

Comparative analysis of the land redistribution policies of Zimbabwe (1980) and South Africa (1994)

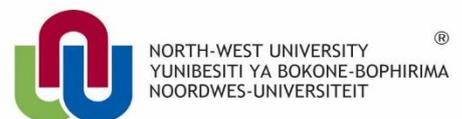
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Mini-dissertation submitted in *partial* fulfilment of the requirements for the degree *Master of Development and Management* at the Potchefstroom Campus of the North-West University

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February 2017

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

- I wish to thank God the Almighty first and foremost for giving me the strength and courage to complete this study.
- I thank my family for all their support from the bottom of my heart: my mother for making it possible for me to be where I am today; my wife, Kgomotso, and our son, Koketso, from whom valuable time was taken to devote sufficient time to my studies.
- My sincere gratitude goes to my supervisor, Professor Barry Hanyane, for his professional guidance to ensure that my study achieves the required standard and purpose.
- The financial assistance I have received from my department towards my studies is greatly acknowledged.
- I dedicate this work to the ancestors and fathers of the struggle for land in South Africa: Ashby Peter Solomzi “A.P.” Mda, Anton Muziwakhe Lembede, Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, and their fellow countrymen. This is in memory of their selfless service to the people; their clarity of thought and expression on the importance of land to a people; and the philosophical, ideological and intellectual foundation they have bequeathed to us so that we may understand the politics of the land better and care about what may possibly go wrong if the politics of the land are not better understood.

DECLARATION

I, Harris Itumeleng Matlawe Rabotapi, hereby declare that the research study was carried out and completed by myself. I also declare that all the ethical considerations with regard to research were observed throughout the research study. I understand the implications of the process and the declaration.

Signed:

ABSTRACT

The dawn of post-independence Zimbabwe and post-apartheid South Africa inspired high expectations of all sorts of public services and goods among the black populations in these countries. These included a fundamental transformation of property rights to redress the history of land dispossession and oppression. This issue was among the top priorities of the new governments in these countries. Land redistribution, as part of land reform, became one of the interventions through which transformation of property rights could be undertaken. The fundamental question that faced these countries post-independence and post-apartheid was that of justice and fairness. This question is essentially about how best to broaden the patterns of land ownership and land use to include the black majorities that were marginalised during the colonial period and apartheid, without undermining investor confidence or negating the rule of law. This question has always been viewed through the lens of historic injustice, and has always included racial elements. Both these countries were confronted by pressures to implement land redistribution. However, they reacted differently and have pursued different approaches to land redistribution, with Zimbabwe taking the radical path while South Africa opted to remain gradual in terms of its approach. The outcomes that have become characteristic of Zimbabwe's approach, such as land invasion and land occupation, have made that country an important framing device for reflecting on South Africa's land redistribution process.

This mini-dissertation is a comparative analysis of the implementation of land redistribution as a public policy issue in Zimbabwe since independence in 1980 and in South Africa since democracy in 1994 up to the present. The main objective of the study is to examine how post-independence Zimbabwe's approach to land redistribution policy implementation and the ramifications thereof limit the scope for policy choices in post-apartheid South Africa with regard to land redistribution. To validate this, information was extracted from multiple targeted sources of secondary information in the main (textbooks, published articles, newspapers, etc.) and from a few primary sources such as written speeches. The specific research design and approach followed was the *collection and qualitative analysis of texts and documents*, a method which involves *content analysis*. The findings presented are divided into 12 variables. These cover all categories developed and associated with land

redistribution implementation in these countries, and include the type of land reform programme; nature of land reform; historic negotiations, etc. One of the key finding is that the resolution of land redistribution in South Africa, in light of the Zimbabwe experience and lessons, will either result from a fundamental restructuring of the government's land redistribution programme, or a fundamental "restructuring of property relations by the people" themselves.

Key words: agrarian reform, land redistribution, land question, public sector, service delivery, native reserves, apartheid, colonialism.

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CHAPTER 1

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1. GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Land redistribution is a political policy issue that involves and relies on public administration for its implementation. The fact that it is a political issue means that the role of public administration is central to its management, since public officials have to plan, organise and budget for its implementation. This study reflects on the question of land redistribution policy formulation, its implementation and the outcomes thereof in Zimbabwe since 1980 and South Africa since 1994 until the present day. The study considers this issue from the perspective of public service delivery, which also concerns public administration. It departs from an understanding of land redistribution as a public policy and service delivery issue.

