the creditability to the recommendations or conclusion as per the research outcomes (HesseBiber & Leavy, 2011).

To ensure that ethical compliance, is achieved the following should be noted:

- Respondents participating in the study should provide consent prior to any participatory engagements on a voluntary basis.
- Respondents must be fully informed regarding the nature and the scope of the study envisaged.
- It should be clear how the input of respondents would add value and be analysed and represented in the research study.
- Any potential risk in respondents participating in the study should be highlighted and addressed before the study is undertaken.
- The rights of respondents and their privacy must be protected.
- The participation of respondents will only be disclosed if consent is provided.
- Sensitive information regarding each respondent's and their experience will be discussed in an honest and respectful manner with the research supervisor, in the event where consent was provided before such information is published.

- In addition, sensitive and personal information will be kept confidential and portrayed within a case study format without projecting the particulars of the respondent.

4.10 Conclusion

In summary, social sciences differs from basic science which follows a more structured and linear form of inquiry with more prescriptive outcomes. Hence, research within the social science discipline incorporates observations and understanding of the cause and effect of human relations and interactions (Williman, 2006). Subsequently, social sciences allow the researcher to test, generate, and enhance existing theoretical frameworks to either formulate new theories (which *lean more towards inductive thinking*) or test existing theories (*which leans more towards deductive thinking*) (Patten, 2002 as cited in Bhattacharjee, 2012). In achieving the aforementioned, a social problem such as Pro-active Land Acquisition Strategy (PLAS) implementation is investigated through social research to explained how it differentiates from prior land redistribution polices (such as SLAG and LRAD). Due to the complexity of the social problem investigated within this study, a mixed research method approach has been adopted to incorporate both qualitative and quantitative research methods to guide the way data collection and analysis will be portrayed. Lastly, data would be collected with the aim to conduct an in-dept analysis of the research problem and to test the theoretical framework, namely the Sustainable Livelihood Approach (SLA).

CHAPTER 5: CASE STUDY ANALYSIS OF THE PRO-ACTIVE LAND ACQUISITION STRATEGY (PLAS) WITHIN THE WESTERN CAPE

5.1 Introduction and Chapter outline

In this chapter, the data collected will be represented in a case study format. This type of representation would allow the data collected to be portrayed in a relevant summarised format. Practical experiences of the Pro-active Land Acquisition Strategy (PLAS) beneficiaries would be put forward to answer the research questions. Probability sampling has been used through the random selection of at least one PLAS beneficiary within each of the district municipalities in the Western Cape. As indicated in Chapter 4, access to a comprehensive list of PLAS beneficiaries is a daunting task, hence the motivation for the sampling method used.

5.2 Relevance of the Western Cape to the agricultural production basket, as well as developments pertaining to the Census of Commercial Agriculture

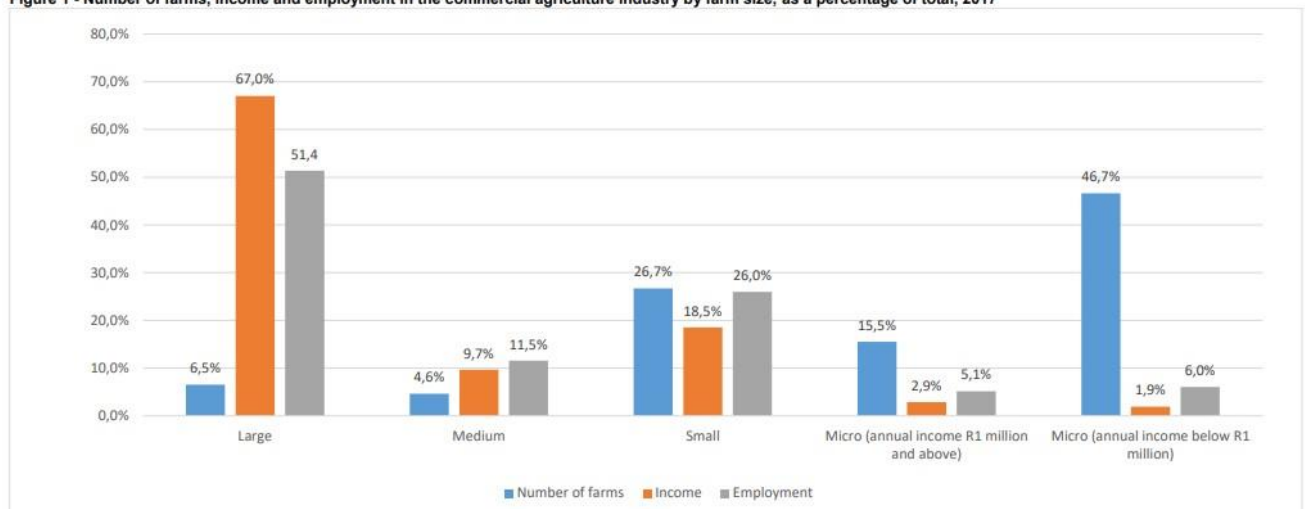
According to Statistics South Africa, the latest commercial agricultural census was conducted in 2017. However, a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) was signed with the National Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (DAFF) in April 2018 to conduct a census of commercial agricultural on a municipal level and in addition to develop a farm register with the focus on the inclusion of smallholder farmers (Stats SA_b, 2020). The updated census would provide a clear indication of the land use, employment, financials, and which agricultural commodities are relevant within a specific province. Important to note, is that this information is imperative for policy formulation and more specifically to redress the injustices of the past within the sector.

In terms of the share of commercial farms, which equated to 40,122 farms during the 2020 census update, the Western Cape has a 17.30% share allocation in terms of the number of farms (Stats SA_a, 2020). During 2017, the Western Cape contributed the largest share in terms of agricultural

income at 19.30% or R65,30 billion, with the horticultural sector being the largest contributor at 47%, followed by livestock (37%) and field crops (16%) (Stats SA_a, 2020). In terms of the most relevant top 10 district municipalities nationally and their contribution toward the agricultural income basket, the Cape Winelands district municipality ranked first at 8.2%, followed by the West Coast in fourth place at 4.10% (Stats SA_a, 2020). In terms of employment creation, the Cape Winelands again ranked first, followed by the West Coast at fifth and the Overberg at seventh place (Stats SA_a, 2020).

Arable land within the Western Cape accounts for 1,10 million hectares, followed by 2,70 million hectares suited for grazing and 400,000 hectares for other uses which are non-agricultural related (Stats SA_a, 2020). Important to note is that medium (turnover between R13,50M to R22,50M) to large (turnover above R22,50M) farm sizes constitute 11.10% of farms in South Africa, but also contribute the largest share of income (77%) and employment (63%) in terms of the collective agriculture sector (Stats SA_a, 2020). On the contrary, micro (less than R1M, while micro plus is between R1M to R2,50M) and small farms (with a turnover between R2,50M to R13,50M) equate to 89% of the farm numbers while only contributing 23% of agricultural income and 37% of employment during 2017 (Stats SA_a, 2020).

Figure 1 - Number of farms, income and employment in the commercial agriculture industry by farm size, as a percentage of total, 2017



Source: Stats SA_a, 2020

5.3 CASE STUDY 1: MOORREESBURG, WEST COAST MUNICIPALITY

5.3.1 Background

The respondent is a female grain and sheep farmer (aged between 41-50) within the Moorreesburg area, Western Cape. At present, she serves on the Grain SA executive board member for region 30 in the Western Cape. The PLAS farm currently managed is 266 hectares in extent, with a partial lease on another PLAS farm (446 hectares in extent) within the same area which is currently experiencing managerial challenges of its own. During the 2021 season, a total of 350 hectares of wheat, 210 hectares oats and two hectares of canola (on trial basis) was planted. The grain is harvested mechanically, hence the farming enterprises farmed with is not labour-intensive. However, the respondent is still able to employ six permanent labourers.

During late 1993 she formed part of a LRAD project, which consisted of one female and six males. However, internal conflict persisted as the group did not share the same sentiments with regards to their interest in farming. Hence, the respondent left the LRAD project as this was frustrating, and she wanted to manage the agricultural venture to be successful. The respondent obtained interest in farming from her late grandfather and father who owned farmland in the Little Karoo and Ceres, on which they farmed sheep and cattle respectively. Due to the land dispossession regulation under the apartheid regime, they later relocated to the Saron area where the agricultural activities were pursued on a much-limited scale.

5.3.2. How PLAS participation started, and how the implementation took place

In 2015, the respondent and her partner started a partnership on which they started to farm together on the PLAS farm until his passing in 2018. At present, the respondent is in a process to dissolve the entity in which the partner formed part, as this has an impact on the state lease agreement. As of 2021, she will be on the PLAS farm for seven years. The lease of the state farm,

started with an advert that was placed in *Die Burger*, a daily newspaper. A site inspection was organised by the Department of Land Affairs (as known at the time), which were attended by all interested parties who applied. A month thereafter, interviews were conducted with the shortlisted candidates. The respondent indicated that during the interview process, the following information was requested and shared with the potential lessees:

- i. Business registration documentation, indicative that the registration process needed to be finalised.
- ii. The initial business plan drafted with the information obtained during the site visit. It includes the extent of arable land, water sources available, annual rainfall, suitable crops for cultivation in the area, among others.
- iii. What the lessee's strategic plans entails in building-up the farm into a viable farming unit.
- iv. The process for applying for Recapitalisation and Development (RECAP) funding was also explained.

After being selected as the successful elected beneficiary, the respondent was the appointed lessee of the farm for three years as of 2015. A long-term lease agreement was issued towards the end of the 2015 government financial year. The grain planting season was however missed during 2016 as there was a delay in the implementation of RECAP funding. The funding was supposed to be implemented over a 12-month period as of 2015/16, however funding was implemented during a three-year period. And hence, being the lessee at the time, the respondent could only commence with planting during the 2017 planting season. Small grains are rain-fed and dependent on good winter rainfall, and thus could only be planted by latest end of May or beginning of June (dependent on the cultivar planted) to be within the optimal planting window. A slightly lesser planting date would require higher seed density and would ultimately result in higher production cost. It is also evident that the progress or delay in any agricultural activity, does not await the rate at which projects are implemented within government. It is for this reason that the respondent started to use her own funding to cover cashflow shortfalls during the initial

planting season and to buy livestock as a complementary enterprise (*due to shorter and more regular income cycle as opposed to grain which is an annual crop*).

