

POLICY & RESEARCH SERIES

3

**Supporting Land
Reform in South
Africa: Participatory
Planning Experience
in the Northern
Cape Province**

Alastair Bradstock

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July 2005**

Abbreviations and acronyms

ANC	African National Congress
CASP	Comprehensive Agricultural Support Programme
CPA	Communal Property Association
DLA	Department of Land Affairs
DOA	Department of Agriculture
FARM-Africa	Food and Agricultural Research Management-Africa
ISC	Implementation Sub-Committee (of Management Committee of land reform group)
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
PPM	Participatory Planning Method
PSC	Planning Sub-Committee (of Management Committee of land reform group)
SWOT	Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats

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FARM-Africa's **Northern Cape Land Reform and Advocacy Programme** aims to improve the natural resource management and livelihoods of communities benefiting from South Africa's land reform programme. In collaboration with the National and Provincial Departments of Land Affairs and Agriculture, FARM-Africa helps to provide training in agricultural techniques, livestock management skills, planning and financial management, so that communities in the province can realise the potential of their newly acquired land and improve their living standards.

About the author

Alastair Bradstock is Director of Research and Policy based at FARM-Africa's London office.

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Executive summary

Following the historic elections in 1994, the South African Government embarked on an ambitious land reform programme, aiming to have 30 per cent of South Africa's agricultural land in black ownership by 2015. The programme has three elements.

- Restitution – restoring land to people who were displaced as a result of discriminatory land legislation.
- Tenure reform – addressing the causes of insecurity of tenure.
- Redistribution – transferring land from white to black ownership.

Many of those who receive land through the programme have limited experience of managing natural resources, so they need support in developing knowledge and skills to use their land effectively. In particular, land reform groups need help in drawing up a realistic plan to develop their farms which is acceptable to all their members.

FARM-Africa has been supporting the land reform programme since 1995. It started work then with the Riemvasmaak community (situated to the west of Upington), in close collaboration with the Northern Cape Provincial Departments of Agriculture and Land Affairs. Thereafter, FARM-Africa was asked to work with more land reform groups. Since 2002 it has been piloting the new participatory planning method which it has developed. This approach enables groups to work jointly through a sequence of steps in order to develop and implement a land management plan.

The participatory planning method steps can be summarised into four main stages. First, the land reform group seeks to understand how the agricultural sector operates in its area, and identifies those agencies that provide technical and managerial support. Next, practical research is undertaken to provide information on the livelihoods of the group members, the various objectives of the group and the agricultural potential of the land. A committee develops a realistic management plan to pursue the objectives, taking account of the resource constraints. Then, once the group as a whole has taken collective ownership of the plan, implementation starts, and the necessary technical and financial inputs must be secured. Finally, the outcomes of the plan will be monitored and evaluated against indicators generated and agreed by the group.

FARM-Africa has used this new participatory planning method successfully with groups of various sizes, and with groups which have acquired their land through various means (through the restitution programme, and through the redistribution programme that enabled them either to buy privately owned farms or to gain access to so-called commonage). At every step in the process, FARM-Africa has provided support to group members.



The key lessons learned from this experience follow below.

- For the land reform programme to succeed, it is crucial that beneficiaries participate in preparing a realistic plan for their farms, of which the land reform group as a whole takes ownership.
- Enough time must be allowed for the participatory planning process, with the time required in each case varying depending on the complexity of the group, the size of the farm and the range of group members' objectives.

Land reform groups need support at each step in the participatory planning process. At present, there are very few people with the necessary facilitation skills: this limitation must be addressed.



Background

Land reform policy in South Africa

Following the 1994 elections, the South African Government launched an ambitious land reform programme with three components: restitution, tenure reform and redistribution.

Land restitution

The land restitution programme aims to restore land to those people who were displaced as a consequence of Acts such as the Native Lands Act of 1913 and the Native Trust and Land Act of 1936. Under the 1913 Act, those black households who owned land outside the reserves were initially exempted from displacement. However, from the 1950s until the 1980s these households (or 'black spots', as the government called them) were subjected to forced removals.

The programme only considers those individuals and groups that can prove that they were forcibly removed after 19 June 1913. A Land Claims Court and Commission was established under the Restitution of Land Rights Act, No. 22 of 1994 and is the body responsible for adjudicating these claims (DLA, 1997). By March 1999, the closing date for submissions, the Commission had received approximately 69,000 claims.

Land tenure reform

The White Paper on Land Policy (DLA, 1997) explains that until the early 1990s government policy was that black people should not own land. Land rights in the homelands and townships were permit-based or held in trust. In most cases, the land was registered as the property either of the government or of the South African Development Trust. In many areas of the country, the administration of the land was confused and chaotic, and households had no legal right to land which they had occupied for many years. This uncertainty was the cause of much conflict: land could be confiscated, redistributed or sold by others who claimed to own it.

The White Paper aimed to tackle these issues by introducing a tenure reform programme that would develop new systems of land holding, land rights and forms of ownership. To this end, the government passed a number of Acts aiming to help people to obtain stronger rights to land they live on and to land which is situated nearby.

The government experienced considerable difficulties in passing a Communal Land Rights Bill. The original bill (1999) never reached the statute book. It was replaced by a measure that proposed to transfer land to tribes (Adams, 2000; Cousins, 2000). However this new bill was criticised for, amongst other things, being in breach of sections of the constitution (in particular



Photo: Pieter Roos, 2004

Witbank, the Northern Cape

because it did not respect, protect, and promote the rights of women), and for proposing to transfer considerable land ownership and administration powers to traditional institutions that are often controlled by unelected leaders. Although it became law in 2004, the government has not yet implemented it.

Land redistribution

The purpose of this programme, as outlined in the White Paper on Land Policy, is to redistribute land to the landless poor, labour tenants, farm workers and emerging farmers for residential and productive uses, to improve their livelihoods and quality of life. It is envisaged that the majority of this land will be purchased from white commercial farmers.

The programme involves a single yet flexible redistribution mechanism that aims to be as inclusive as possible so that it can react to the needs of a range of people, from poor female-headed households to 'better off' entrepreneurial black farmers. Land transactions are voluntary and are based upon a 'willing seller' and a 'willing buyer'.

In 2001, the Minister of Agriculture and Land Affairs introduced a new sub-programme called Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development (LRAD). This programme had a number of key objectives, such as contributing to the redistribution of 30 per cent of the country's

agricultural land over 15 years, improving nutrition and incomes for the rural poor who wanted to farm on any scale, decongesting over-crowded former homeland areas, and expanding opportunities for women and young people who stayed in rural areas.