Chapter 1 provided serves as the study's frame of reference. It discusses the background and rationale that supports the effort to address the problem. The outline of the study is provided and it clearly indicates the structure of the research, the problem statement, the aims as well as the study's research objectives. The research design and methodology and the theory for analysis are also discussed. The contents of further chapters are briefly summarised.

1.2 Background to the Study

Land ownership has for many decades featured prominently in the relations between the blacks and whites in Zimbabwe and South Africa, making it a racial matter. Many sources have commented on the accepted general distribution and ownership of land on the basis of race, something that results from the colonial and apartheid periods of "race-based minority rule" that "drove the indigenous black majority into unfertile reserves" (Mofune, 2010:1-2; Moyo, 2007:66-68; ICG, 2004: ix-xx1; Irin, 2012;

Sachikonye, 2004:65; Breytenbach, 2004:51-54; De Villiers, 2003:5-6, 45-46). Black people in these countries have maintained that the land rightfully belongs to them and that it was taken away by whites during the colonial and apartheid periods. In order to claim it back, they considered revolution against the white regimes as a viable option.

It has been pointed out in numerous sources that reclaiming the dispossessed land became an important rallying cry for the liberation movements in Zimbabwe and South Africa (Atuahene, 2011a:121; 2011b:955-6; Moyo, 2007: 71-72; Duncan & Rockliffe-King, 2000). The struggle for liberation from white minority rule was fought in Zimbabwe and South Africa by different organisations, including the political parties that currently govern these countries, namely the Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) in Zimbabwe and the African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa. These liberation struggles resulted in Zimbabwe first attaining independence in 18 April 1980 and South Africa becoming a democratic country in April 1994 (De Villiers, 2003:8, 33, 45).

The post-independence period in Zimbabwe and the post-apartheid period in South Africa brought about high expectations about public services and goods among their black populations. Among the expectations was that “a fundamental transformation of property rights” to redress the historical dispossession of land and oppression would be one of the priorities of the new governments of Zimbabwe (International Crisis Group, 2004:3) and South Africa (Lahiff, 2001:1; Ntsebeza, 2007:109). This highlighted the critical and central role of government service delivery through public policies.

According to Schurink and Schurink (2010:31), governments (Zimbabwe and South Africa included) are “expected to render services and to be accountable to their citizens”. This is because it is the people that elect governments to act on their behalf and in their best interest, especially if such governments are considered democratic. The principal cornerstones of a democratic government are public accountability, an obligation to act responsibly, responsiveness and transparency (Gildenhuys & Knipe, 2000:129; Mfene, 2013:6, 8; Govender, Reddy & Pillay, 2011:189-191).

The government functions of rendering services and accountability is fulfilled by means of various instruments, which include public administration, the public sector and its officials. According to Cloete (1995:62), the public sector refers to the “legislative, governmental and administrative institutions” at all government levels. It includes all the functionaries employed at these institutions. It exists to render public service, which Cloete (1995:62) describes as the delivery of services to all citizens by officials who hold positions in the fixed establishment of state institutions. In the process of delivering public services, any government “requires a system of accountability; so that it acts in ways that are broadly approved by the community” (Hughes, 2003:240).

In terms of Schurink and Schurink’s remark (2010:31) about what governments are expected to do (i.e. render services and be accountable), the new governments in post-independent Zimbabwe and post-apartheid South Africa were no exception. They too were expected to be accountable to all citizens and to deliver a wide variety of public services and goods to honour the expectations created. Amongst the services or goods expected were some kind of repossession or compensation for land dispossessed from black people during the colonial and apartheid periods.

Mc Lennan (2009:21) argues that service delivery is usually understood to refer to the provision of goods or services by the government or any other organisation to the people who demand or need them. Fox and Meyer (1995:118) share the same view that service delivery is about the “provision of public activities, benefits or satisfaction to citizens”. From these descriptions of what service delivery is about, one may deduce that this characterisation of service delivery highlights the issue of the relationship between the citizens and their government concerning goods and services. It is a kind of relationship that is about the needs and aspirations of the people and how the government is then structured or configured to meet these needs. One may further maintain that in the post-liberation context of both Zimbabwe and South Africa, this kind of relationship has created, firstly, a sense of entitlement among those who need and demand public services because that is what they voted for, and secondly, a sense of obligation on the part of those who should provide services because that is what is expected of them.

