

# Directions for land reform – what might another Green Paper propose?

Alternative options and their  
ideological underpinnings

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# International and SA debates: 4 broad approaches & loose coalitions

- **“Modernist-conservative”** / *modernisation*: support the existing structure of agriculture (capital intensive farming in large units) but de-racialise LSCF sector to ease political tensions
- **“Neo-liberal”** / *efficiency & equity*: remove economic distortions, liberalise markets, redistribute to efficient small farmers, acquire land through market-based land reform
- **“Welfarist”** / *poverty alleviation*: land and farming as a supplement to employment and grants
- **“Radical populist”** / *structural transformation*: redistribute wealth & power to rural poor, support diverse land-based livelihoods, expropriate land without compensation

# Who should benefit from land reform?

- Emerging black commercial farmers
  - business people investing in farms
  - small farmers moving up the ‘farming ladder’
- The ‘rural poor’
- Smallholder farmers
  - subsistence-oriented
  - commercially –oriented
  - petty commodity producers
- Communal area farmers
- Farm workers/dwellers
- Urban and peri-urban poor
- Women
- Youth

# A class-analytic approach

“Accumulation from above”: elites are assisted by the state but ‘dualist’ agrarian structure is left intact

- Supplementary food producers
- Allotment-holding wage workers
- Worker-peasants

“Accumulation from below”: large numbers of surplus-producing farmers emerge from broad-based programmes

- Petty commodity producers
- Small-scale capitalist farmers
- Capitalists whose main income is not from farming

# What changes should land reform bring in land uses and farm size?

- Retain large and medium-sized farms
- Promote economies of scale
- Emphasize competitiveness and 'viability'
- Respond to market signals on what to produce for which markets
- Accept mechanisation and lowered employment intensity
- Environmental sustainability?
- Subdivide large farms into smaller units
- Food security plus marketing of surpluses
- Multiple-function livestock production on commons
- Supply local markets first
- Generate off-farm employment through 'multiplier effects'
- Focus on strategic sub-sectors (e.g. fresh produce from irrigated land)

# Where should land reform be targeted?

- Affordable land (not necessarily of high quality)
- Market availability will determine location
- Attach land reform beneficiaries to neighbours/ mentors/ strategic partners
- Leave highly productive farms alone to ensure national food security and export earnings
- Zones of high demand for land
- Areas where land is on offer at affordable prices (eg adjacent to communal areas)
- Peri-urban areas close to markets
- Farms with irrigation water
- AREA-BASED PLANNING TO MATCH DEMAND AND SUPPLY
- & FACILITATE POST-SETTLEMENT SUPPORT

# How will land be acquired?

## MARKET-DRIVEN

- Willing seller – willing buyer

## STATE-DRIVEN

- Expropriation with compensation
  - market value
  - constitutional guidelines
- Confiscation
  - needs a constitutional amendment

## STATE & MARKET-DRIVEN

- Right of first refusal
- Designation of zones for large-scale acquisition
- Smart purchases by savvy state buyers
- In areas of high priority
- With expropriation as a tie-breaker

## PEOPLE-DRIVEN

- Participatory land identification
- Land occupations

# How can projects be better designed?

- Use better consultants for drawing up business plans
- Involve the private sector and farmers more
- Create 'strategic partnerships' for large and capital intensive farms acquired by beneficiaries
- Help beneficiaries get Land Bank or other loans
- Plan for entry into targeted value chains and secure access to niche markets
- Learn from experience, through more effective M&E
- Increase skills of DRDLR officials through training
- Train more skilled extension officers and use them to support land reform
- Involve local municipalities and integrate LR into LED plans; use ABP to better effect
- Establish effective Community-Public-Private partnerships
- Involve NGOs with relevant skills (eg facilitation)
- Involve beneficiaries in bottom-up planning

# How can tenure rights be secured?

## FARM WORKERS/ DWELLERS

- Move off farms into agri-villages (off-farm)
- Strengthen rights so less evictable (on-farm)
- Unionise and mobilise
- Bring in state resources so longer a zero-sum game
- Focus on employment options
- Increase state commitment and capacity

## COMMUNAL AREAS

- Strengthen powers of Traditional Leaders
- Freehold title: individualise and privatise rights
- Create strong and downwardly accountable local institutions to oversee 'living customary law'
- Provide statutory recognition of occupancy rights and family property

# How can tenure rights be secured?

## REDISTRIBUTED LAND

- Individual freehold title
- Group ownership, via CPAs or Trusts, or companies
  - with no institutional support
  - with support
- Leasehold
  - short term/insecure (PLAS)
  - long term secure
- Secure statutory rights less than full ownership
- Adapted versions of customary tenure under accountable local institutions

## INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS

- Individual freehold title
- Secure statutory rights less than full ownership
- Record and register statutory rights
- Adapted versions of customary tenure under accountable local institutions

# Alternative visions for land reform

- De-racialise land ownership and LSCF, and thus defuse the politics of land
- Alleviate the poverty of a relatively small number of rural people
- Create opportunities for rent seeking and accumulation from above
- Inclusive growth and job creation
- Environmentally sustainable land husbandry
- Radical structural transformation to ensure equitable distributions of wealth and power