FARM-Africa in South Africa

In 1991, three years before the first fully democratic elections were held in South Africa, FARM-Africa formed a partnership with the Land Development Unit (LDU), a local NGO working with previously disadvantaged communities in the so-called Coloured Rural Reserves in the Western Cape.

FARM-Africa was then asked by the Legal Resources Centre (LRC), a South African NGO, to undertake a survey of the agricultural potential of a farm in the Northern Cape called Riemvasmaak. In the early 1990s, the LRC had been approached by a small group of Riemvasmakers who wanted to demonstrate that they had been illegally removed from their land in the mid-1970s. FARM-Africa's report, along with other evidence, was used to support this case.

In February 1994, the High Court found in favour of the Riemvasmakers and allowed them to repossess their land. Shortly after this historic ruling, FARM-Africa was asked by the community to help them develop their 80,000 hectare farm. After securing financial support, mainly from the British Government, FARM-Africa provided a range of managerial and agricultural capacity building inputs over a four-year period. This formed the basis for the more extensive work in Northern Cape Province on which this publication draws.

The characteristics of the Northern Cape Province

While in terms of surface area the Northern Cape is South Africa's largest province, it has the smallest population (approximately 840,000 people). It is one of three new provinces that did not incorporate a homeland. The majority of the province receives very low levels of rainfall and it is best suited to extensive livestock production. Where farmers are able to gain access to irrigation water from the Orange and Vaal Rivers, it is possible to grow a wide range of crops including wheat, maize, peanuts, cotton, grapes, potatoes, barley and a variety of different vegetables.

The economy of the Northern Cape is in long-term decline and many economically active individuals are forced to migrate to secure employment in other provinces, in particular Gauteng and the Western Cape. Agriculture, the province's leading economic sector, is contracting, and there is evidence that farmers are investing increasingly in labour-saving capital equipment thereby exacerbating unemployment in the province. Provincial statistics show that approximately one-quarter of the work force is unemployed, and micro-studies show that unemployment rates are higher for poorer households than richer ones, and that those unemployed are mainly young people.

2 Participatory planning with land reform beneficiaries

Introduction

Once land reform groups have received land through the government's land reform programme, one of the main problems they face is the absence of an acceptable plan to guide activities on their farms.

When beneficiaries take ownership of their land, they usually inherit a development plan that has been prepared by either government officials or consultants. But these plans rarely contain sufficient detail not only to support field level activities but also to approach a bank for a loan. And, critically, group members will have been excluded from the planning process, so groups often do not understand or take ownership of these plans. In the post-settlement phase of the programme, most groups do not receive any help in drawing up plans. So they frequently develop their land in an unstructured way, which often leads to the land being inefficiently used. Likewise, because user rights are not defined before the group takes ownership of the land, a small elite may capture the resource and use it for their own benefit to the exclusion of other members.

Moreover, because there are no detailed plans and no statement of the types of skills required by groups to achieve their often ill-defined objectives, delivery of technical inputs by outside agencies is often ineffective. A participatory process with the group is required to define needs, but NGOs, government departments and private sector consultants often have neither the skills nor the technical 'know how' to facilitate this type of work.

The FARM-Africa project in the Northern Cape Province

In 1996, when FARM-Africa was already supporting the Riemvasmaak community, the Northern Cape Provincial Government asked FARM-Africa to work with more land reform groups in the province. FARM-Africa developed proposals in close collaboration with the provincial Departments of Agriculture (DOA) and Land Affairs (DLA), aiming to develop the technical agricultural, management and administrative capacity of ten groups which had received land through the government's land reform programme. It was agreed that FARM-Africa would have responsibility for project implementation, with the DOA providing key technical inputs.

The project started in late 1999. After consultation with the DLA and the DOA, eight land reform groups were identified in four of the five municipal districts of the province – Witbank, Pofadder, Prieska, Marydale, Niekerkshoop, Strydenberg, Warrenton and #Khomani San¹ (the majority of the #Khomani San group live in or near Rietfontein and their six farms are situated close to Askham). Map 1 below shows the location of these sites in the province.

1. The # symbol in "#Khomani San" denotes the clicking required for correct pronunciation.

Map I. FARM-Africa's Project Sites in the Northern Cape Province



Source: Adapted from The Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, South Africa (2005) by The Drawing Office, Department of Geography, University College London, UK.

Note: While none of the project sites is located in either Kimberley or Uppington, they are included on the map as the former is the provincial capital and the latter the second largest town in the province.

The purpose of the FARM-Africa project was to strengthen the capacity of land reform beneficiaries to manage their natural resources. This was expected to lead to wealth accumulation and a reduction in poverty. In the project, FARM-Africa provided support to land reform beneficiaries and to partner organisations such as the DOA and the Department of Housing & Local Government. The project allocated considerable resources to developing the capacity of group members who had been democratically elected to management positions, as well as providing a variety of training inputs to enhance the agricultural skills of both male and female group members.

The participatory planning method

To address the need, FARM-Africa staff (with support from external consultants) developed a 'Participatory Planning Method' (PPM). They drew heavily on experience gained from FARM-Africa projects in Ethiopia and Tanzania, where a similar method had been developed to support the management of forest resources.

The PPM has four main elements.

- Firstly, physical and socio-economic data are collected. Physical data are needed to examine the condition of the group's farm(s) in terms of the state of the infrastructure and the productive potential of the natural resources. Socio-economic data are needed to provide knowledge about the group's livelihoods, their involvement in and understanding of their land reform project, and how they envisage integrating land more fully into their livelihoods.
- Secondly, the capacity of a planning sub-committee (PSC) is developed. The PSC is an elected group of no more than 10 group members (a sub-committee of the Management Committee, which is elected after the registration of the land reform group as a legal entity). The task of the PSC is to produce a plan that accurately reflects the group's different development objectives, based on the findings of the research studies.
- Thirdly, the plan must be approved by the Management Committee and the membership at large, before being implemented by an implementation sub-committee (ISC). If the PSC has managed to make the planning process inclusive, ownership of the plan in the group should be widespread; otherwise the ISC may well experience difficulties during the implementation phase.
- Fourthly, the outcomes of the plan must be monitored and evaluated against indicators that have been generated and agreed by the group.

FARM-Africa's work with land reform groups showed that many of them experienced difficulties using the PPM. Because of the very low levels of education and the lack of experience of administrative and management techniques among group members, groups need to be supported throughout the process. At present the number of organisations able to offer this support is limited. Training facilitators in how to support the PPM process is key, but it is equally important that the facilitating agency recognises the long-term nature of this intervention, so that sufficient time is set aside to develop capacity within groups. The government needs to decide how to develop the necessary facilitation capacity.