Botes, Brynard and Fourie (1996: 23) argue that in a democratic context, the people's voice is critical and, therefore, the public administrative actions should be undertaken to implement the will and wishes of the public. One may interpret the argument offered by Botes *et al.* (1996) about the importance of the people's voice in a democracy as suggesting that, ideally, the relationship between the government and the people, especially in a democracy, should be strictly about provision of services and goods. However, in reality this is not the case, as the relationship tends to be a far more complex matter due to the environment within which service provision takes place. This environment is political, which makes delivery on the people's expectations a matter of politics. What makes the environment political is the fact that public administrative actions should be undertaken to support the ruling political party, and thus the government of the day. Lynch (2012:669) claims that "public sector organisations face a difficulty that does not apply to business organisations. They are directed, at least in part, by politicians who need to be re-elected – unlike business leaders. This means that the purpose of a public sector body may change significantly after an election."

In an effort to illustrate how service delivery could easily be made a matter of politics with reference to South Africa as an example, McLennan (2009:21) argues that in South Africa, an understanding of the provision of public services extends beyond the country's ability to provide these services to the users or people who need or demand them. Public service provision in South Africa, is associated with some sense of socio-economic redress to address the history of apartheid; a sense which includes issues such as redistribution (of wealth and property), economic growth, poverty alleviation and social justice. Service delivery in South Africa is about "state-driven delivery processes" which, "while apparently technical or managerial, are also political because they define the power relationship between the state, its citizens and the economy". An example of state-driven delivery processes may be the inter-governmental and inter-departmental relations arrangement for the delivery of specific services or goods in line with the manifesto of the ruling party. These processes are essentially about who gets what and when, in what ways and for what reasons. According to McLennan (2009:19-22), the climate within which these processes are undertaken "is highly politicised" because "it represents some of the contradictions of the transition from apartheid to democracy".

The contradictions referred to above can be located, as pointed out by Everatt (2008:298), within former President Mbeki's 1998 "two-nations-in-one" thesis in which he proposes: "One of these nations is white, relatively prosperous, regardless of gender or geographic dispersal. It has ready access to a developed economic, physical, educational, communication and other infrastructure . . . The second and larger nation of South Africa is black and poor, with the worst affected being women in the rural areas, the black rural population in general and the disabled. This nation lives under conditions of a grossly underdeveloped economic, physical, educational, communication and other infrastructure."

The fact that service delivery is linked with development makes the political stakes for non-delivery high in that non-delivery would compromise the government's legitimacy (McLennan, 2009:19-22).

Service delivery processes and its politics (i.e. who gets what, when and how) in post-liberation Zimbabwe and post-apartheid South Africa in respect of land redistribution policies have implications for the expected outcomes, the government structures and processes created to effectively and efficiently implement land redistribution policies. Bayat and Meyer (1994:4) refer to these structures and processes as public administration because they function within a particular society to facilitate the formulation of appropriate government policies and to effectively and efficiently execute those policies. The politics of land redistribution, therefore, would necessarily have implications for public administration, which is duty-bound to formulate and implement policies that will support the political promises made by the ruling party on land redistribution. This also affects the administrative actions that should be undertaken to implement land redistribution policies.

The effectiveness of public administration therefore depends on the extent to which citizens and rulers expect party-political commitments for land redistribution to reflect on government policy formulation and implementation. There is therefore a solid relationship between the government of the day and public sector management. Public sector management has to translate the ruling party's election commitments on land redistribution into reality. Public administration therefore plays a critical role to ensure successful implementation of the government's policy on land redistribution in terms

of conceptualising political policies and converting these into service delivery outcomes to support the ruling party to fulfil its commitments.

Public sector management, according to Fox and Meyer (1995:106), refers “to the macro-management of delivery of national goods and services” and “it also involves concrete policies and programmes by which the state provides public goods and services, and promotes and regulates certain forms of economic and social behaviour, while maintaining the institutions and instrumentalities of government”. Denhardt and Denhardt (2008:4) consider public sector management to be concerned with doctrinal issues such as what should be done by public managers. It also concerns how the government operations should be undertaken and what public management policies (e.g. financial models) should be chosen (Fox, Schwella & Wissink, 1991:3; Fox & Meyer 1995:106).