It is important to note that there was a misalignment in the initial business plan (referred to as BP1) drafted by the applicant and the refined business plan implemented (referred to as BP2, which is the plan generally approved by the DRDRL). This was mainly due to the 12 hectares of winter water that formed part of the farm description during the site inspection which is alleged too not have been lawfully registered. Hence, due to the respondent not being familiar with the specific farmland use nor the area, the initial business plan was dependent on the 12-hectare winter water allocation which would have been used for lucerne production. Lucerne production requires a consistent water allocation for sufficient irrigation. Furthermore, there was also a misrepresentation of the available farm infrastructure and implements, as the farm was sold without any implements. The respondent thus had to pay for soil analysis, testing of water and farm improvements to make the farm a manageable farming operations. This given that the Provincial Department of Agriculture generally conducts a farm assessment on behalf of the state to substantiate the conditions when negotiating a purchase price from the commercial farmer.

The respondent indicated she also applied for the Colenso farm, Darling area, which recently received media attention. Some of the initial applications lodged a dispute after indicating that there was no clear cut-off timeframe for the submission of applications. Subsequently, the tender process was reopened due to errors on the initial advert. Interested parties were again requested to submit their tenders to acquire the Colenso farm, after which Mr Ivan Cloete was appointed as the successful lessee. Accordingly, the above scenario is aligned to one of the research questions which highlights the criteria being used to conduct the beneficiary selection and the methodology applied to derive the best outcome. Below is a brief synopsis of the key areas that are assessed through a point system by means of a 'tick box' questionnaire according to the respondent:

- Introduction of the potential lessee,
- The means and measures to be implemented by the potential lessee, to farm productively,

- The initial business plan compiled by the applicant,
- An indication of whether the individual is a former uMkhonto we Sizwe (MK) veteran,
- Cashflow projections in accordance with the business plan,
- Proof of compliance in terms of whether the company registration and tax clearance has been addressed. As well as whether there are any disabled and/or youth forming part of the application.
- An indication of how many employment opportunities would be created,
- The applicants farming experience and subsequent qualifications, and
- How the individual would access funding or credit, to contribute toward the farming venture.

From the above-mentioned criteria the agenda has progressed away from being pro-poor toward the elite who would be able to access their own funding as well as those who are political connected. Furthermore, the selection of beneficiaries is not grounded on in-dept interviews as a scoring system is being used. Hence, the prospective beneficiary with the largest score outrightly wins. It ultimately begs the question of what the intended outcome of the selection process is and who ultimately would be the best farmer, if a judgemental process is followed.

5.3.3. Security of tenure

A formal lease agreement signed toward the end of 2015 (section 22) stipulates that the state could sell the farm, however the lessee should be informed before the offer is extended to other parties—as the lessee should be granted the first right of refusal to purchase the leased farmland. In the case of the respondent, the option to purchase could only be exercised after the five-year probation period was successfully completed. Clause 5 of the rental agreement indicates that the 20-year renewal period could be applied for after the initial 30-year lease period lapses, this would result in the respondent approaching 80 years of age before the 20year renewal would be effective. Thus, if the renewal clause is to be approved, the respondent would be very old and have invested a lifetime of effort in the farming operations without reaping the desired benefit

without confirmation to own the farm. This questions the seriousness of the government to provide security of tenure to previously disadvantaged individuals (PDIs) who are longing for land ownership. The sentiment is that the lease agreement has mainly been drafted in a 'one-way' channel for the benefit of the government and not necessarily to protect the state lessee. The reason for this is that the lessee indicated that no amendments could be done to the lease agreement, even though the lessee strongly disagrees with some of the wording or clauses included. Hence, the respondent indicated that lessees generally just tend to sign the lease agreement due to their unwavering longing to be landowners and gratefulness which leads to emotions superseding reality.

Furthermore, this is concerning as the respondent indicated that an addendum is attached to the lease agreement indicating that there is pressure to commit to infrastructural development that is planned on the allocated PLAS farm regardless of any committed funding toward the capital expenditure listed. Should there be any deviation from the listed infrastructural developments envisioned, the lessee is requested to forward the request to the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform (DRDLR) for consideration. In addition, it is important to note that infrastructure development is a requirement to manage a viable farming unit. Hence, the beneficiary has done the largest share of infrastructure development on-farm due to the delays which are generally experienced when there is a deviation from the initial business plan and infrastructural improvements addendum approved. Thus, it was vital for the beneficiary to keep records of improvements funded out of pocket to ensure that it is taken into consideration when the government calculates the selling price when an offer to purchase could be exercised. At present, the respondent is of the opinion to rather buy the PLAS farm from the state to justify the investment and efforts made until date. This would ultimately eliminate the 'tip-toe' management, due to the uncertainty that currently persists given the long-term lease agreement in place.

5.3.4 Livelihood enhancement

From the respondent's perspective, her livelihood has been enhanced through the participation of the PLAS farm as a vehicle to farm. However, important to note is the fact that she indicated that conditions mainly started to change for her benefit from 2019, considering that she has been on the farm as from 2015. Thus, it is evident that material change does not come into fulfilment overnight, but that it requires a prolonged period of 'sweat and blood'. It is also clear that her personal goals, fuelled by hard work and determination were the main driving force of the success to date. The opportunity cost for the respondent in using her own funds to make the farming operations a success rather than an alternative investment vehicle, would be foregone should the government be willing to sell the farmland to the respondent at a reasonable price.

In her opinion, she also acknowledges that the PLAS policy could be used as a vehicle to create a new thinking of creating wealth from below, rather than the top-down economic growth policies envisaged during the GEAR policy regime. However, this approach could only bear fruit if certain aspects relating to the implementation of PLAS is corrected such as the transfer of land after the three to five-year caretaker and/or lessee period has lapsed. This would provide sufficient time for the caretaker and/or lessee to proof themselves, to be in a position both on a technical know-how basis as well as a managerial basis to run the farming operations. In addition, the current finance model between the government and the financial sector through the implementation of the blended finance model would also assist in that a PLAS beneficiary could have access to both grant funding as well as credit which would ultimately assist in the delay in project implementation as well as the 'piecemeal' assistance granted to beneficiaries. In addition, the respondent also flagged the selection process to be reviewed to ensure that the best applicant is selected and that the notion of the elite and politically connected are addressed.

It is also acknowledged that building relationships with neighbouring farmers within a specific social construct is important. Especially since social dependence on each other and the ability to lend a helping hand where necessary is of importance since farming requires activities to take

place on time. Hence, social capital is of great importance to steer social cohesion within farming communities to ensure that the white dominated farmlands are inclusive of the transformation.

5.4 CASE STUDY 2: VAN RHYNSDORP, MATZIKAMA MUNICIPALITY

5.4.1 Background

The respondent is a male aged between 51-60 years. He is currently the lessee of a 1,767hectare PLAS farm located in the Van Rhynsdorp area in the Matzikama district municipality. At present, he is farming with five hectares of dried grapes and manages a sheep herd of 102 ewes. The respondent's journey within the agricultural sector started in the Koue Bokkeveld in Ceres where he was born and bred and later commenced employment at the South African Plant Improvement Organisation (SAPO) for the deciduous fruit industry for a period of 17 years. As a result of contraction in the deciduous fruit industry in the late 2000s, the respondent was retrenched after which he obtained a new employment position at Stargrow Nurseries near the Citrusdal area for a period of three years. He was in-between jobs after his employment at Stargrow came to an end.



5.4.2 Journey toward obtaining a PLAS farm, and the extent of security of tenure

The respondent opted to register on the Department of Land Affairs database (*as known at the time*) in 2012. The respondent was contacted during 2014, regarding the possibility that two PLAS farms will be available on a bid or application to lease the state land. Subsequently, the respondent was informed telephonically of the opportunity that existed and to apply for the potential lease of either the Van Rhynsdorp or Koekenaap PLAS farms. The Koekenaap farm which entailed wine grape and vegetable production was eventually allocated to its previous white commercial owner's farmworkers.

The respondent was successful in the second application which was for the Van Rhynsdorp farm. The successful bid farm obtained by the respondent is 1,786 hectares in extent and was initially allocated in his capacity as a successful bidder or beneficiary as from March 2015. A formal appointment as caretaker followed for a six-month period as from March 2016 until February 2017. The caretaker agreement lapsed in February 2017. A formal lease agreement was supposed to be undertaken during September 2017; however, the 30-year lease agreement was only finalised toward the end of December 2017. In line with the standard lease agreement, the option to renew for another 20-years exists after the 30-year lease agreement lapses.

Part of the application process entailed a site visit to the farm, in which basic information was provided on the land use, basic infrastructure, previous farming activities and the water resources. The respondent was requested to draft a business plan thereafter (known as BP1), which was submitted to the Department of Agriculture (DoA), Department of Land Reform and Rural Development (DLRRD), as well as the district municipality (located in Vredendal). Shortlisted candidates were then interviewed by the District Land Reform Committee (located in Moorreesburg). Whereafter, the final selection process was undertaken by the National Land Acquisition and Allocation Control Committee (NLAACC). Accordingly, the respondent's background and technical know-how was instrumental in the beneficiary selection process. Furthermore, the respondent indicated that basic business skills was highlighted as one of the requirements in the final selection which stood out. From the perspective of the respondent, he deemed the selection process as fair since all interested parties within the Matzikama district municipal area was afforded an opportunity to participate in the application process.