3

Making the participatory planning process work

The participatory planning process consists of eight steps. These are shown in Figure 1, and discussed in turn below.

At each step, the land reform group is likely to need support. The support which FARM-Africa has offered is summarised in Annex 1.

Step 1: Identifying project stakeholders

The first step in the PPM process is for a group's Management Committee to identify the key stakeholders involved in their project. It cannot be assumed that the group will know about the organisations that may be able to support them, as the pre-designation phase does not address this issue. Government partners may include the Departments of Agriculture, Land Affairs, Housing and Local Government, and Water Affairs and Forestry. The local municipality will be a key stakeholder as all land reform projects will be part of their integrated development plan. There may be other stakeholders such as NGOs, co-operatives, input suppliers and consulting firms. One outcome of the process should be to distinguish between those organisations that will engage with the group over the long-term to build their technical agricultural and managerial capacity, and those that will offer one-off inputs.

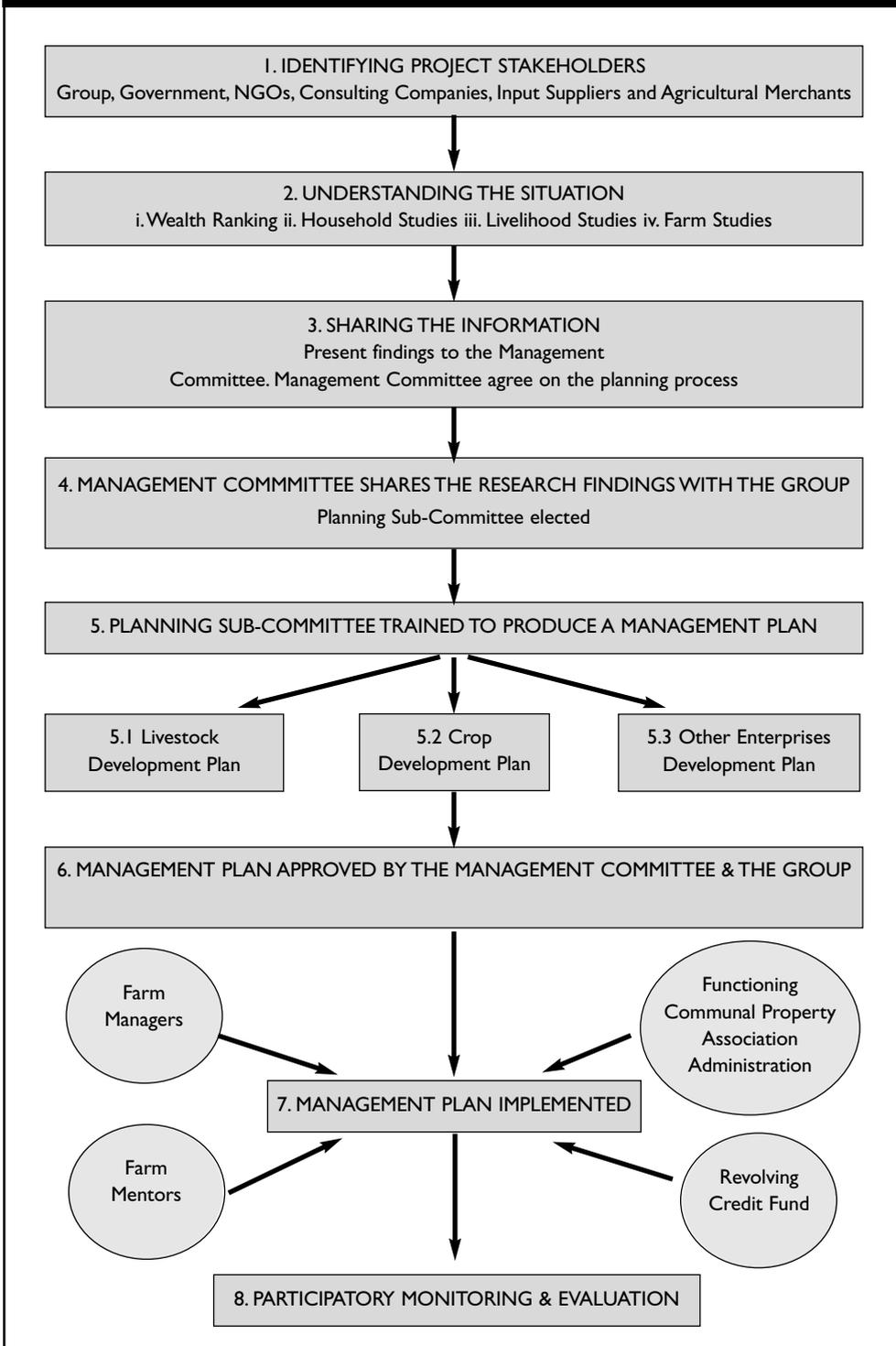
Once all the stakeholders have been identified, the group should meet with them to discuss their roles in the PPM process. The potential benefits of supporting a group through this phase should not be underestimated. For example, one of the groups with which FARM-Africa worked had access to irrigation water from the Vaalharts irrigation scheme, but was never told about the way in which the scheme worked and the responsibilities of users. This lack of information led to the group accumulating a debt with the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry of approximately Rand 400,000, which nearly led to their collapse.

Step 2: Understanding the situation

The aim of the second step of the PPM is to collect a range of physical and socio-economic data to provide the basis for the management plan. Therefore, FARM-Africa undertook a development research process jointly with the land reform groups and, prior to its start, the elements of the research programme were discussed and agreed with the management committee.

The emerging view is that research output will be of higher quality when both quantitative and qualitative methods are combined, since various methods will produce different but complementary data (Chambers, 1983; Chambers, 1994; Davis and Whittington, 1998; Davies *et al.*, 1999). FARM-Africa adopted both methods in its data collection process.

Figure 1. The Participatory Planning Process



To collect quantitative data, FARM-Africa used a questionnaire-based survey. Before the survey was implemented, the questionnaire was tested on a selection of households to assess its complexity, the time it took to complete and whether the answers were providing the necessary information. Members of land reform groups who were trained before going into the field collected the majority of the data.

To collect qualitative data, participatory methods such as semi-structured interviews, focus group meetings and key stakeholder interviews were used. FARM-Africa ensured that the focus group meetings were as representative of the group as possible, in terms of gender, age and household wealth. These techniques can provide good quality information in a relatively short period of time, though they do have well-documented shortcomings (see for example, Mosse, 1994; Johnson and Mayoux, 1998; Woodhouse, 1998; Cleaver, 1999; White, 2002).