The structures and processes of service delivery (public administration or public sector management) are located in a particular milieu within which government and its departments function. In this regard, Nealer (2008:17) argues, service delivery within the confines of government structures and the complexities within which government has to function, have a significant impact on the manner in which services are delivered. These complexities include aspects such as internal and external political dynamics, conflict, ethical considerations, foreign policy and the impact of information technology.

Delivery on land redistribution commitments therefore have to be managed in a political environment, which by its very nature impacts on the institutions and instruments of the government charged with the delivery. This political environment brings about many challenges for these institutions and instruments, including administrative, financial, managerial challenges, etc. These challenges and more have made it difficult to successfully honour delivery commitments on land distribution made by new regimes in Zimbabwe and South Africa.

The challenges emanating from the political service delivery environment indicated above has led to a situation in which both these countries began to experience

difficulties with regard to meeting the expectations created, i.e. fair and efficient redistribution of land (Atuahene, 2011a:121). In the light of the historical dispossession of land in these countries, the key challenge is to ensure justice and fairness by expanding the patterns of land ownership and use to accommodate the majority of black people who suffered land dispossession during the colonial period “without undermining investor confidence or negating the rule of law” (ICG, 2004:3). Broadening the patterns of land ownership and use to address the challenge of land dispossession is, according to ICG (2004:4), a complex and intractable matter. This is due to the fact that the land ownership issues often bring competing interests in the form of main commercial interests, the law, politics, public expectations and international concerns into direct and open conflict (ICG, 2004:4).

Post-independence Zimbabwe and post-apartheid South Africa have both been confronted by the pressures to effect land redistribution since their respective political changes in 1980 and 1994. However, they have reacted differently and have pursued different approaches to land redistribution (Mofune, 2010:1). Preston (2008) contends that Zimbabwe has followed a radical approach, while South Africa has opted for a gradual approach. The distinction in the approach followed in these countries is critically emphasised by Sachikonye (2004:81), who is of the opinion that the approach followed by the Zimbabwean government in respect of land reform was “a combination of nationalist xenophobia and vindictiveness towards white commercial farmers and towards the political opposition, together with a calculated use of coercion and violence”. This was expressed in the form of invasions and occupation of white-owned farms led by Zimbabwean Liberation War Veterans. These events, as Mamdani (2009:6) observed, were often accompanied by violence, some of which “was government-sponsored”, while most was “state-sanctioned”; “the judiciary was reshaped” and laws passed to grant “local agencies” the power “to crush opponents of land reform”; the government “authorised the militias and state security agencies to hound down opposition” by trade unions and NGOs.

Goebel (2005:362) offers a somewhat less critical view of the approach followed by the South African government. He says that South Africa remained “firmly committed” towards “protection of private property law, foreign investment, and protecting its

international reputation regarding good governance”, so that “there will be no such radical land reform”.

Zimbabwe’s radical approach involved land invasion and occupation, the events of which, according to Goebel (2005:346-8), have elevated the issue of land reform to centre stage in southern Africa, especially in South Africa. As a result, declares Goebel (2005:346-8), Zimbabwe has now become “an important framing device” for reflecting on South Africa’s land redistribution process, for some reflecting “a haunting spectre of potential disaster”, while “for others a hopeful sign of the possibility of radical change”. De Villiers (2003:149) intimates that the outcomes of this radical approach are resonating with and influencing the voices which also “call for a radical, non-market-driven land reform process in South Africa”.

1.3 Theory for Analysis - Continuities and Discontinuities Thesis

Land redistribution programmes and policies in Zimbabwe since 1980 and in South Africa since 1994 can be analysed in terms of the continuities (and discontinuities) theory advanced by agrarian reform scholars Paul Hebinck, Derick Fay and Kwandiwe Kondlo (2011). Their theory is well developed in a journal article titled “*Land and Agrarian Reform in South Africa’s Eastern Cape Province: Caught by Continuities*”.