The application and screening process was however not without its challenges, as it transpired that the business plan (referred to as BP1) could not be implemented because of the pro-longed drought within the Western Cape. The farm was previously equipped with three boreholes, of which two did not provide a sufficient yield capacity and one was able to still service the irrigation requirements of the farm. The irrigation capacity is currently estimated to be sufficient

for at least 12 hectares, given that five hectares of dried grapes has been established with vegetables planted in between the vines. Thus, given that the water availability did not align with the information shared during the site inspection and farm assessment previously conducted it led to the implementation of the initial business plan to be unrealistic. The respondent's predicament worsened given the prolonged drought in the Western Cape. The initial business plan approved (BP1) focussed mainly on lucerne production (under irrigation) and sheep production, given the availability of the water. In addition, the farm was not equipped with a serviced Eskom line when the management was transferred. No moveable assets were on the farm when the PLAS beneficiary started even though it formed part of the alleged R6 million purchase price paid. According to the respondent, the moveable assets formed part of farm purchase as enquired from the audit committee. Subsequently, a second business plan was drafted in which the beneficiary also provided input with regards to the development thereof. The irrigation water restraint played a crucial role, as it derailed the initial business strategy that would have been implemented. Prospects going forward are very limiting at this juncture, given the water availability. After the farm was purchased and allocated to the beneficiary as of May 2017, assistance was received from the Western Cape Department of Agriculture (DoA) regarding the challenge experienced with post-settlement support including the limitation with regards to the water availability.

To date, the PLAS beneficiary has not received any correspondence regarding the receipt of any Recapitalisation and Development Programme (RECAP) financial assistance in a formal written format. Post-settlement support, to date has been in the form of the Comprehensive Agricultural Support Programme (CASP) and the Raisins SA/Jobs Fund project in which the respondent has obtained assistance with breeding ewes (in three tranches) and the establishment of five-hectares dried grapes. In addition, the respondent has also received assistance with inputs to help during the non-bearing period of the dried grapes as well as a drying-bed facility for the grapes to be dried when the vines start to bear. The farmer also forms part of the 50 elected projects to form part of the commercialisation drive by government, through which specific assistance will be rolled-out through CASP to promote these farmers to a commercial level. Furthermore, a

partnership between Raisins SA (industry association responsible for raisins/dried grapes in South Africa) and HORTGRO (deciduous fruit industry body) has also been undertaken to assist transformation projects. Emerging farmers could be assisted with various aspects causing expansion hindrances such as the water limitation, obtaining an environmental impact assessment (EIA) and market access with which the respondent is currently confronted. As acknowledged by the respondent, he was on survival mode for at least three years due to the lack of post-settlement assistance received. Subsequently, the respondent had to use own funding at his disposal to seek assistance and to submit applications, as well as attend meeting and presentation sessions. The journey to date has been tiring since the PLAS beneficiary has not obtained any RECAP funding since the PLAS farm was allocated.

Infrastructural improvements are crucial, to ensure that the farming operations are functional. However, since no RECAP funding has been implemented, the onus is on the PLAS beneficiary to seek assistance from other sources to ensure that the dilapidated infrastructure handed over to him when occupancy of the farm was taken, is upgraded to service the needs of the farm. The respondent thus feels somewhat misled as he signed the lease agreement committing to pay the lessor (the state) an annual lease amount on the one hand, while the lessor also expects him as the lessee to not only maintain it in the same condition as it was when handed over, but to do infrastructural improvements for the farm to be functional. The question thus remains, who will be liable for funding of these type of improvements?

5.4.3 Livelihood enhancement mechanism

Alleged political interference creates frustration on part of the beneficiaries who have longed for an opportunity to improve their families' livelihoods. In addition, this lifetime yearning could be obtained by also being able to someday own a piece of land on which farming activities could be performed. As indicated the respondent was born and bred in an agricultural community, thus farming is the only field of expertise that he is familiar with, and which runs deep in his veins. The investment made when purchasing the farm for the alleged R6 million does not justify the

investment by the government as the arable land with available irrigation is too limited for the respondent to run an economically viable farming operation. Given the that only 12 hectares could be irrigated at maximum in relation to the total extent of the farming enterprise. The carrying capacity for small livestock units (SLU) given the amount of saltbush (or *soutbos* as commonly known) and other forage is sufficient in accordance with the Department of Agriculture's farm assessment for 140 ewes. However, the respondent aims to stock at least 200 ewes within an intensive sheep production system in attempt to manage the farm more profitable. The respondent is longing for land ownership to be transferred to him, as there is a built-up of concern regarding state corruption and overall management of state assets, given that so many state enterprises or parastatals are failing. In the respondent's own words, "nothing belonging or managed by the state is a success".

The respondent still believes that he is better-off, since he was previously unemployed before he was allocated the PLAS farm. Subsequently, accessibility to PLAS farms is deemed as a vehicle to improve his and his family's wellbeing, provided that the farmland is transferred, and he is equipped with the necessary resources to build the farming operations into a profitable venture. Thus, the allocation of PLAS farms subjected to a cool-off period could be used as a vehicle to promote 'economic growth from below' or bottom-up. However, the below listed recommendations are proposed:

- i. **Changes to the implementation process:** ensuring that the farmland and moveable assets justify the investment made by the state and subsequently the beneficiary. At this juncture, it appears that the government is overcompensating when buying overvalued farmland and under-compensating when it comes to the support required by beneficiaries. This notion is put forward in the below statement reiterated by the respondent, "government should buy something that is worthwhile in terms of value".

- ii. **Beneficiary selection:** ensures that the best applicant is afforded an opportunity to access agricultural land. Those merely wishing to own land for non-agricultural purposes should be provided with alternative options.
- iii. **Post-settlement support:** more certainty regarding support structures available to the elected beneficiary should accompany the transfer of the custodianship of the land.

As put forward by the respondent, “the beneficiary is saddled with the problems, not the government; at this stage government’s assistance is not sufficient”.

5.5 CASE STUDY 3: CALEDON, OVERBERG MUNICIPALITY

5.5.1 Background

The respondent is a male aged between 51-60 years who was born and bred in the farming community of Greyton in the Overberg municipality. His parents were farm labourers, and thus farming was a daily routine he is all too familiar with since he had to fulfil farming activities after school for which he earned an income. He was able to have pursued a twoyear agricultural training course during the 1980s. After this, he completed an irrigation design qualification at the Cape Peninsula University of Technology previously known as Cape Technicon. After this, he worked as an irrigation specialist and a farm manager within the Overberg area for more than 12 years until 2007. Today, he is a director on the transformation board of the industry. He also won the numerous accolades and is a respected mentor to his peers within the industry.

The respondent always had a longing to one day own his own farm, and hence the democratic government’s commitment to foster equitable transfer of farmland through the implementation of the land redistribution programme afforded him with the opportunity of a lifetime. This dream, however, was halted by the fact that the preceding land redistribution programmes namely SLAG and LRAD promoted the ‘rent-a-crowed’ syndrome in which respective land redistribution beneficiaries were encouraged to group together to increase government subsidies

to be able to purchase farmland. The respondent did not foresee himself partaking in these land redistribution structures of which the majority thereof had failed due to conflicting interests, among other issues. Thus, with the inception of Pro-active Land Acquisition Strategy (PLAS) in 2006, the respondent was able to identify three potential farming units which could be earmarked under the PLAS programme. He was alerted to the opportunity through local officials who inform him of the invitation that was published in a local newspaper, as well as his social networks which consisted of a well-known acquaintance within the legal fraternity.

Initially, the respondent wanted to purchase the farm through Landbank, but negotiations were not successful. As indicated by the respondent, “the deal fell through due to the administrative delays”. The state was also reluctant to buy the land and transfer it to the beneficiary, due to the implementation of the State Land and Disposal Policy adopted which prevented transfer of ownership and ultimately a decision by government for the state to remain the custodian of the land. After extensive consultation with government officials, it was agreed that the farm Klein Ezeljacht would be bought under PLAS. At present, the respondent farms with 52 hectares of apples and pears, 150 hectares of winter crops on a rotational system (barley, oats, and canola) as well as 1,000 sheep and 60 heads of cattle. A total of 590 hectares of the total farmland is fynbos conservation land.

5.5.2 PLAS implementation, and post settlement support

During the application process, the respondent needed to submit a business plan which was drafted with the land use description information acquired from the local office of the Department of Rural Development. Assistance and input were also obtained from the Provincial Department of Agriculture, while Two-A-Day provided technical assistance. A farm assessment was also conducted by the Provincial Department of Agriculture, and hence an application was submitted for Comprehensive Agricultural Support Programme (CASP) to assist with the expansion of plantings as well as implements and equipment such as tractors and spray pumps.

The respondent commenced on the farm in December 2007, with farming activities fully kicking off in 2008. The farm was however, purchased without any moveable assets and subsequently a strategic partner was a pre-requisite. At first the state granted the lease agreement to the strategic partner appointed, which was an established fruit exporting company specialising in deciduous fruit. The strategic partner established a special purchase vehicle (SPV) for this specific transaction in the form of a new company. Moveable assets (worth almost R2 million) were acquired in the form of bridging finance, on behalf of the strategic partner. The respondent was discontent with the business structure, since not being a shareholder in the new company he was merely appointed as the farm manager of the farm operations and subsequently the decision-making power resided with the strategic partner.

Although post-settlement support was obtained as from 2010, mainly from the Western Cape Department of Agriculture and a local co-operative, the management arrangement was not favourable. Thus, to buy-out the shareholder and become the controlling shareholder, the respondent approached Two-A-Day (traded as a cooperative before the deregulation of agricultural single marketing channels) to assist in raising the capital from a commercial bank. This was in line with the transformation objective undertaken by the packer and marketer as it furthered their transformation agenda. A soft-interest loan of R3,60 million was secured and thus the strategic partner could be bought out during 2011, affording the respondent to become the sole operator on the farm. A new operating company was established by the respondent to manage the farm, after the transaction was concluded.