Physical data

The decline of black agriculture in South Africa began with the passing of the Natives Land Act in 1913. As a consequence of this and other discriminatory legislation, black people have not been involved in the management of their own farms for almost a century. The resulting low levels of theoretical and practical understanding of agriculture make it difficult for land reform beneficiaries not only to assess the potential of their farms but also to choose between different production options.

As part of the land transfer process, the Department of Land Affairs commissions either the Department of Agriculture or a consulting firm to assess the productive potential of farms. However, these studies are rarely participatory and they usually offer limited generic recommendations. Therefore before activities begin on the farm, the group, supported by an external facilitator, needs to:

- calculate the carrying capacity of the farm;
- assess the soils and determine what types of crops can be grown;
- investigate the cost and availability of irrigation water in the summer and winter months; and,
- review the condition of the infrastructure, for example the condition of the fences, stock watering points, windmills, irrigation equipment and tractors, in order to determine both maintenance and capital replacement costs.

The carrying capacity of the farm is of particular importance because of the characteristics of the area. The Northern Cape has a semi-arid climate and most of the land in the province can only sustain the extensive grazing of domestic livestock and game species. Unless information of this kind is collected when the group takes ownership of the land and updated on an annual basis to account for the effects of climate and stocking rates, the land may not be used effectively.



Socio-economic data

Participatory rural appraisal 'tools' were used to investigate differences in relative wealth amongst the beneficiary groups as well as some of the key changes that had affected groups' livelihoods over the last five years.

Wealth ranking

So that FARM-Africa could focus its resources on its target group, the poorest of the poor, wealth ranking was the first part of the development research process. While this is not the most important step in the process, chronologically it came first. The aim of this exercise was to understand how members defined wealth and to categorise the membership into different wealth groupings. It also sought to identify the factors which helped households to escape from poverty. While this was a key step for FARM-Africa to take, land reform groups may not have to undertake this exercise unless their constitution specifically mentions targeting the poorest. FARM-Africa's approach to wealth ranking is provided in Annex 2.

Livelihood and household studies

Next, it was necessary to collect information about the group's livelihoods and about the extent of their knowledge of the productive potential of their farm. This was achieved by combining both qualitative and quantitative data collection methods.

Prior to 1994, there was a lack of credible and comprehensive socio-economic data sets to guide policy formulation in South Africa (Ardington and Lund, 1996; May, 1996). Since then, the African National Congress (ANC) has addressed this statistical gap, and has produced a number of socio-economic data sets (see Annex 3 for further information). While these studies have provided excellent socio-economic information for policy makers and practitioners at the macro-level, they are less well suited to providing the type of information required for micro-level interventions. So agencies working directly with land reform groups need to collect specific data about them.

The livelihood research aims to build on the outcome of the wealth ranking studies to provide a more detailed understanding of the asset status of households, the different income sources on which households draw and the factors which determine access to them. The research process is not intended to be too elaborate. Its focus should be to collect data that directly contributes to the development of the group's plan.

FARM-Africa collected qualitative data by using focus groups of approximately 15 people who were differentiated by age, gender and wealth. To set their land reform group into its historical context, the focus group was first asked to construct a time line, describing the key events which had affected them over the last 40 to 50 years.

Following the completion of the time line, other topics were explored, for example:

- how seasonality affected livelihoods;
- the different income sources that households were able to access;

- what factors created an economically secure livelihood;
- the type of shocks that affect individual households and the group;
- the positive and negative effects that both institutions and organisations can have upon livelihood formation; and,
- the importance of agriculture as a livelihood activity.

The group was asked to emphasise the changes that had occurred over the last five years and how they had impacted upon their livelihoods.

The research showed that despite differences between the land reform sites in terms of their socio-economic conditions and their ecology, the asset holdings and income sources of the groups were often very similar. Most households had a very limited number of income sources. The dependence of poor households upon public transfers, especially old age pensions and disability grants, was evident, as was the importance of securing waged employment to help households avoid poverty. Other sources of income (such as agriculture and non-farm self-employment) made an insignificant contribution to households' livelihoods.

A further study aimed to gauge the level of understanding that member households had about their land reform project and their plans for making farming a more integral part of their livelihoods. This information was elicited by using a questionnaire and it aimed to reach every group member. FARM-Africa adopted this strategy because initially its understanding of groups was limited and therefore it wanted to seek the views of as many people as possible. While it may not be necessary to try to reach each individual group member, it is important to gain an understanding of these issues. Questions included:

- naming the farm;
- the size of the farm;
- the productive potential of the farm;
- its location;
- the activities undertaken on the farm over the last year;
- whether the member had been involved in these activities; and,
- what activities they would like to do on the farm.

The questionnaire also sought to establish the reasons why individuals had become involved in the project originally, and whether they had managed to realise their objectives following the transfer of the land. It explored the factors that had enabled members to achieve their objectives and those that had prevented them from doing so.

It is important to recognise that members will have joined the group to achieve various objectives. For example, some households may want to access land to grow food for home consumption, while others may want to use it as a way of diversifying their livelihoods and increasing income. Some may want to work in groups, while others may want to work individually. Failing to appreciate these multiple objectives may lead to conflict within the group as well as to the farm being developed inefficiently and inequitably.

The significance of this component of the research process cannot be emphasised too strongly. It provides a detailed understanding of the livelihoods of different households, and of how they plan to integrate agriculture into their livelihoods. This information is key for the planning sub-committee in its task of developing a management plan that reflects the different objectives of group members. If that plan is not based on accurate information on the needs of the group, the land use proposals which it contains may be rejected. If that happens, further expense will have to be incurred re-writing the plan – or if the Management Committee decides to go ahead with implementing a programme that has not received approval by the group, the probability of conflict arising will be high.

It also provides an understanding of how historical events have shaped the livelihoods of members of land reform groups. In the South African context this is of particular relevance, considering the decades of discrimination that black people experienced under colonial, union and apartheid governments. Likewise planners will need to appreciate the extent to which the institutional legacy of apartheid hinders land reform groups in their efforts to make agriculture a significant part of their livelihoods.

Step 3: Sharing the information

Once the research work in step 2 has produced the necessary information, the facilitator needs to initiate a process to transfer the findings to the Management Committee. This step will be made easier when the Management Committee has been actively involved in the research work.

