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PLAAS
Institute for Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies

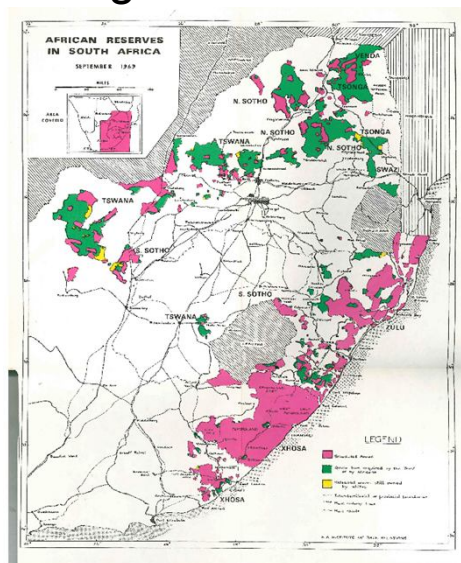
Land Reform Futures

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Gordon Institute for Business Studies (GIBS)
Johannesburg

Vumelana / Reos Land reform scenarios

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What land, to be shared by whom, how,
with what rights and what outcomes?





Some broad arguments

1. There are several land questions – not one
2. While land reform falters, an anti-agrarian reform is underway
3. Dramatic changes to land reform being proposed – radical language, but a ‘populist patch-up’?
4. Recent turn away from rights towards conditional tenure
5. Vesting control in strategic partners and traditional authorities – entrenching dualism?
6. Political impetus around an alternative vision for agrarian reform is yet to gain ground

Land redistribution

- Settlement / Land Acquisition Grants
- Land Redistribution for Agric Development
- Proactive Land Acquisition Strategy

Mapping policy trends

	Acquisition	Tenure	Class agenda	Land use
SLAG (1995-2000)	Market-based purchase	Transfer of title	Means-tested (ie. pro-poor)	Multiple livelihoods
LRAD (2000-2010)	Market-based purchase	Transfer of title	Not means-tested (unclear)	Agriculture only
PLAS (2006-now)	Market-based purchase	No transfer of title	Not means-tested (unclear)	Agriculture only

Latest iterations of land redistribution

- State Land Lease & Disposal Policy
- Recapitalisation & Development Prog
- Agricultural Landholdings Policy Fwk?

A small sample of tenure on state-owned but 'redistributed' land in the Eastern Cape

Farm	Municipality	Land uses	Strategic partner	Tenure status
MK	Amathole	Beef cattle, sheep	No	Expired caretakership
MF	Ndlambe	Dairy cattle, <i>chickens</i> , <i>pigs</i>	No	Expired caretakership
WZ	Sunday's River	None	No	Expired lease
SF	Sunday's River	Beef cattle	No	No documented rights
GK	Ndlambe	Beef cattle, vegetables	Yes	Expired lease
GM	Ndlambe	Chicory, cattle	Yes	Expired lease & expired caretakership
SL	Sunday's River	Citrus	Yes	Lease (but beneficiaries are not the lessees)
NG	Sunday's River	Citrus	Yes	Lease (but beneficiaries are not the lessees)
NK	Ndlambe	Cattle, vegetables	No	No documented rights
YS	Makana	Vegetables, chickens	No	No documented rights
RG	Makana	None	No	Expired caretakership

Recapitalisation & Development Programme

Funding model on a five-year cycle:

- Year 1: 100% funding for infrastructure and operational costs;
- Year 2: 80% funding for development needs;
- Year 3: 60% funding for development needs;
- Year 4: 40% funding for development needs; and
- Year 5: 20% funding for development needs.


Requirements:

- **Business plan plus strategic partner or mentor**

Objectives:

- increase agricultural production;
- guarantee food security;
- graduate small farmers into commercial farmers;
- create employment opportunities within the agricultural sector;
- establish rural development monitors.