Furthermore, the new strategic partner did not have any shareholding in farming operations while also providing technical advice to the respondent and ultimately the strategic role shifted from predominately ‘underdeveloped’ toward more developed as the respondent was equipped with the necessary forms of capital (social, financial, etc.) to ensure that the farming operations are run economically sustainable. Since the packer and marketer (current strategic partner) is owned by producer members, there is greater transparency and the respondent is also afforded an

opportunity to partake in their vertically integrated value-chain which commences from fruit packing, logistics, a fruit juicing facility, and marketing company TruCape, which provides accessibility directly into international supermarket chains. In addition, the farmer is also assisted with advance payments prior to the harvest season to assist with cashflow management until proceeds from the harvest are fully realised.

The respondent obtained support from the Jobs Fund project lodged in the deciduous fruit industry in 2016 for a four-year period. The respondent's farming operations received an allocation of 14 hectares expansion but was delayed due to the specific plant material not being available. Subsequently, nine hectares of apples (Rosy Glow and Big Bucks) were established in 2018, and the remaining five hectares (Big Bucks) in 2019. With the addition of the 14 hectares, the total deciduous plantings equated to 52 hectares, which is equivalent to the lawful water allocation. It is for this reason that the farmer is in process to apply to erect a 50,000m³ or 20 hectare holding dam to store water from the river after extraction to ensure that there is a buffer in summer months when irrigation requirements are generally higher.



The dilapidating infrastructure on the farm has been a challenge, and thus the Department of Rural Development and Land reform has provided a stimulus package in 2020 through which the allying infrastructure (such as irrigation lines, new forklift, tractor, fencing) was upgraded. The respondent, however, acknowledges that government assistance is generally provided in a 'piecemeal' order, and that it is the norm that beneficiaries must request assistance, hence it is not given in a pro-active manner through regular farm assessments. Furthermore, it has also been a request from industry (which implements the CASP funding on behalf of the Provincial Department of Agriculture) to draft a five-year plan to assist the farmers to commercial level, whereafter a notice is provided of the intent for the previously disadvantaged farmer to exit the government support programme. Given that state resources are limited, one could comprehend this strategy. However, it cannot be the stance of government given the way post-settlement support is currently availed to new entrants within the agricultural sector.

A few recommendations regarding improvements into the implementation of the PLAS programme, is listed below:

- i. **After a five-year leasing period, ownership should be granted to the beneficiary** based on the blended finance model. Subjected that the farm has been managed efficiently.
- ii. **Post -settlement support should be holistic, and well-coordinated** between the agriculture and rural development and land reform at a national and provincial level.
- iii. **Beneficiaries should not be limited** in terms of **farm size, nor forced to partner** with another individual(s).

5.5.3 Tenure of security or not?

A year thereafter, the respondent obtained an annual lease for the farm in his personal capacity. As of 2012 he obtained a five-year lease which ended in 2017. A 30-year lease agreement was then only signed in January 2019, with the option to purchase. At present, the farmer is in consultation to request whether the option to purchase cannot be exercised much earlier to secure that his sons are afforded with an opportunity to continue with the farming operations. Should the respondent, wait until the 30-year period lapses, he would almost reach 90 years of age which is quite risky to delay succession planning and ensure that his investment to date is ringfenced.

Until 2010, a total of 18 hectares of apples and pears were established. “Planning for the future in farming became impossible, if you cannot secure your land rights” as echoed by the respondent. Considering that farming is a long-term investment as in the case of deciduous fruit it takes up to eight years before it starts to be fruitful, and the optimal lifespan of the investment is 40 years on average for apples and pears. Thus, by being afforded an opportunity by the state to purchase the farm is the only strategy to secure his investment. As in his own words, he “is farming against his own interest, as any expansions and/or development made to the farm could be to his detriment when the state eventually decides to sell the farm. Negotiations pertaining to

the purchase price might not be in his favour or might result in a higher asset value in favour of the state if it is decided for the state to remain the custodian or sell to another party.”

5.5.4 Livelihood enhancement

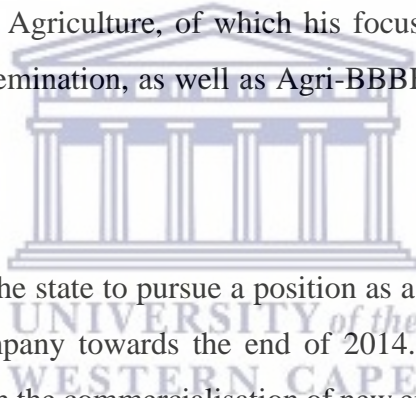
In view of the respondent, overall, his and that of family’s livelihood prospects have improved for the better. Both his two eldest sons are actively involved in the farming operations, each responsible for an enterprise such as the livestock and deciduous fruit. Furthermore, he also strongly feels that by allowing him to steer decision-making and potentially being the owner of the farm has empowered him in the true sense of what the overall objective is with land redistribution providing equitable ownership through the inclusion of those who were previously excluded from the agricultural sector. Subsequently, the journey until date has been rewarding both financially and non-financially, regardless of the many challenges laying ahead.

Up until now, the respondent needed to borrow funds to repay the first caretaker and needed to use his own funds to ensure that the farm remains productive. Thus, it is the respondent’s wish for the state to approve that the option for him to purchase the farm could be exercised soonest. In doing so, the government would support the bottom-up economic enhancement which is much needed in current economic conditions. In his opinion, he is a believer that through hard work and determination one could progress in life as you desire. It all depends on the jockey.

5.6. CASE STUDY 4: BEAUFORT-WEST, CENTRAL KAROO MUNICIPALITY

5.6.1 Background

The PLAS beneficiary is a male aged between 41-50 years of age, who has been allocated with a farm in the Beaufort-West area. He was born on a dairy farm in the Keiskammahoek irrigation scheme area, and thus decided to pursue a degree in agricultural economics—of which he continued his studies up to a master’s degree level in agricultural economics. To date, he has obtained 18 years of valuable experience within various agricultural fields, which includes being a senior researcher and director for the well-known agricultural consulting company. The respondent also served as a senior manager within the Agricultural Economics division at the Western Cape Department of Agriculture, of which his focus entailed market access, market information research and dissemination, as well as Agri-BBEE support services to mention a few.



He left his employment with the state to pursue a position as a managing director of a BBEE-owned fresh fruit export company towards the end of 2014. He was mainly responsible for providing support to assist with the commercialisation of new entrant farmers, which enabled the export company to have a secure supply base of fruit stemming from previously disadvantaged individuals. The company, however, did not perform well as anticipated; it was then decided to rather not continue with this business venture.

5.6.2 Participation into PLAS, implementation and post-settlement support

The respondent was informed of an invitation for applications for the leasing of a PLAS farm through an advert placement in the *Sunday Times* newspaper in early 2019. A site meeting was attended, as per the pre-requisite to submit a formal application. During the site visit the necessary application form was completed and submitted, in addition to certified copies of the applications identity documentation and qualifications. From the perspective of the PLAS beneficiary, the site

visit does not provide enough time to see everything that is on the farm that is essential to execute the production plan. Therefore, it could be that some things are only observed once the farm is allocated, and production commences. However, in the case the PLAS beneficiary is of the opinion that funding assistance thereafter could potentially address any shortcomings.

An interview followed two days after the site inspection with shortlisted candidates. The interview panel consisted of representatives from the local and provincial Department of Rural Development and Land Reform, Beaufort-West Municipality representatives, Western Cape Department of Agriculture, and other interested parties. Furthermore, the interview revolved around information pertaining to (i) what agricultural activities and medium to longterm plans the respondent envisaged once the farm is allocated, (ii) previous experience in farming, (iii) whether the applicant had any form of funding to execute the plans envisaged, among others. Furthermore, the interview entailed technical questions specifically regarding sheep production, marketing, and economics. Soft skills questions during the interview related to general and personnel management, and from a personal perspective what the applicant's future entails and their willingness to remain on the farm.



An initial business plan was drafted by the PLAS beneficiary during the application process which occurred before placement on the farm. Subsequent changes were made to the second drafted business plan which was submitted for final approval. This business plan focussed more on the land use, as well as resources available which would aid in the development of the farm as per the ability of the farmer. An interesting comment made during the interview, in the case of the respondent pertains to the fact that the interview panel was clear that there is a possibility that he might not be receiving any post-settlement in the form of funding. Hence, the ability of the respondent to raise his own capital was instrumental within the decision making of who the beneficiary could potentially be. Post-settlement support has however been acquired from the Comprehensive Agricultural Support Program (CASP) through the allocation during the 2018/2019 and 2019/2020 financial periods, as well as technical support from industry

organisations such as BKB, OABS and Konsortium Merino. On the part of the respondent, he deems the support provided as instrumental and effective, and “the reason the farm is still operational and showing prospects of improvements within the next few years”.

The farm is 6 486,9551 hectares and there are boreholes that provide water only for livestock and household use as there is no land for fodder production. It is for this reason that there are no registered water rights.

Suggestions on improvements to the implementation of PLAS, are listed below:

- i. The **officials should be better trained to determine what an economically viable and production unit benchmark should be.** This is since some of the farms allocated are too small to run a viable farming operation.
- ii. On the other hand, there **should be more support in terms of funding.** Non-agricultural opportunities that could sustain the business even though these are outside of agriculture should be considered, with the necessary policing from government. Policing efforts should, however, be more stringently focussed on issues such as land degradation and if the PLAS beneficiary deviates too vastly from the approved business plan.

5.6.3 Tenure of security

Upon approval of the application to lease, the respondent obtained a 30-year lease agreement, with the option to purchase effective from April 2019. From the perspective of the farmer, he deems the term of the rental agreement to be completing the agricultural activity, which is sheep production which is generally based on an eight-month production cycle. However, he is not in agreement with the authoritarian stance taken by the government, as he is not allowed to deviate from any farming activity without permission, of which the permission could be denied. Thus, should he wish to pursue other opportunities approval needs to be requested in writing and the process could be a daunting and time-consuming task.