The extent to which the Management Committee can engage with the process will depend partly on how much education its members have received. The racial inequalities in access to education in South Africa were starkly visible during the apartheid era (Weber, 2002). The differential between per capita educational expenditure for African and white pupils was substantial. In 1975 Africans received just 4 per cent of the per capita educational expenditure for whites. Eighteen years later the gap had narrowed to 51 per cent (Leibbrandt *et al.*, 2001; Terreblanche, 2002; Weber, 2002). With regard to secondary school attendance, in 1990 there were 7 times as many whites in secondary schools and 12 times as many whites in universities than black people (Collins and Gillespie, 1993). While only 3 per cent of white teachers did not have a university degree, 96 per cent of black teachers had not graduated from a university (Collins and Gillespie, 1993). Howie and Plomp (2002) estimated that teacher to pupil ratios in black schools during the 1990s were as high as 1:40, and Collins and Gillespie (1993) estimated that in white schools the equivalent ratio was 1:16. In the mid-1990s, it was estimated that approximately 55 per cent of South Africans from disadvantaged communities were illiterate, and possibly 10 per cent of the population above the age of 16 had never attended school (Howie and Plomp, 2002).

FARM-Africa's research findings from the #Khomani San group showed that most individuals (both male and female) over the age of 40 were illiterate. Also, none of the individuals resident in the 100 households surveyed had attended a tertiary educational institution. Only six men or 5 per cent of economically active males (aged between 15 and 60 years) and 18 per cent of

economically active women had finished their secondary schooling. Similar results were found at the group situated in the town of Warrenton.

So most Management Committee members have little education and lack technical agricultural knowledge and managerial skills. As a result achieving the necessary transfer of ownership and fostering an understanding of the research findings in the Management Committee is a major challenge. The time required should not be underestimated.

Step 4: Management Committee shares the research findings with the group

This step of the PPM is relatively short. A written summary of the research findings is distributed to group members in advance of a half-day workshop, where the management committee presents the findings and actively encourages debate.

It is important that the members present at this meeting are made aware of all the development objectives that have been expressed by households, and that consensus is reached on which ones are to be prioritised from a shortlist. There should also be opportunities for members to comment and question the committee about the research findings and why certain objectives expressed by members were chosen while others were rejected. This process of reaching agreement about what the plan will seek to achieve is key not only to developing group wide support for it but also to minimise the possibility of conflict.

After the research findings have been presented, discussed and agreed, the Management Committee explains that a new sub-committee, the Planning Sub-Committee (PSC), will be elected and it will be responsible for producing the management plan. The committee is comprised of group members and, if it is to function effectively, the members must be literate and have sufficient time to attend monthly meetings. Where the group is comprised of different ethnic groups or where members live in more than one geographical area, this diversity should be taken into account when the PSC is formed.

Step 5: Planning Sub-Committee produces a management plan

In Step 5, the PSC prepares the management plan, using the information which has already been gathered. Where there is more than one group objective, the plan will be comprised of sub-plans explaining their goals and expected outcomes. To assist the process, the facilitator introduces some relatively simple planning concepts and tools to the members of the PSC and supports them in the process of applying the tools in order to draft the plan. Because use of the research findings is a key part of the process, PSC members need to be able to extract, analyse and manipulate data from the studies.

The principal aim of the management plan is to provide a clear guide to the group, and in particular the Management Committee, about how to develop the farm in order to meet its agreed objectives. It has five main components, discussed in turn below.

- a) Background, history and challenges
- b) Natural and physical resources
- c) Financial capital resources
- d) Human and organisational resources
- e) Implementation plan

a) Background, history and challenges

It is important that the management plan is not framed too narrowly, so that it can be used to leverage resources from both public and private organisations. Because most land reform groups do not have sufficient assets to implement their plans, they need to be able to access complementary assets such as technical agricultural support, marketing advice and access to credit. Thus the first section of the plan document needs to set the group and the land acquisition process into its historical context. The livelihood studies should provide this type of information.

General information about the group

This includes information relating to:

- the physical location of the farm;
- the number of beneficiaries in the group and where they live in relation to the farm;
- the area of the land; and,
- the different land uses, for example, grazing and irrigated crop production.

According to South African law, land reform groups can constitute themselves in a number of different ways and this section should also state what legal entity the group has chosen. The most common legal entity used by land reform groups is the Communal Property Association (CPA). The Communal Property Associations Act No. 28 of 1996 determines the way in which these entities function.

Challenges

This specifies the key challenges preventing the group from developing its land. It should include problems being encountered, such as being unable to gain access to the farm, a lack of technical agricultural, managerial and administrative skills, and an imbalance between current expenditure and income.

b) Natural and physical resources

Here the PSC must examine the potential of the group's natural resources as well as the number, value and condition of their physical assets, for example fences, tractors, equipment, dwellings, irrigation equipment, stock handling facilities and so on. It must also consider the problems and opportunities for the group.

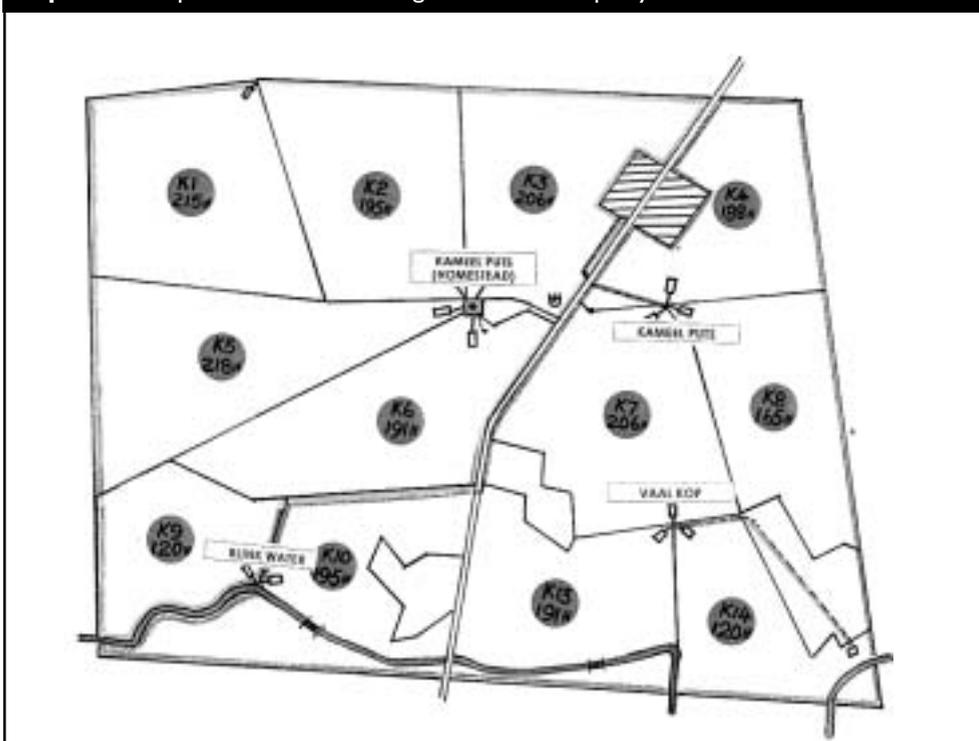
During this step of the PPM, the PSC will need guidance in various aspects of their work. For example, many members of land reform groups (especially the larger groups) have never visited their farm, so it is important that PSC members are taken to the farm to verify the existence

of physical assets are being described. They will also need to be trained in how to use the SWOT concept (which is described below) and supported when they use it to analyse aspects of their farm.