Hebinck *et al.* (2011) have crafted the notion of continuities and discontinuities to present the argument that the trajectory of land and agrarian reform in South Africa post-apartheid, as a transformation issue, resembles many commonalities with the manner in which land and agrarian reforms were managed before the dawn of democracy. Land and agrarian issues, in the context of their research, are about the “relations between government bureaucrats, the experts they hire and local people, the practices of state institutions with regard to planning, personnel, relationships and policy languages” (Hebinck *et al.*, 2011:220). Continuities therefore, in their terms, refer to a state of uninterrupted flow or coherence. This means that in relation to land and agrarian reforms, the post-apartheid era does not reflect much change (i.e. interruptions) in the manner in which these reforms are addressed. In fact, the post-apartheid era reflects continuity with the past. These authors argue that: “The

persistence of continuities indicates the extent to which the transformation of institutional infrastructure in agriculture has proceeded hardly unchanged in its content.”

In terms of their theory, Hebinck *et al.* (2011) draw from Walker (2004; 2005) and insist that in South Africa, the strengths and weaknesses of land reform pre-1994 were replicated post-1994 in the form of, for example, a lack of “coherent state procedures and institutional inadequacies” to manage the land reform process. It is for this reason that these authors point out that contemporary land reform policies and practices are characterised by continuities, rather than by discontinuities (Hebinck, *et al.* 2015).

Hebinck *et al.* (2015) use the cases of the communal areas of Dwesa-Cwebe, the Nguni project and Chatha in the Eastern Cape to illustrate how continuities in land and agrarian issues and the “social and power relationships behind them appear to have shaped current land and agrarian reform projects” in these communal areas. They argue that: “The policy and expert language categorizing farms, land use, people and assets has hardly changed” (Hebinck *et al.*, 2011:235).

This study adopts the principle of continuities (i.e. uninterrupted flow or cohesion) and discontinuities (interruptions in flow or coherence), and relates it to the dualistic nature and structure of land redistribution in South Africa and Zimbabwe to explain the challenge of land redistribution. Based on the principle of continuities and discontinuities, the central thread that runs through this research study is that, primarily, land reform should be implemented to break away from the past history of land dispossession that led to, amongst others, a dualist agrarian structure.

Using the thesis proposed by Hebinck *et al.* (2011), the study locates the notion of continuity in the South African case and associates discontinuity with the case of Zimbabwe. It subsequently seeks to probe the factors that account for these occurrences in land redistribution policy implementation. This is in view of the idea that land reform is a transformation issue, implemented to break away from the past and transform the agrarian structure. In terms of the principle of continuities theory, the study seeks to reflect on the idea that the South African government did not have radical land redistribution policy positions that suggested a clear intention to

“discontinue” the *status quo*. The policy positions of the government were not substantially different and far removed from those of the previous regime. In fact, these policy positions represented continuity with the past, amidst the fact that “expectations were naturally high that a fundamental transformation of property rights to redress the history of centuries of land dispossession and oppression would be amongst the priorities of new regimes in South Africa” (Lahiff, 2001:1; Ntsebeza, 2007:109). Zimbabwean case is different due to the radical approach followed by the government on land redistribution to “discontinue” the *status quo*.

This study problematises the notion that land redistribution should create discontinuities. The logic of discontinuities, in other words interruptions in flow or coherence, is more suitable for an analysis of the case of Zimbabwe. The case of South Africa’s land redistribution policies and management, which reflects less commitment to discontinuities, could better be analysed by means of the logic of continuities. This approach is informed by Aliber and Cousins’ argument (2013:164) that it is “only in Zimbabwe, where the scale of land redistribution has been much larger than in South Africa ... has the ‘dualistic’ structure inherited from the past had been radically transformed, at least at Masvingo”. Cousins and Scoones (2010:32) describe a dualist agrarian structure as one marked by racial division, and is made up of, on the one hand, a large-scale, mainly white capitalist commercial farming sector which dominates production for markets (domestic and international), and a struggling peasant sector on the other hand.

The case of South Africa also indicates the existence of an agrarian structure characterised by the same duality as that of Zimbabwe. The South African dualistic agrarian structure comprised of, on the one hand, around “35 000 large-scale, mostly white-owned” and “capital-intensive commercial farming sector”, which occupied “the majority of the country’s agricultural land and producing almost all marketed output”, and on the other hand, “a much larger number of small-scale, black farmers”, with “low-input, labour intensive forms of subsistence production a key source of livelihood along with migrant remittances and state pensions” (Aliber & Cousins, 2013:141-142; Hall, 2004:213). This impoverished sector is mostly confined to the former Bantustans or former black homelands, “approximately 4 million” of these small-scale, black farmers, “located in around 2 million households” (Aliber & Cousins, 2013:141-142).