The respondent would rather prefer to own the farm, to have more flexibility with regards to the overall decision-making, as it could “open-up more possibilities on what you could potentially do”. In addition, the limitations put in place by state as the custodian of the land, restricts the growth potential and diversification prospects that require a more pro-active managerial approach which is currently under the management of the state. Thus, investment through joint ventures is impossible, due to the uncertainty pertaining to the return on investment given the state remains the holder of the land rights or the productive asset. It is no doubt that political uncertainty is the order of the day, and more so given the recent policy conflict between the governing party and the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) which will impact on the policy discourse should there be a change in government during the next national election.

5.6.4 Livelihood enhancement

The respondent deems it too early to determine whether the allocation of a PLAS farm, has attributed toward any improvement of his livelihood or otherwise. Since, the farming operations are still within its infancy stage. According to the PLAS beneficiary, there has been slight improvements made to the farm through the re-investment of the proceeds earned to date. Since, the respondent does not have access to own funding to use within the start-up phase of the farming operations, first prize would have been to obtain access to a wider spectrum of support rendered to new entrant farmers. However, due to the lack thereof he has opted to improve some of the farm infrastructure such as the water supply to almost all the sheep camps as well as the certification of the sheep.

5.7 CASE STUDY 5: PAARL, CAPE WINELANDS MUNICIPALITY

5.7.1 Background

The respondent is a female, aged between 41-50 years. She spent her childhood days in a rural area, and this is where she was introduced to farming as they were accustomed to cultivating vegetables in their backyard garden. After matric, she pursued and obtained a national diploma in horticulture at the Cape Peninsula University of Technology (CPUT), previously known as Cape Technicon. Followed by a degree in horticulture from the University of South Africa (UNISA). Employment soon commenced at the small retail nursery (1996/7). Thereafter, she managed a 24-hectare farm, where tissue culture and conventional propagation methods were used for the cultivation of ornamental and cut plants, bulbs, and berries. Full-time employment as a horticulturalist with the Agricultural Research Council (ARC) commenced in 1998 until 2000. This is where she and her business partner crossed paths. Thereafter, both commenced employment at an international non-profit organisation which specialises in the promotion of production, harvesting, and marketing of indigenous plants throughout the African continent in aid to combat hunger and poverty.

During the early 2000s they commenced with a partnership in a backyard garden that produced about 1,000 units of pot plants and nursery bags. At the time the focus was primarily on fynbos plants. Due to the drought in the Western Cape, consumers became more eager to purchase drought-tolerant plants, hence the demand for their plants grew faster than their ability to service the market. Subsequently, they moved to a 0.50-hectare land during 2004. They were able to expand operations to a two-tunnel unit in which production increased to 20,000 units per year. The increased volumes demanded required a larger production site and hence the reason why they once again had to move to a bigger 1.50-hectare piece of land, where their production capacity increased to 600,000 plants per annum.

5.7.2 PLAS involvement and implementation

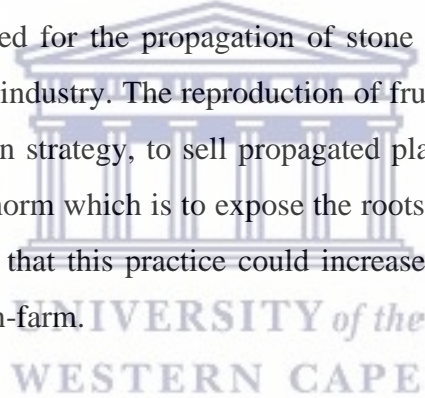
They met with officials at the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform and applied with the local Stellenbosch DRDLR office. During the initial implementation of PLAS, potential beneficiaries could pro-actively identify farmland with the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform to consider it for purchase under PLAS. For the respondent the proximity to the markets, access to a secure lawful water source, as well as the size of the land influenced their decision regarding the suitability of the specific piece of land. The Western Cape Department of Agriculture also played its part in the process through the farm assessment conducted to recommend the farm purchase. Subsequently, independent valuers also valued the farm to aid in negotiations with the seller with whom the state negotiated.

The PLAS beneficiaries were informed regarding the moveable assets that form part of the farm purchase and thus it was worrying to see that some of the moveable assets had slight deviations when the PLAS beneficiaries took over occupancy. In addition, the 13-hectare plum orchards which were the main enterprise on the 22-hectare farm was neglected between the period of November 2012 and March 2013 when the sale was eventually concluded, and the beneficiaries moved onto the farm. This was especially worrying since the period in which the plum orchards experienced water stress was a period in which irrigation was crucial due the soaring temperatures. As echoed, the previous owner did not prioritise maintaining the farm until the ownership transfer was finalised because he knew that it was not in his interest to do so.

Their initial business plan was based on the expansion of their existing business combined with the existing plum orchards that was on the farm. Hence, by securing the lease on the PLAS farm, the beneficiaries could expand their existing farming operations and be in a better position to commit to off-take agreements already in place. The initial business plan was however refined for the application of CASP funding to assist with the damage on the plum orchards after the RECAP funding was depleted after implementation over a five-year period from 2013. The RECAP funding mainly assisted with the relocation and settlement cost, infrastructure upgrade,

and maintenance such as the irrigation systems and main lines and production cost associated with the increased workforce and other operational costs.

Today, about three hectares of the farm is allocated to the nursery activities which consist of the propagation of ornamentals as well as fruit trees in containers. The nursery production capacity ranges between 500,000 and 600,000 plants (size dependent on orders and could vary from small, medium to much larger container orders) per annum. In addition, the business has also pulled out the neglected old plum orchards and hence there is only six hectares in production at present. Scarcity of plant material within recent years, due to the surge of producers establishing newer higher yield cultivars, resulted in them also venturing into the propagating plant material. A dedicated mother block is used for the propagation of stone fruit rootstocks, which are sold directly to farmers within the industry. The reproduction of fruit trees in containers for farmers is intended as a diversification strategy, to sell propagated plant material in a soil medium in containers as opposed to the norm which is to expose the roots of the young trees when sold to fruit producers. They foresee that this practice could increase the chance of development for younger trees when planted on-farm.



5.7.3 Tenure of security, and post-settlement support

During 2013, the PLAS beneficiaries received a five-year lease agreement as lessees of the 22-hectare farm. They were granted a 30-year lease, with the option to purchase thereafter.

The crop farmed with requires planning 12-months in advance and the tunnel infrastructure is not regarded as fixed property improvements. Post-settlement support received till date through the Recapitalisation and Development Programme (RECAP), Comprehensive Agricultural Support Programme (CASP) and the Deciduous Fruit Jobs Fund Programme assist land redistribution beneficiaries to become sustainable commercial enterprises, and in doing so the respondent's business was assisted with bin trailer, soil drainage prior, shade nets, additional tunnels, a soil mixing machine, and a fertigation machine over a three-year period from 2017 till 2019. In

addition, a portion of their profits are also re-invested on an annual basis to ensure that they contribute toward the expansion strategy.

The Expropriation Without Compensation (EWC) debate is not justified at this juncture since the state itself does not want to transfer the land ownership to land redistribution beneficiaries. The respondent highlighted a valid question in that the state does not want to forgo as the custodian of farmland under the newly implemented PLAS policy, while promoting an agenda for expropriation. Where is the transformation taking place, considering that the state remains the custodian of land? In addition, the respondent is liable for protecting the state's asset, through insurance payments and rental income paid for using the land, which belongs to the state.

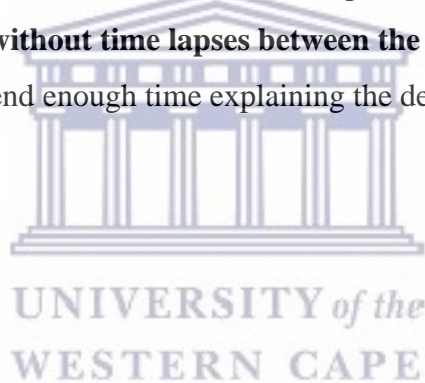
5.7.4 Livelihood enhancement

The view of the respondent is that their livelihood conditions have improved, through the allocation of the farmland and the water that come along with it, since they were able to expand their production to a much larger scale which fuelled the economic potential of the business. In addition, they are also closer to the market which led to the growth in the business and enabled them to create much-needed employment opportunities. She however acknowledges that the enhancement in their livelihood has not been earned without any inherent risk but argues that it is rewarding from a personal growth perspective.

In the view of the respondent, land redistribution policies such as PLAS is much-needed to foster economic growth on farm-level or from the bottom-up. However, the success thereof is subject to how policies such as PLAS is executed, and specific reference is made to the below mentioned:

- i. **Transfer of property rights to the land redistribution beneficiaries**, should be prioritised.
- ii. **Going concerns should be earmarked for purchase under the land reform programmes**, and not neglected farms.

- iii. The **track record of the beneficiary** within the selection process is key. The knowledge and expertise of the beneficiary should **match and complement the farm characteristics**, such as the land use and water available which would influence the decision of what activities to pursue.
- iv. **Post-settlement support** should be offered and is non-negotiable and better coordinated. RECAP should be reinforced for a five-year period, as in the beginning when PLAS was rolled out.
- v. **Mentors or strategic partners** have an important role to fulfil, within the land redistribution process. However, since it is a pre-requisite, the **beneficiary should also be involved when the decision** regarding a mentor or strategic partner appointment is made. It should not be a decision that is forced on part of government. vi. **The handover of the farm must be without time lapses between the seller and the new beneficiary.** The seller needs to spend enough time explaining the detail of the farm operations to the new beneficiary.