Maps

One of the PSC's immediate tasks is to draw a detailed map of the farm showing the location of water troughs, windmills, bore holes, water pipe lines and dams that can be used for planning and implementation purposes. An example of this type of map is given below.

Map 2. Kameelputs Farm – Dirisanang Communal Property Association



Source: Munro, 2001

List of those using assets

The PSC should draw up a list of all those (members and non-members of the group) who are using the farm's assets. This should not be restricted to those using grazing and irrigable land, as often groups have a variety of assets which people may use for their own benefit.

Analysis of strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats – SWOT

The objective of a SWOT analysis is to identify strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats in a particular situation. The strengths and weaknesses identified in a SWOT analysis

usually relate to the internal environment and the opportunities and threats to the external environment. An individual or group usually has more control over the former than the latter.

The semi-arid conditions of the Northern Cape make it best suited to the extensive grazing of livestock. So one of the first tasks of the PSC should be to use the farm studies to conduct a SWOT analysis of their farm's grazing resources. For example, a strength would be that the veld is in good condition, and the actual and potential carrying capacities are in equilibrium, whereas a weakness would be that the windmills on the farm are in need of repair and stock are unable to use certain paddocks because of poor water supply. An opportunity would be to apply to the Department of Agriculture for a grant from the Landcare programme to carry out repairs to the windmills, and a threat would be a recent outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease in the district that may result in the group's cattle being destroyed by the Department of Agriculture.

A SWOT will also be needed on the farm's physical resources, such as its tractors, equipment, houses and so on. For example, a strength would be a vacant farmhouse that could be leased out in order to raise income, and a weakness would be the poor condition of the farm's tractors that prevents the group from cultivating its land. An opportunity would be to apply to an organisation such as the National Development Agency for a grant to repair the machines and a threat would be the loss of assets from theft.

Problems, causes and solutions

The next step is to produce a table highlighting the problems the group is experiencing, as well as identifying possible causes and solutions. For example, the quality of the veld might be deteriorating. If this is due to a higher than recommended stocking rate, the solution would be to draft and implement a sustainable grazing management plan. The solutions identified here will be carried forward to the implementation schedule contained in section e of the plan.

Many land reform groups are experiencing significant difficulties in managing their projects and some of these have been outlined by Bradstock (2005). Thus it is extremely important for the future success of land reform projects that sufficient time is set aside with the group to identify and discuss problems, their causes and solutions.

c) Financial capital resources

Financial capital resources have been defined by Carney (1998: p.7) as "the financial resources which are available to people (whether savings, supplies of credit or regular remittances or pensions) and which provide them with different livelihood options". Examples of financial capital include livestock, food, jewellery and gold.

The above definition may be too narrow for certain groups. It is important that the PSC is aware of all the assets and liabilities of its land reform group, including for example loans from financial institutions and outstanding invoices from suppliers. The completed list provides the group with an inventory of its financial assets that can be used to monitor changes over time.

d) Human and organisational resources

Users

While the number of beneficiaries will be listed in section a of the plan, there will be no indication about how many of them are actually using the farm. In addition, it is quite common to find non-members accessing a group's land. It is therefore important for the PSC to be rigorous in drawing up a list of everybody who is currently using the land.

Agricultural and administrative skills

As noted above, the technical agricultural knowledge and experience of most group members is limited: this is often a key factor that hampers the development of farms. However, it is quite common for a land reform group to include the farm workers of the previous white owner. These people can be a key resource, as often they will have practical skills which are useful for the group. It is important that the household survey does not exclude these people and that individuals who have agricultural experience are identified in the early part of the process.

The apartheid regime distorted the labour market by introducing legislation that reserved the majority of managerial jobs for white people and channelled black people into unskilled manual labour (Posel, 1991; Terreblanche, 2002). FARM-Africa's household surveys showed that the individuals interviewed had neither administrative nor managerial experience.

Stakeholders

This important piece of information should have been produced in Step 1 of the PPM. The Management Committee will have identified those organisations involved in the post-settlement phase of land reform and noted what type(s) of support they can provide.

However, additional information may need to be collected. For example, it may be necessary to develop a matrix listing all the stakeholders and their areas of expertise, and contact details. This will require the facilitator to research these issues prior to running the workshop.

Management structure

A Management Committee will have been elected after the registration of the land reform group as a legal entity. Its mandate is to manage the group's resources. Most such committees have little managerial capacity and they receive no support from the government in this area. This lack of expertise was identified by FARM-Africa as a significant shortcoming of the land reform programme (Bradstock, 2005). So help with capacity building inputs is needed to begin the process of creating a fully functioning administrative structure.

In particular, because tasks involved in running the farm are usually too numerous to be done effectively by one committee, it is common for the committee to appoint sub-committees that are assigned specific tasks. There is a danger that, when creating new sub-committees, the Management Committee fails to develop the necessary policies and procedures that define their roles and responsibilities. Many members will never have served on a committee before and will need clear terms of reference describing their functions and what outputs they are

expected to deliver. Many meetings are unstructured, poorly managed, do not have agendas or minutes and therefore do not contribute to improving the way in which the farm is managed. The facilitator can improve the way in which groups hold their meetings.

Code of conduct

It is also important to develop a code of conduct that defines acceptable and unacceptable behaviour for the Management Committee, as well as within the group as a whole. Agreement on abiding by these rules can contribute toward reducing potential conflict and increasing equity of resource access and use. Annex 4 is an example of a draft code of conduct for grazing land.

e) Implementation plan

By this time, the PSC should have sufficient information from its work to prepare an implementation plan for the group. In particular, it will need to look back at its analysis of the challenges and problems, causes and solutions carried out as part of Step 5. This will have defined the issues facing the group: “challenges” being group level problems (for example the inability of members to access the farm or a lack of finance to develop the farm) and “problems” being more specific issues relating to the farm’s resources (for example the carrying capacity of the grazing land or irrigation pipes that need replacing).