This dualism in South Africa, unlike in Zimbabwe, has not been reduced much by post-apartheid land redistribution. For example, “the main thrust of agricultural policy after 1994” has been “deregulation and liberalisation”, which appeared “to have facilitated higher levels of concentration of land ownership rather than opening up space for smallholders” (Aliber & Cousins, 2013:142).

1.4 Problem Statement

The approach followed in Zimbabwe to implement land redistribution policies and its ramifications limits the scope for policy choices in South Africa with regard to land redistribution. Despite South Africa’s commitment to the rule of law and commitment to implementing land redistribution policies in a manner that seeks to discourage outcomes similar to those experienced in Zimbabwe, it cannot be stated with certainty that the South African government would have all the time it needs to implement land redistribution as it would deem fit without having to succumb to pressures for policy changes and calls for speedy implementation from different stakeholders. This seems to be the government’s dilemma.

The South African government’s own admission of failure to meet its own land redistribution targets within its own set time frames does not bode well for socio-economic and political stability. The time frame, initially extended in 1999 to 2015, has now been extended for the third time to 2025. The tendency by the government to extend the land redistribution time frames has the potential to encourage land hungry citizens to take matters into their own hands, which may possibly result in land invasion and occupation and thereby undermine the rule of law.

The government’s own admission in the State of the Nation address in 9 February 2012 that only 8% against the target of 30% of land redistribution for 2014 had been distributed, attests to the slow process since inception of policy in 1994. The government’s message of admission of slow progress made in land redistribution hitherto and the outcomes emanating from implementation of land redistribution in Zimbabwe, conveys a sense that South Africa is oscillating between two main options. The first option is that the resolution of land redistribution problems will result from some kind of restructuring of the government’s approach to land redistribution. The

second option is that land redistribution challenges could result from a fundamental restructuring of property relations by the citizens themselves. During this time of oscillation, the government has to find a viable solution as the time to do just that is not in abundance.

The failure of the government to meet the service delivery expectation of land redistribution and the reasons often provided (e.g. endless red tape, capacity constraints, shortage of experienced and committed officials, etc.) also call into question the role and capacity of the public administration function to convert (land redistribution) political commitments into realistic, practical and attainable delivery outcomes. There are many factors that may be affecting the performance of the role of public administration in assisting the government to ensure successful implementation of land redistribution policies within the time frames. These factors may include the politically charged delivery environment and the influence of politicians in administrative processes. However, this does not entirely absolve public administration of all blame in that the inability and failure of government to meet its targets also reflect the incapacity of public administration to assist the government succeed.

The outcomes of Zimbabwe's approach to land redistribution have implications for South Africa because Zimbabwe addressed the challenge of land redistribution at least ten years before South Africa. This in itself provides South Africa with many lessons and examples of what could possibly happen during the implementation or non-implementation of land redistribution policies.

What is of interest is the argument that South Africa's approach and process of addressing land redistribution (continuities) seem to create more problems for the government on the one hand, while it solves few challenges on the other.

1.5 Research Objectives

The **objectives** of the study are:

- 1.5.1 to analyse and understand the continuities and discontinuities theory of Paul Hebinck, Derick Fay and Kwandiwe Kondlo (2011) that forms the foundation of this study.
- 1.5.2 to investigate the influence of political power in administrative policy making and execution in terms of assisting or retarding the effectiveness and efficiency of public administration to support the implementation of land redistribution in post-independence Zimbabwe and post-apartheid South Africa.
- 1.5.3 to describe the role of senior personnel, e.g. Directors-General in policy formulation and implementation whilst working with political office bearers.
- 1.5.4 to investigate the likelihood of continued sustenance of South Africa's non-radical approach to land redistribution amidst pressing demands for policy change fuelled by the ramifications of the Zimbabwe's approach to land redistribution.

1.6. Research Questions

The above research objectives can be pursued by answering the following research questions:

- 1.6.1 What does the continuities and discontinuities theory of Paul Hebinck, Derick Fay and Kwandiwe Kondlo (2011) entail and how can it form the foundation of this study?
- 1.6.2 What has been the influence of political power in administrative policy making and execution in terms of assisting or retarding the effectiveness and efficiency of public administration to support the implementation of land redistribution in post-independence Zimbabwe and post-apartheid South Africa?