5.8 CASE STUDY 6: CAPE METROPOLE

5.8.1 Background

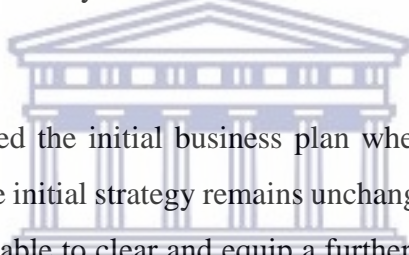
The respondent is a male, aged between 51-60 years of age. He is a former uMkhonto-we Sizwe (MK) veteran. During his earlier career he worked within the boat industry, specialising in interior design, whereafter he managed a furniture repairing business for 10 years. He always had a keen interest in farming and thus he and his five siblings and his wife bought five-hectare smallholdings within the Cape Metropole area on which they commenced with farming activities. Unfortunately, not all parties were interested in farming, and he and his wife commenced with the farming for about two years under a rental agreement. However, during 2006 the smallholdings was sold for a lucrative price to property developers. The PLAS beneficiary has obtained a NQF level 2 qualification in agriculture and had four years of valuable experience on the smallholdings before they were able to embark on a new journey. His wife is a former librarian who has a tertiary qualification in administration. Her love for agriculture commenced at a much younger stage of her life, as she grew up on the farm Groot Constantia, but her family was forcefully removed during the enforcement of the Group Areas Act (Act No.36 of 1966).

5.8.2 PLAS application and implementation process

He recalls that the 26-hectre PLAS farm that they are currently leasing were sold to the government during 2008. It is alleged that the white commercial farmer however, continued to farm on the property for a period of two years. This was due to no beneficiary being allocated to the farm after the sale was concluded with the previous commercial farmer.

Various justifications go through one's mind as to what the reason could have been for the state not to secure a beneficiary for the duration mentioned. Farmers in the area were eventually informed about the opportunity to submit applications for leasing the farmland.

Subsequently, they were five interested parties who applied to acquire the lease on this specific PLAS farm. The application process commenced in early 2009. They were all requested to submit a business plan, after they attended a site visit while the previous owner was still on the farm. Details were shared with the applicants with regards to the land and water available for cultivation which is 20-hectares, as well as the available infrastructure such as the packhouse. An advantage for the farmer is that the Philippi Horticultural Area (PHA) is situated on an acquirer, which is essential for water security during drought times. They are well-known for the cultivation of vegetables. A month, after the business plan which they drafted themselves which includes the production costing, obtaining of marketing agreements and/or tenders (such as delivering to government hospitals, the SA Navy, and the SA Army to mentioned a few) was submitted to the officials, they were informed that they were the successful candidates.



The respondent mainly adjusted the initial business plan when he needed to apply for CASP funding for a specific item. The initial strategy remains unchanged with regards to the cultivation of vegetables. They were also able to clear and equip a further three hectares, in addition to the 19 hectares which was available. The marketing opportunities for the PLAS beneficiary have however been challenging in that he currently cultivates his crop and sells it to a commercial farmer who has fixed marketing contracts with retail chains. He is quite exhausted of all the cost incurred to acquire the necessary certification such as Global GAP, HACCP, and others such as having cold-chain storage facilities onsite and refrigeration transport which is required to supply retail chain stores. Consistent supply remains an aspect with which BBBEE vegetable farmers are confronted with when negotiating with large retail chains. In the view of the respondent, he does not understand the reason why government is not able to implement more stringent BBBEE measures within the agricultural sector, and especially fresh produce, to level the playing field. He also argues that government should not implement this in an authoritarian manner but incentivise retail chains who are enforcing preferential procurement policies.

5.8.3 Tenure of security and post-settlement support

The PLAS beneficiary together with his wife, daughter and sibling applied to acquire the lease agreement. Unfortunately, they were also only informed after the caretaker agreement was offered that government officials are not permitted to partake in the land redistribution programme, and hence his wife had to forgo her formal employment as a librarian. As indicated, they were initially only allocated with a caretaker agreement for a one-year period. Which resulted in insecure tenure rights, as the government still had the option to consider another PLAS beneficiary on this specific farm. They eventually obtained a five-year lease which was signed during the 2013/14 government financial year, while farming without any lease during 2012/13 government financial year. The PLAS beneficiary and his family were offered the 30-year lease agreement and signed in December 2015. The lease agreement includes the option to renew the lease after 20 years, with an option to purchase should they be able to do so.

However, the challenge is that the rental agreement stipulates that the option could be exercised subject to the PLAS beneficiary being able to buy the land at market related value for which the respondent estimated that a hectare is trading at approximately R800,000 within the area. Thus, the farm could potentially be sold for approximately R20 million. Furthermore, uncertainty regarding how infrastructure improvements such as the additional land cleared, the irrigation systems implemented, fencing as well as the extension of buildings done by the PLAS beneficiary, will be calculated, and subtracted from the market value, remains a huge concern. Especially, since the ideal situation for the PLAS beneficiary would be to rather own the land, but he remains rational that he would not a position to do so any time soon.

Post-settlement support was only implemented five years after the initial lease agreement was signed in 2015. The Recapitalisation and Development Programme (RECAP) funds were mainly used to acquire a truck to transport the vegetables to the market, purchase of implements such as a loader and others, input cost for the duration of a production season. Before the roll-out of

RECAP funds, support was granted through the Comprehensive Agricultural Support Programme (CASP) in 2013 for the purchase of two tractors, implements such as a plough and others as well as production cost. During 2015, they were also able to request assistance from a mentor of their choice to assist with technical advice for the duration of one year. Important to note, is that the respondent says that the farmers in the area have cultivated a culture of lending a helping hand should the other farmer require assistance.

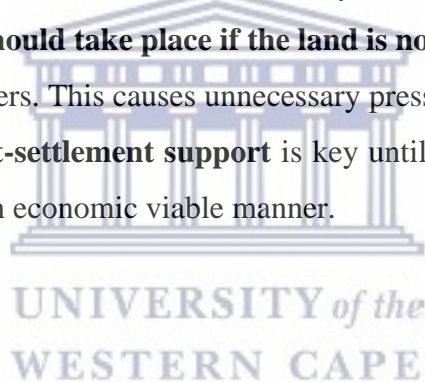
In the case of the PLAS beneficiary, the government handed over the land to the lessee with 16 families who were all workers of the previous owner. To date, the white commercial farmer still farms within the area. Subsequently, the burden of additional electricity and water cost stemming from these families still occupying the farmworkers' houses remains a huge financial burden for the PLAS beneficiary and his family. He indicated that the bills have accumulated to almost R1 million for the past 10 years, and thus he and his wife needed to put payment arrangements in place to allow them to continue with farming operations. In one instance, one of the farm dwellers assaulted the PLAS beneficiary which required hospitalisation for four days after the incident took place. The matter was reported to the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform, which is yet to act against the specific individual. As the PLAS beneficiary acknowledges, the illegal farm dwellers are very aware of their long-term land tenure rights as promulgated in the Extension of Security of Tenure Act (Act nr. 62 of 1997).

5.8.4 Livelihood enhancement

The PLAS beneficiary and his wife previously owned two family properties within the Simonstown area, which they needed to sell in addition to proceeds which they received for their share in the five-hectare smallholdings to invest into the farming operations. In addition, he also sacrificed a good salary in the interior business that he had, while his wife also needed to forgo her government employment.

Thus, he believes that the allocation of farmland under the PLAS policy regime could be successful should the following be addressed:

- i. **Market access should be in place** for PLAS beneficiaries before funding is implemented. As he reiterates, all could go well on the production side but still not guarantee that the produce, which is highly perishable in his case, could be sold and converted into the cash used to produce the vegetable.
- ii. **Market access opportunities could potentially be enforced through the BBBEE codes and** in specific the preferential procurement lever, to create a more even playing field.
- iii. **Land ownership transfer should be exercised**, on more amicable terms between the government as the seller and the lessee as the buyer.
- iv. **No land allocation should take place if the land is not vacant** from the previous farm owner and farm workers. This causes unnecessary pressure on part of the new entrant.
- v. **Continuation of post-settlement support** is key until the PLAS beneficiary can farm productively and in an economic viable manner.



5.9. Conclusion

The purpose of the study is to assess which factors are contributing toward the success of the implementation of the Pro-active Land Acquisition Strategy (PLAS), in relation to prior land redistribution policies implemented in South Africa. Furthermore, the aim is to assess which factors are either fostering development or the under-development of land redistribution beneficiaries. Ferguson (2015) argues in his book titled, 'Give a man a fish', that neoliberal welfare states are at a disjuncture in terms of balancing political and economic restructuring.

Although, the book focus on social welfare transfers, the same message is echoed in that it is acknowledged that the country is 'facing a pressing political need to deliver concrete changes to the new black political majority, and with 'pro-market' economic policies failing to yield the rapid economic growth required to 'lift all boats'...' (Ferguson, 2015).

Subsequently, the data collected and analysed was presented in a case study format. It is evident that there are outcomes in each case study which overlap. Hence, these overlapping findings are summarised below. These core findings would be discussed in more detail within Chapter 6. In addition, applicable recommendations would accompany the detailed discussion.

The core finding consists of the following:

- i. Beneficiary selection
 - a) Incorporate agricultural experience and/or training to determine the track record of targeted beneficiary, as per the category listed in the beneficiary selection and land allocation regulation.
 - b) Match the ability of beneficiary with the characteristics of the PLAS farm.
- ii. Not limiting beneficiaries, in terms of
 - a) Natural capital: land, water, and infrastructure.
 - b) Financial capital or related support, such as market access.
 - c) Pressure experienced by beneficiaries, to commit to infrastructure developments if lease agreements are signed.
- iii. Tenure of security
 - a) Outcry for the transfer of property rights.
 - b) Thirty-year lease agreements, with the option to purchase land and further renewal after 20 years.
 - c) Government should rather purchase farming enterprises that are operational or 'going concerns' rather than to expect the beneficiary to restart a business afresh.
 - d) No land transfer to take place, if previous farmers or farm workers have not been provided with proper housing. Responsibility should not be shifted to the new land occupant.