LAND REFORM PERFORMANCE TO DATE				
RADP PROJECTS PROGRESS REPORT				
PROVINCE	TOTAL NUMBER OF PROJECTS	NUMBER OF STRATEGIC PARTNERS	Number of Hectares	BUDGET SPEND THROUGH RADP
Eastern Cape	160	52	92 989	240 349
Free State	177	70	132 186	284 476
Gauteng	130	26	27 329	122 412
KwaZulu-Natal	174	58	89 223	284 292
Limpopo	177	44	71 517	265 458
Mpumalanga	195	61	160 157	408 813
Northern Cape	76	40	347 625	141 281
North West	204	77	211 156	315 887
Western Cape	58	9	39 718	83 439
TOTALS	1 351	437	1 171 900	R2 146 407.00


rural development & land reform
 Department:
 Rural Development and Land Reform
 REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

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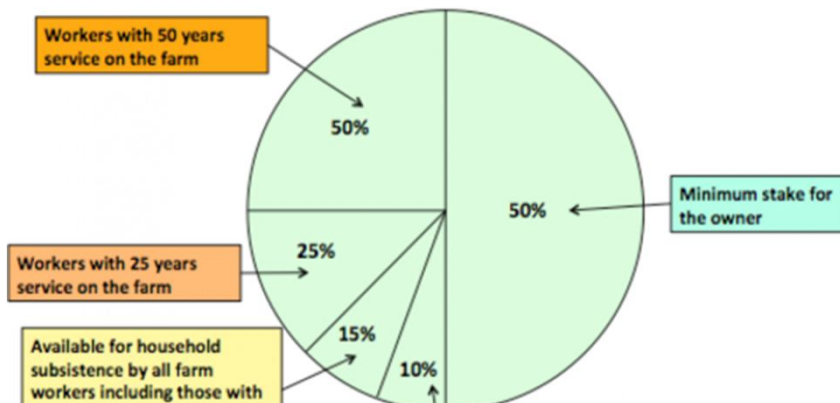
Recap: from fixing failed projects to becoming the sole source of support

- Recap review found low efficiency (investment:results).
- 'These results are particularly weak for the Free State'
 - R2.9 million per project (R3.9 mill in FS)
 - R463 284 per beneficiary (R1.02 mill in FS)
 - R588 284 to create one job (zero jobs created in FS)
- Recap has in practice replaced all prior grant and support systems in redistribution (PLAS) and restitution – unlike its original intention.
- What does it mean to be a 'beneficiary'?
 - If you don't own the land *and*
 - If you don't control production

Farm tenure

- Extension of Security of Tenure Act
- Land Reform (Labour Tenants) Act
- Strengthening Relative Rights Policy (50%)
- ESTA Amendment Bill

'Strengthening Relative Rights'