1.6.3 What has been the role of senior personnel, e.g. Directors-General in policy formulation and implementation whilst working with political office bearers?

1.6.4 What is the likelihood of continued sustenance of South Africa's non-radical approach to land redistribution amidst pressing demands for policy change fuelled by the ramifications of the Zimbabwe's approach to land redistribution?

1.7. Central Theoretical Statements

Land redistribution is a pressing issue in the context of the countries in southern African such as Zimbabwe and South Africa for a number of reasons. These reasons include the fact that these countries have had to address the fundamental question of justice and fairness, including the rule of law. Zimbabwe and South Africa have both had to find the best ways to expand the patterns of land ownership and use to accommodate the majority of black people who were disposed of their land during the colonial period without threatening capital investment or undermining the rule of law (ICG, 2004:3).

The land redistribution challenges faced by Zimbabwe and South Africa, while bound by some common threads, are distinct, making a common approach to their resolution an undesirable option (ICG, 2004:4). This means that a specific approach preferred by one country to address its land redistribution challenges has different implications for another country. It may even influence and raise expectations in another country among the landless people seeking redress for historical injustice and benefits from land redistribution. It may also increase uncertainty among white commercial farmers (ICG, 2004:4).

The resolution of problems surrounding redistribution of land in Zimbabwe and South Africa, although complex and difficult to manage, is important for the political, economic and environmental well-being of these countries and the southern region in general (Moyo, 1995:1). This is due to the fact the issues of land ownership often bring a variety of competing interests (such as the public, business, etc.) into direct and open conflict (ICG, 2004:4).

Careful implementation of land redistribution is vital to minimise the potential and likelihood for unintended and undesirable consequences. The challenge, however, according to De Villiers (2003:149), is that the reality of the southern African region, politically and economically, is that “time is not necessarily on the side of those who favour a careful and considered approach” to land redistribution. For example, the situation in South Africa is that the government is committed to a peaceful implementation of land redistribution that discourages violent invasion and occupation of land and which undermines the rule of law. However, this approach does not sit well with the impatience of land-hungry citizens. It runs the risk of possible exploitation by charismatic populist leaders. Such leaders could rally the land-hungry, poor and frustrated black citizens from both rural and urban areas who have waited patiently for the government to redistribute land. They could possibly even encourage them to take matters into their own hands and reclaim massive pieces of land dispossessed under colonial and apartheid periods. The changes that have occurred elsewhere in the region in respect of land redistribution are already influencing the clamour “for a radical, non-market-driven land reform process” (De Villiers, 2003:149).

Compared to Zimbabwe, land redistribution in South Africa has also run into significant problems, and as such “it remains a political tinderbox” that has raised many challenges that threaten “its economic rationales and its implications for justice and equity” (O’Laughlin, Bernstein, Cousins, & Peters, 2013:8). Some of these challenges include red tape, capacity constraints, shortage of experienced and committed officials, all of which prevent the ruling party from converting land redistribution policy into implementable delivery outcomes.

1.8 Research Design

This study is qualitative in nature. A qualitative research strategy, according to Bryman (2012:36), “usually emphasises words rather than quantification in the collection and analysis of data” processes usually found in quantitative research. Theory in this kind of research strategy is “supposed to be an outcome of an investigation rather than something that precedes it” (Bryman, 2012:384).

The study is based on multiple sources of information. These include relevant published textbooks, published articles from scholarly journals, newspapers, accredited internet sources / websites, dissertations and theses, government policy documents, speeches and addresses by government officials. Included also are statements by stakeholders in the land sector (e.g. farmers' and agricultural unions, civil society organisations, political parties, etc.). Bryman's reference to 'grey literature' (2012:103), meaning articles in non-peer-reviewed journals, for example reports by various bodies, are also included. The method that was applied for a comprehensive review of these information sources was *content analysis*.

Thani (2009:9) indicates that content analysis, as described by McLaverty (2007:62), is an "analysis method based" on the "idea of reducing information in a text" into "series of variables" which "can then be examined". For Marshall and Rossman (2006:108), content analysis method often uses documents, and its raw material "may be any form of communication, usually written materials (textbooks, novels, newspapers, email messages) and other forms of communication may be music, pictures and political speeches". The same sentiment is shared by Mouton (2005:165), according to whom content analysis relates to "those studies that analyse the content of texts or documents (such as letters, speeches, and annual reports)", and by content, Mouton refers to "words, meanings, pictures, symbols, themes or any message that can be communicated".