- iv. Tedious and bureaucratic government processes
 - a) Decentralisation of post-settlement support.
 - b) Quicker decision making, relating to authorisation of deviation from approved business plans.
 - c) Administrative delays with the implementation and renewal of lease agreements.
 - d) Misrepresentation of information initially shared with potential beneficiaries, in relation to reality when occupation takes place.

- v. Political uncertainty, and how the policy discourse could be influenced in future.

- vi. Pre-requisite of mentors and strategic partners, as well as the intended role they are required to fulfil.



CHAPTER 6: MAIN FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND CONCLUSION

6.1 Introduction and Chapter Outline

This chapter addresses the overlapping findings identified in each of the case studies presented in Chapter 5. The research questions have been subdivided into four broad themes within the interview process, consisting of:

- (1) background information of the Proactive Land Acquisition Strategy (PLAS) beneficiary and their formal training and experience within the agricultural sector,
- (2) the experience of the PLAS beneficiary in terms of the implementation of the PLAS policy when the application was submitted and what processes unfolded till their placement on the specific PLAS farm,
- (3) the degree to which their tenure security is protected or not, as well as
- (4) an indication of whether their livelihoods and that of their families were enhanced, through the allocation of a PLAS farm.

The aim of the research was to obtain a representative sample from PLAS beneficiaries within the Western Cape province. The goal to at least include one representative per municipal district was achieved. As previously alluded to in Chapter 4, there is currently a limitation in accessing the PLAS beneficiary list for the Western Cape and in general on a national level through formal correspondence. Thus, the PLAS beneficiaries were purposefully selected within each municipal district to ensure that the complexities and experienced research respondent in relation to the agricultural activity undertaken contributes toward the objectives of the study. Due to time and budget constraints and the fact most farmers within the Southern Cape are on the border of the Western Cape, a decision was taken to not include a participant from the area. Hence, the findings of this study mainly represent the data collected from the six PLAS beneficiaries each with their unique experience pertaining to the PLAS implementation. Since case studies were used to

represent the data collected in the interview process with each PLAS beneficiary, it provides a relative in-dept analysis of the findings presented. The main findings which will be presented in section 6.2 reflect the views and the experiences of the six PLAS beneficiaries interviewed, officials, as well the informal discussion held with officials tasked with land reform regarding the implementation of PLAS.

6.2 Main findings of the study

The core finding consists of the following:

6.2.1 Beneficiary selection

- i. It is evident that prior agricultural or related experience and related training should be a non-negotiable requirement for PLAS beneficiaries, as per the Draft National Policy on Beneficiary Selection and Land Allocation published for comment in March 2020, and as per the recommendation of the High-Level Panel on the Assessment of Key Legislation and Acceleration of Fundamental Change and thereafter reiterated by the Presidential Advisory Panel (SA Government, 2020). The newly drafted policy indicated that a needs assessment and skills audit will be conducted on all applicants before land is allocated (PMG, 2020). Furthermore, the intent is also to use the skills audit and needs analysis to inform the type of training interventions that would form key to equip the farmers. The newly drafted policy further aims ‘to ensure that qualified, suitable and deserving candidates’ are afforded with an opportunity to gain access to land (SA Government, 2020).

As per the new policy, the specialised groups such as women, youth, people with disabilities, farm dwellers, and military veterans will be replaced by vulnerable groups which would still form the basis of the aforementioned and will primarily be targeted to obtain access to land. It was the experience of all five non-military veterans that should

a person qualify as a military veteran that preferential scoring would apply to the application process. It would thus be interesting to determine whether the policy would have significant changes on how beneficiary selection is implemented.

- ii. The track record of targeted beneficiaries should determine for which category listed in the Beneficiary Selection and Land Allocation Policy the PLAS beneficiary could potentially qualify. One of the beneficiaries is currently renting the cultivated lands of another PLAS beneficiary who is unable to cultivate the land in a productive manner. To worsen matters, the PLAS beneficiary allocated with that land acquired a larger farm than the respondent, even though the respondent has demonstrated her capabilities throughout the years. This begs the question of government's ability to implement the proposed National Beneficiary selection and land allocation policy in a manner which ensures that those serious about agriculture are provided with opportunity to farm. To date, it is well recorded in various literature that government policies and regulations in South Africa are well formulated, but that there is quite an astonishing misaligned between the policy origination and execution on grassroots level.

- iii. Match the ability of the beneficiary with the characteristics of the PLAS farm. The mismatch between the abilities and the track record of the beneficiary could ultimately also influence the decision of the land that could be allocated. All the respondents have a track record in the current farm activities which they implement on their farms. To mention a few, the respondent who is within the deciduous fruit industry had prior experience as an irrigation designer and a fruit farm manager. In my opinion, there was initially a mismatch in the Van Rhynsdorp PLAS allocation since the beneficiary could have rather obtained a farm with wine or table grape as an alternative to a deciduous fruit farm experience. In the case of the beneficiary,

the initial business plan approved concentrated on the cultivation of lucerne which was not complementing his skills set. Due to the water availability, the intended enterprise

on the farm has subsequently been changed to dried grapes with future expansion of the grape enterprise once the irrigation water availability has been addressed.

6.2.2 Factors that should not limit beneficiaries

- i. **Natural capital** such as land, water, and infrastructure, as these are key within farming economies. Economies of scale, generally expressed as an economic unit, is a viability parameter used within the agricultural sector to justify the income-to-cost analysis to cultivate a specific agricultural commodity. Hence, it is unreasonable to expect PLAS beneficiaries to be successful on small land parcels, which do not justify the investment made. As indicated in Chapter 5, the most recent census of commercial agriculture (2020) confirms Cousins's (2019) view that there is a large concentration of large farms within South Africa. These mega-farms are the largest employment absorbers as well as income generators (Stats SA, 2020). The difference between smaller commercial farms is that these farmers are performing highly capital-intensive farming operations which are generally vertically integrated into the respective value-chains in which they operate (Cousins, 2019). Hence, larger investments toward land redistribution would be imperative from the state to ensure a much more level playing field between new entrants and the traditional white farming community.

- ii. **Financial capital or related support**, such as market access.

State funding toward land reform in the form of financial support is not sufficient and is generally implemented in a piecemeal fashion. Considering that the lessee is not the landowner, farmland cannot be offered as collateral at commercial financial institutions to get access to credit for working capital to fund operations efficiently, as well as to fund much-needed capital expenditure. Hence, the PLAS beneficiaries are generally more dependent on the government to fulfil the function as a financier due to this limitation. On the other hand, the National Treasury has also acknowledged the fact that some land reform beneficiaries are benefitting from double-dipping, as some are receiving

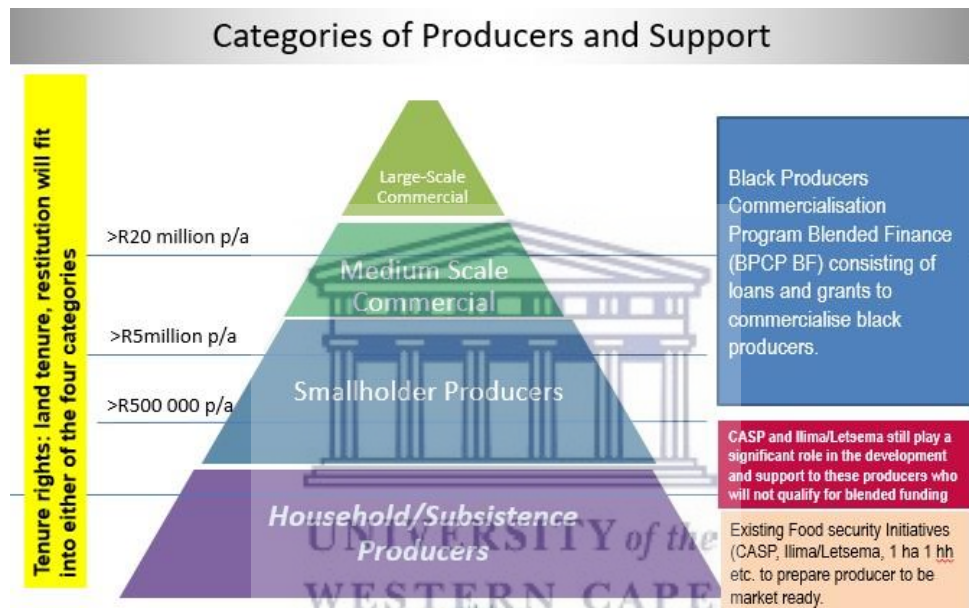
assistance from various government sources such as RECAP and CASP multiple times without the grant funding system being synchronised (National Treasury as cited by PMG, 2019). The government has however come to the realisation that a unique financial model is required to assist land redistribution beneficiaries, including those on PLAS farms, in the form of a blended finance model between the government and commercial finance institutions that has subsequently been relaunched during March 2021.

The blended finance model makes provision for a partial grant, which would deem as an equity portion to obtain access to more affordable credit funding in aid to reduce the reliance of land redistribution beneficiaries on 100% grants (PMG, 2019). The target group for the blended finance model would however be the 450 land redistribution farmers earmarked nationally to obtain commercialisation status over a five-year period, of these, 50 land redistribution beneficiaries have been earmarked per province (DAFF as cited by PMG, 2019). As per the initial blended finance model, a grant funding facility would have been channelled through the Landbank as the participating financier (DAFF, 2019). The participating financier has however been unable to perform the function due to the liquidity challenges the Landbank is currently facing and subsequently the funding has been rerouted through the R1 billion Agri-Industrial Fund in partnership with the Industrial Development Bank (IDC) (IDC, 2021).