The plan will be divided into different sections, each of which will relate specifically to an agreed group objective. For example, the objective for the grazing land might be to lease one half to a commercial farmer and distribute the profits equally to all members, and to lease the remainder to members owning livestock. This process needs to be repeated for all the main resource types on the farm including irrigable land, forest resources and water resources.

The next step in the process is for the PSC to list the activities that are required to achieve the objectives. All of the activities should be prioritised. Responsibility for the completion of each by a certain date should be assigned to a named individual rather than to a committee. Any external organisations that are required to provide support must be listed.

Step 6: Plan approved by the Management Committee

The PSC should aim to distribute copies of the plan to all Management Committee members at least one week before a meeting takes place between the Management Committee and the PSC. At the meeting, the PSC presents the content of the management plan. It is discussed and amended as necessary, and then the Management Committee is asked to approve it.

Once the management plan has been approved, the PSC prepares a written summary of its key points. This is distributed to all group members before a group meeting is held to discuss it. At this meeting the Management Committee uses the document to describe and discuss the plan’s main components. Finally, it seeks approval from the group to implement the plan.



Photo: Pieter Roos, 2004

#Khomani San farmers, Kalahari, Northern Cape

Step 7: Implementing the Management Plan

Administrative and management structure

Once the plan has been approved, the PSC no longer has a function and is disbanded. A new Implementation Sub-Committee (ISC) is formed which may consist of the same membership, to avoid training new members, unaccustomed to working together, from scratch. However this will vary on a case-by-case basis, and the Management Committee is best placed to make this decision.

In the larger, more complex restitution and redistribution projects, the land reform groups identified the need for managers to take responsibility for the day-to-day running of their farms. This was necessary because the groups had decided to manage their farms as a single unit using the technologies adopted by the previous white owners, rather than sub-dividing them into smaller plots that could have been accessed by groups or individuals. The farm manager jobs were only available to group members, and FARM-Africa covered the cost of a mentor, usually a neighbouring white farmer, whose task it was to transfer agricultural skills to the farm manager(s).

Finance for implementation

The first task of the ISC is to prepare individual budgets for the different production objectives and to establish whether there are sufficient resources to carry out these activities. This will normally mean finding sources of credit.

In a recent report outlining FARM-Africa's experience in the Northern Cape, Bradstock (2005) emphasises the problems that land reform beneficiaries experience in gaining access to credit, and how this constrains their ability to develop their farms. It is common for poor people to experience difficulties in accessing the credit market as financial institutions are deterred from lending by:

- lack of information about the borrower;
- the borrower having insufficient collateral to secure the loan;
- the high risk of default due to shocks; and,
- the unacceptable social and political implications of foreclosing on a loan.

It has been suggested that one way to overcome these market failures could be for poor people to form Rotating Credit and Savings Associations (ROSCAS) or Accumulating Savings and Credit Associations (ASCAS) to mobilise community savings. However, these associations are best suited to provide relatively small loans to meet low cost immediate consumption needs, and would be unlikely to provide sufficient working capital for beneficiaries to develop their farms (Matin *et al.*, 2002).

The research findings from the #Khomani San and the Warrenton groups confirmed this general finding. A consultant advising how to develop the irrigable land of the Warrenton group

estimated that it would need approximately Rand 120,000 (GBP10,000) per annum to finance its crop production activities, a sum too large to be raised through a community-based savings scheme. In addition, the transaction costs of co-ordinating a savings scheme of this kind would be huge, considering that members of the #Khomani San group live up to 300 kilometres apart. Furthermore when most of the members in many restitution and land redistribution groups have not received any benefits from their farms, they may see no benefit at all in contributing to such a loan scheme.

Considering these credit market failures, FARM-Africa made a grant of between Rand 100,000 to 200,000 to each group. FARM-Africa's grant was made on the basis that the monies were to be used as a revolving credit fund, whereby the Management Committee or group members could borrow money from the fund at market rates, to be repaid with interest within a fixed period of time. On receipt of these monies, all of the groups converted some or all of their credit into livestock, thereby creating 'livestock banks'. Once groups had received training in animal husbandry, animals were distributed to them on loan. The two groups that had access to irrigation made some loans from their revolving fund monies to finance crop production, to be repaid following the harvest.

Step 8: Participatory monitoring and evaluation

The group will need support in designing and implementing a system to monitor and evaluate their activities as well as developing indicators that demonstrate when objectives have been met.

This process will involve the development of a baseline data set soon after the group takes possession of its farm. The sequencing of this activity will depend upon the group and might take place as an element of the research process or after the management plan has been agreed. In deciding what to measure, the principle of "optimal ignorance" (that is, not trying to find out more than is needed) advocated by Robert Chambers (1997), should help to minimise costs. Some indicators developed by land reform groups included:

- how many members are using the land and for what purposes;
- changes in the asset status of members following their involvement in the farm's activities;
- the condition of the grazing land;
- the condition of the machinery;
- a list of debtors and creditors;
- money held in the bank; and,
- the amount of money borrowed from formal lenders.

One way of attempting to ensure the continuity of the provision of good quality technical and managerial support is to convene an annual meeting where all stakeholders reflect on the successes and failures of the previous 12 months. This can also be used to plan a programme of support for the forthcoming period.

4

Conclusion

A significant shortcoming of the government's land reform programme in the past has been its failure to support land reform beneficiaries in the development of a plan to guide the numerous inputs that they need to develop their farms.

The government's Comprehensive Agricultural Support Programme (CASP) launched in 2004 does address this issue, and many of its proposed inputs will help beneficiaries to develop their land. But there is not enough emphasis on the importance of consulting with groups. If the CASP fails to incorporate a participatory element in its programme, there is a very real danger that many crucial issues will be missed, so land reform beneficiaries will continue to receive poorly targeted support. In that case, the resources devoted to the programme would not bring about substantive improvements to the livelihoods of land reform beneficiaries, and would constrain the land reform programme from realising its objectives.

Any agency aiming to provide effective support to land reform groups needs to understand, amongst other things, the composition of the group, its objectives, the extent of its resources, especially the size and potential of its land, and the range of problems that are currently hindering development. This understanding can only be gained by working jointly with the beneficiaries.

FARM-Africa's practical experience not only in South Africa but also in Eastern Africa has led to the development of a participatory planning method which has been piloted with land reform groups since 2002. It has been designed to identify the crucial issues and to find solutions.