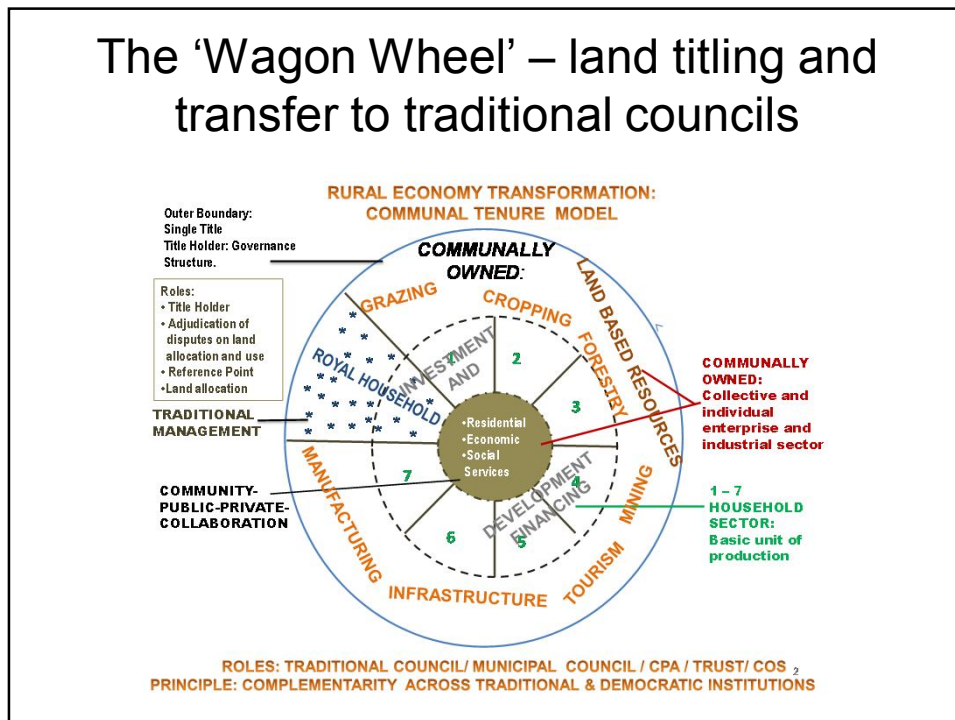


Communal tenure

- Interim Protection of Informal Land Rights
- Communal Land Bill
- Communal Land Rights Act

- Communal Land Tenure Policy
- Communal Property Associations Policy

The 'Wagon Wheel' – land titling and transfer to traditional councils



Restitution

- Restitution of Land Rights Act
- Restitution of Land Rights Amendment Act

Overarching story

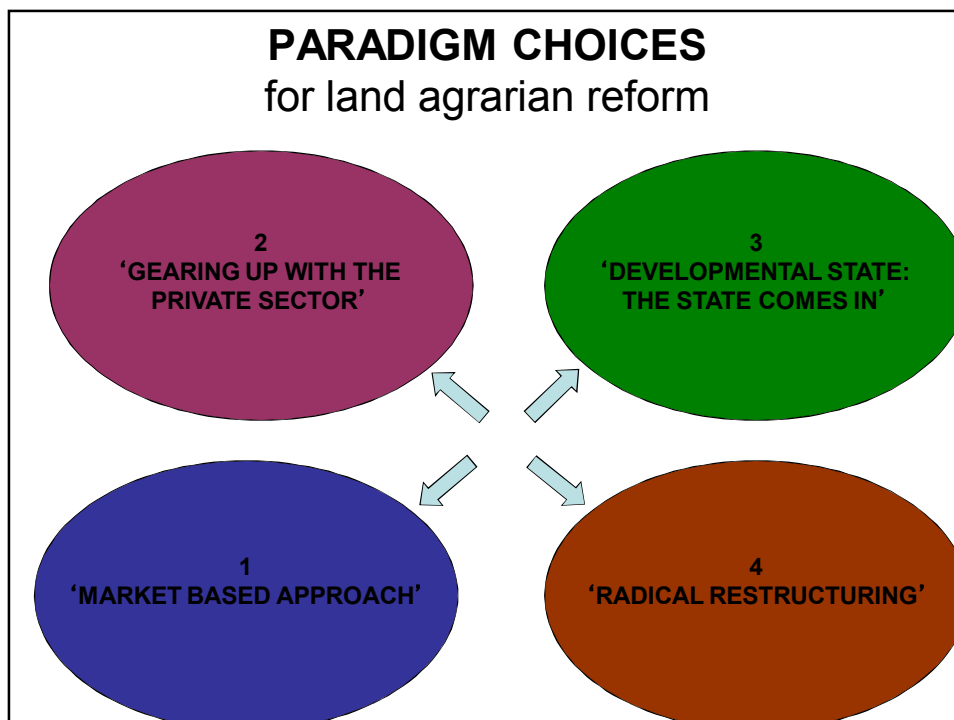
- Away from pro-poor neo-liberalism towards the convergence of state resources, private capital and traditional authority
- Elite capture of shrinking state resources – dangerous combination in context of escalating political rhetoric
- Net effects: conditional tenure ('productive discipline', 'disciplined service') transferring rights and entitlements to dependence on state and chiefly patrimonialism