It is evident that the blended finance model is geared toward commercialisation, in accordance with the targeted beneficiaries presented by DAFF at the initial workshop (DAFF as cited by PMG, 2019). The National Treasury however also acknowledged that there seems to be potential elite capture as per the outcome of investigations on the implementation of RECAP and Agri BEE funds, hence it suggested that a maximum floor for funding should be applied across all the commodity groups and provinces (PMG, 2019). Furthermore, land redistribution farmers within the state's existing funding pipeline should be the focus, while new entrants into the system should form

part of the second pipeline (PMG, 2019). It pre-empted the unofficial notion that land redistribution beneficiaries could be requested in future to graduate from reliance on government financial assistance.

Figure 2:
Proposed target groups for the blended finance model implementation.



Source: DAFF as cited by PMG, 2019

iii. Pressure experienced by beneficiaries to commit to infrastructure developments if lease agreements are signed.

Infrastructure development has been listed on the lease agreement of the specific PLAS beneficiary, who indicated that this is a flaw within the granting of lease agreements. Within the lease agreement, section 16 which relates to *alterations, additions and improvements* stipulates that the lessee shall not be able to make any alterations or additions, without the consent of the lessor. Hence, without having first-hand experience on the farm one could ask whether it is in fact in the best interest of the PLAS beneficiary to undertake such a legal obligation without having access to the necessary

capital to fund such large-scale improvements and without having stayed on the farm to be more acquainted with the infrastructure needs.

6.2.3 Security of tenure

- i. The is a common outcry for the state to allow for the transfer of property rights to land reform beneficiaries. The majority were able to secure 30-year lease agreements with the first right of refusal to exercise the option to purchase land. While some of the respondents have an option, to further renew their leases for another 20 years, after the initial 30 years have lapsed. All the respondents agree that their investment and effort on the farm till date, would justify an opportunity to acquire the farmland. However, some of the respondents are fully aware that their current financial situation is not viable to repay any debt toward a bond facility as their cashflow is already under severe strain to keep-abreast with normal operations. Should a PLAS beneficiary opt to exercise their option to purchase, the land would be offered at prevailing market related values. And even though the lessee has the first right of refusal, they would need to forgo this right and allow the government to offer the farm to another land redistribution beneficiary who is in a better financial position to exercise the right to purchase. Subsequently, the current PLAS beneficiary would jeopardise his or her 'limited' tenure rights. However, the section that addresses how the option to purchase could be exercised indicates that should the farmland be offered at a lower price-level, approval is required from National Treasury should the selling price deviate from the prevailing market value. It should however be considered that the specific conditions under which National Treasury could consider and implement this prerogative have not been widely published.

- ii. **Government to rather purchase going concerns** rather than for beneficiary to restart a business afresh. Most respondents indicated that it would be in their best interest, if government focusses on purchasing going concerns from white commercial farmers for

continuation of the farming operations. Hence, alluding to the fact that it should not be distressed or liquidated farming operations, nor farms without any implements or equipment that are offered to the government to pass onto land redistribution beneficiaries. If the white commercial farmer was unable to survive on a specific farm, what guarantees the government that the land redistribution beneficiary with limited resources at their disposal could succeed on the specific farm. The mutual feeling among respondents is that land redistribution beneficiaries are set up to fail, right from the start.

- iii. **No land transfer to take place, if previous farmers or farm workers have not been provided with alternative proper housing.** The responsibility should not be shifted to the new land occupant. One of the respondents continues to provide accommodation for 11 households of which some are still employed by the previous owner (white commercial farmer who sold land to government). Due to the Extension of Security of Tenure Act (ESTA) law, which prohibits the current lessee from displacing the families, they are permitted by law to remain on the farm and have their tenure of security protected at the expense of the PLAS beneficiary who must cover water and electricity costs. As indicted by the PLAS beneficiary, the previous owner acknowledges that ‘government’s laws are working against the it’ as a market participant. Subsequently, the lessee must incur additional cost to house

these families, and experience physical assaults, as was the case when one of the farm dwellers assaulted a PLAS beneficiary. In addition, the PLAS beneficiary is also disadvantaged with theft on the farm as these unlawful dwellers steal fresh produce with the aim of reselling it to sustain their livelihoods.

6.2.4 Tedious and bureaucratic government processes

- i. Decentralisation of post-settlement support is a major challenge. Post-settlement support is currently not synchronised between the Rural Development and Land Reform

and the Agriculture Department at a national level. Hence, in the event where RECAP funding has been delayed or not forthcoming, PLAS beneficiaries resolve to the Provincial Department of Agriculture and commodity associations to request financial assistance to keep the farming operations afloat. As already indicated in Chapter 5, in a specific instance post-settlement support was only implemented after the initial five-year probation period. Hence, the question is what was the expectation on government's part during the period when no RECAP funding was implemented—was there an expectation that CASP funding would automatically be allocated to the PLAS beneficiary without undergoing the formal application process to acquire such assistance? Government funding structures are not well synchronised; hence this also causes a gap in communication among government officials themselves and more so the PLAS beneficiaries.

- ii. **Quicker decision making**, relating to authorisation of any deviation from approved business plans. Since agriculture is time-bound, quicker decision making on-farm level is essential to ensure that delays are not leading to unnecessary production losses or interruptions. As in the case of one beneficiary, a full production season was missed due to the planting season of a perennial crop being time sensitive. Thus, when funding was not available to purchase production inputs for the plantings within the optimal time window a full production season was missed.

Annual reviews should also be the norm to take stock of the progress of the PLAS beneficiary within a specific financial year, and to determine any changes to the production and assess the factors which led to these changes. This would result in a more updated business strategy and ensure that the necessary mitigation strategies are employed to achieve the strategic goals of the farming operations. This could be beneficial as it seems that there is a misconception that the initial business plan should be implemented to the point without any deviations envisioned.

- iii. **Administrative delays with the implementation and renewal of lease agreements.**
The land rights of land redistribution beneficiaries are violated, in the event where lease contracts are not renewed in time due to administrative delays. In the one instance the beneficiary was without a lawful contract for a full year.
- iv. **Misrepresentation of farm information initially shared with potential beneficiaries during site visits** in relation to reality when occupation takes place. Important information such as the lawful water registered or the borehole yield testing is crucial, especially if the PLAS beneficiary intends to produce crops under irrigation. If such information cannot be verified, it jeopardises the business plan that needs to be approved and sets the beneficiary up for failure as the plan cannot be implemented successfully. And the approval of the amended business plan would be dependent on the bureaucratic processes within government.

6.2.5 Political uncertainty

Political policy discourse could influence how land redistribution policies are implemented in the future. This has specific reference to the recent African National Congress (ANC) and the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) opposing views with regards to the proposed amendments to section 25 of the Constitution, relating to the Expropriation Without Compensation (EWC) Bill. On the one hand, the EFF is promoting an agenda for the state to remain the custodian of farmland under the nationalisation of property rights (Daily Maverick, 9 July 2021). Given the political discourse in South Africa, it creates uncertainty regarding which political party would ultimately gain power within the next national elections.

6.2.6 Pre-requisite of mentors and strategic partners and the role they fulfil.

As per the PLAS application form, the provision of a mentor is indicated as a potential requirement with which the PLAS applicant would require assistance. Thus, it is worrying that in some instances, it seems that PLAS beneficiaries were provided with an option to lobby

a mentor with which they are familiar and deem to be able to transfer the necessary skills and knowledge to the land redistribution beneficiary. While in other instances it appears as if the PLAS beneficiary was not involved in the mentor or strategic partner selection and hence needed to continue with an arrangement forced upon them.

6.3 Recommendations to Main findings

- 6.3.1 Determine whether the implementation of the National Policy on Beneficiary Selection and Land Allocation reaches the intended outcome to counter the challenges listed.
- 6.3.2 Refine the road map pertaining to the actions required when a farm assessment is conducted prior to initiating negotiations when buying farms for land redistribution purposes.
- 6.3.3 Equip government officials to relay critical information to potential PLAS beneficiaries in a correct manner during the site visit to the specific farm.
- 6.3.4 Implementation of the blended finance model: monitoring and evaluation should however be conducted independently to determine whether the government is strengthening the support services to PLAS beneficiaries in the origination phase of the application to achieve the desired results. Due diligence and implementation functions should reside with the private sector which has the required capability and infrastructure to fulfil the functions.
- 6.3.5 Clarity is required with regards to the potential graduation of PLAS beneficiaries suggested, given that the blended finance model is envisioned to be implemented over a five-year period. Considering that the level of assistance required differs and should be addressed on a case-by-case basis.
- 6.3.6 Annual reviews should be implemented on a farm-level to address the narrative of no major deviations as per the approved business plan.
- 6.3.7 The possibility should be considered to assist financially viable farming operators to exercise the option to purchase, but at a more flexible purchase price as per the National Treasury prerogative.

6.3.8 Going concerns should be prioritised when land purchases are made.

6.3.9 No occupation of farms should take place or be encouraged if the previous farmer or the farm workers are still residing on the PLAS farm.

6.3.10 Administrative delays and bureaucratic government processes could be addressed through the private-public partnership as being initiated through the implementation of the blended finance model which would necessitate government to be more efficient and effective.

6.4 Conclusion

Within this chapter, the main finding of the study was addressed in more detail. As previously mentioned, most of these findings overlap among respondents, and hence specific reference to some of the case study participants' experiences were included in some instances. The findings in the chapter in conjunction with the case studies in Chapter 5, provides an indication of the different types of capital (human, natural, financial, social, and physical) the respective PLAS beneficiaries employ to address their vulnerability within the context of how the PLAS policy is currently being implemented within the environment in which they operate. It is evident that each PLAS participant is faced to make a range of choices, undertake specific activities to achieve their livelihood objectives. It is, however, evident that these PLAS beneficiaries are operating within a political environment in which structures and processes are executed in an authoritarian way where the PLAS beneficiary is confined with challenges which hampers development. In specific, all respondents deem that the Proactive Land Acquisition Strategy (PLAS) could be used to form a new rationale of promoting 'accumulation of wealth from below' or farm-level, as opposed to a top-down approach. All are however in agreement that a radical change to the implementation of the policy, with reference to the findings and recommendations, are essential for this to take effect.

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