The crucial advantage of this participatory planning method is that it involves land reform beneficiaries in preparing a development plan which helps them both in implementing their farming activities and in attracting additional resources such as agricultural advice and finance from both the private and public sectors. For the first time, land reform groups in the Northern Cape are producing plans that really help them in the development and management of their farms.

However the participatory planning method has an obvious disadvantage: the time and resources which it requires. Because the method is still in its early stages and is being refined, it is difficult to be precise about its cost effectiveness. Each land reform group is unique. How quickly any group can progress will be determined by the experience of its members and how well they work together; FARM-Africa's work shows that usually the larger the group, the longer it takes to complete the process. Cost savings may be achieved where it is possible to ignore certain steps in the process (for example, the group may already have some socio-

economic data, but this was not the case for any of the projects supported by FARM-Africa). While the socio-economic data comprise a key component of the research, it is also essential to produce a study that outlines the productive potential of the farm.

At present, there are very few people with the facilitation skills needed to help land reform groups implement the participatory planning method. The second phase of FARM-Africa's project seeks to address this limitation by helping government officials (especially those from the Department of Agriculture and the Department of Local Government and Housing) to develop these skills. This should mean that the method can be applied more widely in future.

Annex I

Typical FARM-Africa activities in support of participatory planning

1. Conduct research and commission studies to gain a better understanding of group's livelihoods and their resources, especially their farms.
2. Build the management and administrative capacity of Management and Sub-committee members. Specifically train them in the following areas.
 - How to run a meeting
 - How to build a better team
 - How to understand, resolve and address conflict
 - How to write a business plan
 - How to keep accurate financial records
 - How to write up a set of basic accounts
 - How to plan projects
 - How to monitor and evaluate projects
 - How to interpret and understand the committee's constitution and what procedures need to be followed to change the constitution
 - How to communicate effectively with group members
3. Revolving Funds – provide seed funds to help finance group projects and use the fund to pay for the training of members in research & studies, business plan writing, project implementation, monitoring and evaluation, and the management and administration of their funds.
4. Management Plans
 - Help the group to develop their own management plan which articulates their long-term development objectives
 - Help the group to understand its resources (Natural, Physical, Financial, Human & Social capital)
 - Help the group to set development goals and objectives
 - Help the group to develop plans that will achieve their development goals and objectives
 - Help the group to implement their plans
5. Training in Natural Resource Management techniques and marketing
 - Help to improve on-going agricultural practices of the group by running, for example, farmer days, demonstrations, study visits/tours
6. General
 - Act as advisor on all farming matters
 - Help build the social capital within the group
 - Help establish better links and networks with external role-players such as neighbouring farmers, co-operatives and agricultural-focused commercial companies
 - Help build better links with government staff such as extension workers and animal health workers
 - Advocate on their behalf
 - Raise their awareness of potential funding opportunities and assist them with funding applications from sources such as Land Bank, Land Care, CASP and other government grants

Annex 2

Wealth ranking

With assistance from the Management Committee, a “ranking group” was formed, consisting of three to four individuals (men and women) who know the members of the land reform group well. The quality of the outcome of this exercise is likely to fall when group membership exceeds 100.

Before the actual wealth ranking starts, the aims and objectives of the research process must be explained to the ranking group, and they must be told how the process will work. The ranking group needs to discuss the definition of wealth in order to reach a shared understanding of the concept and to define the different categories for the wealth ranking exercise.

The Department of Land Affairs is responsible for preparing membership lists for groups during the land purchase negotiations, but are rarely updated following the transfer. So the first task of the ranking group is to check the accuracy of their group’s list, which may require support from the Management Committee. The ranking group is then asked to rank the member households together. When this has been done, the list of households in each category is read out, and the ranking group is asked to confirm its choices.

Finally, the ranking group explores and defines the most common factors that cause households not only to fall into poverty but also to escape from it.

Annex 3

New South African socio-economic data sets

The apartheid regime failed to collect socio-economic information about its citizens: in particular between 1976 and 1994, official statistics were not collected in the four homelands of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei on the grounds that they were independent states. This effectively excluded the majority of the poor from the official statistics (May *et al.*, 2000).

Since the early 1990s, a number of data sets have been produced including October Household Survey, 1993; Participatory Poverty Assessment, 1995; Income and Expenditure Survey, 1995; and Census '96, 1996. In 1993, the World Bank supported a national study of poverty undertaken by the University of Cape Town’s South African Labour and Development Research Unit (SALDRU). The initiative was called the Project for Statistics on Living Standards and Development and is known as either the PSLSD or the SALDRU survey.

Annex 4

Code of Conduct for the Management Committee and the users of the grazing land at Vaalboschhoek Farm

Management Committee

DOs	DON'Ts
Ensures that a grazing management plan has been prepared and is implemented	Not to overreach its powers
Monitors the payment of fees by users	Not to interfere with the managers day-to-day work unnecessarily
Calls meetings and reports to users about developments on the grazing land	
Always informs private users about changes and developments on the farm	
Acts in an equitable way to all users	
Ensures that the grazing fee is fair and financially sustainable	
Is guided by contracts, code of conduct and the CPA constitution	
Promotes the interest of the CPA	

Users

DOs	DON'Ts
Cooperate with each other and the Management Committee	Must not come to the farm after hours
Help to repair broken / damaged infrastructure (fences, troughs, leaking dams etc)	Must not bring animals onto the farm without reporting it to the farm manager
Maintain lines of communication between other users as well as the Management Committee	Must have proof of ownership for all animals
Pay grazing fees on a monthly basis and on time	No animal must be brought onto the farm without a health certificate
Buy medicine for their animals and ensure that they have sufficient shepherds to manage their animals	Should not remove their animals from the farm without telling the managers
Ensure that their animals do not exceed the permitted number	Animals can only be removed from the farm by the owner or by someone with written authorisation from the owner

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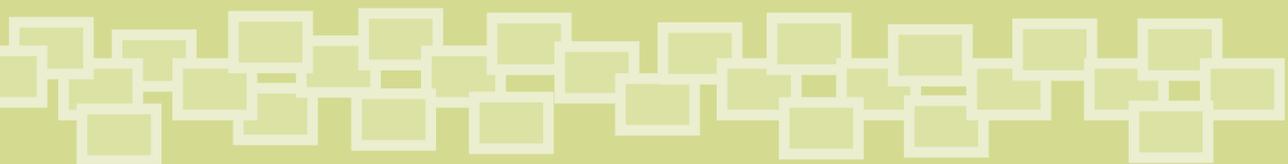
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