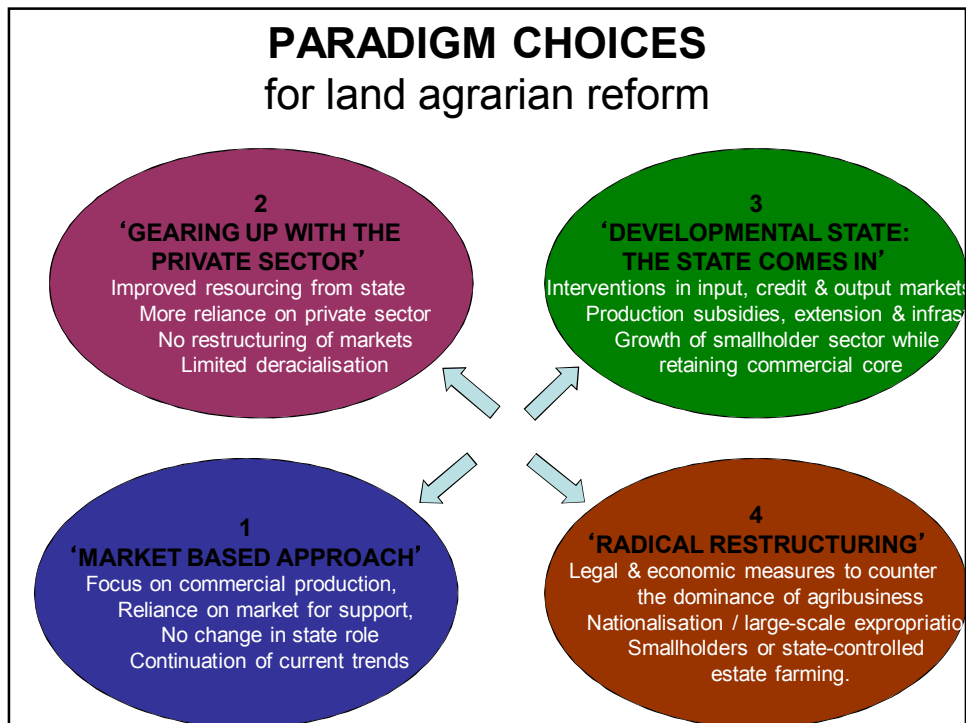
A meta-debate obscures core realities

- The big red herrings: market tweaking and misdirecting public resources
 - Foreign ownership
 - Land ceilings
 - 50/50 policy
- The non-answers of the opposition, neither of which address rights and redistribution
 - Nationalisation
 - Privatisation

Possible reasons for hope?

- Office of the Valuer-General
 - Could develop coherent approach to just and equitable compensation, esp if guided by courts, to expedite expropriation
- District Land Committees
 - Could forge partnerships and develop local plans that match demand with supply of land





Variables that may shape the future

1. Party politics and electoral trends
 - Declining ANC rural vote? Challenge to its majority?
2. The economy
 - Current account deficit, inflation, jobs in urban industry and mining
3. Budget and institutional capacity
 - Continued capital budget cuts & weak bureaucracy?
4. Agricultural policy and profitability
 - Overall structure, trade balance, direction of change, jobs
5. Balance of social forces
 - Specific alliances... state/agribusiness, urban/rural, trade unions & social movements

	Party & electoral politics	Economy	Budget & institutional capacity in state	Agricultural policy & profitability	Balance of social forces / alliances	Outcomes for land reform
Continuation of current trends	Growth of opposition on left & right; land not high among political priorities but used to symbolic political effect; traditionalism on the rise	Gradual decline, jobless growth, rising inflation & growing budget deficit	Declining budget & growing staff corps without dramatic increase in delivery	Cost-price squeezes, growing power of supermarkets, failure/absence of agricultural production & marketing support	Absence of effective social movement of rural poor; fragmented labour movement, capital convergence with state	State-capital alliance drives land reform in favour of narrow stratum of commercial farmers, agribusiness & rural elites

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			Massive increase in budget for land reform and state capacity to plan, implement and support land reform	Social pacting with landowners and key actors in farm value chains, and interventions through trade and agricultural policy to transform the sector		