Leedy and Ormrod (2001:155) regard content analysis as "a detailed and systematic examination of the contents of a particular body of material" to identify patterns, themes or biases. Bengtsson (2016:8) states that its purpose is to organise and elicit meaning from the data collected, and to draw realistic conclusions from it. As a technique, it "reduces the volume of text collected, identifies and groups categories together and seeks some understanding of it". For Elo and Kyngäs (2007:107-108), the aim with using "content analysis is to build a model to describe the phenomenon in a conceptual form". As a method, it "may be used with either qualitative or quantitative data and in an inductive or deductive way".

According to Prasad (2008:5) content analysis "has been used broadly to understand a wide range of themes such as social change, cultural symbols, changing trends in

the theoretical content of different disciplines, verification of authorship, changes in the mass media content, nature of news coverage of social issues or social problems such as atrocities against women, dowry harassment, social movements, ascertaining trends in propaganda, election issues as reflected in the mass media content, and so on". One can argue based on Prasad's observations that content analysis can be used to understand the implications of what various authors have written about the policies of land redistribution in Zimbabwe and South Africa for various stakeholders in South Africa's land redistribution policy implementation process. In other words, it can help us understand how content is being used to treat the subject (land redistribution) to mould the opinions of the readers, and what the prominent themes are.

1.9 Research Approach and Methodology

According to Bryman (2012:383), various research methods are associated with qualitative research. These methods include the following:

- Ethnography / participant observation: This method entails that the researcher is engrossed "in a social setting for some time to observe and listen with a view to gaining an appreciation" of the research matter.
- Qualitative interviewing: This method holds that the researcher engages in considerable amount of qualitative interviewing.
- Focus groups: These are usually small groups of six to ten participants.
- Language-based methods for qualitative data collection: This method involves "discourse analysis and conversation analysis".
- Collection and qualitative analysis of texts and documents.

The specific research design and approach chosen for this study is the collection and qualitative analysis of texts and documents. In essence, this comes down to content analysis as discussed in the section on research design.

Marshall and Rossman (2006:108) in Thani (2009:10-11) indicate that the strengths of content analysis include that the researcher can conduct the research "without disturbing the setting in any way"; enabling the inquirer to determine "where the

emphasis lies” after the data has been collected. Furthermore, it involves a reasonably clear procedure so that information can be checked, as can the analysis that has been applied.

Marshall and Rossman (2006:108) in Thani (2009:10-11) refer to the span of inferential reasoning as the main weakness of content analysis. This is in view of the fact that the analysis of the content of written materials involves interpretation of such material by the researcher. For Henning, Van Rensburg and Smit (2004:102) this method “may lead to superficial and “naively realistic findings because it captures what is presumed to be the “real world” (through the eyes of the research participants) in a straight forward, direct and often formulaic way”, and the “data are not interrogated”.

This study involves the use of different documents to compare the identified two cases of post-liberation Zimbabwe and post-apartheid South Africa. According to Leedy and Ormrod (2001:149), the comparative method of analysis not only allows for in-depth study of a phenomenon, but it is also “suitable for learning more about a little known or poorly understood situation”; and is convenient for investigating how a “programme changes over time, perhaps as a result of certain circumstances” or interventions. This choice therefore enables better comprehension of the changes in the land redistribution programmes in post-independence Zimbabwe and post-apartheid South Africa, and the impact of its implementation on a variety of stakeholders.

According to Yin in Webb and Auriacombe (2006:600), case studies are used “when the focus is on contemporary phenomena within some real life context, and especially when the boundaries between phenomena and context are not clearly evident”. In this regard, the study examines the phenomenon of land redistribution in the cases of post-independence Zimbabwe and post-apartheid South Africa in terms of policy choices. It examines the implementation of the policies in the two cases and reflects on the implication of the outcomes of one case for the other.

Webb and Auriacombe (2006:600) point out that “case studies use documents, artefacts, interviews and observation as sources of evidence and seek to present empirical evidence fairly and rigorously”. Furthermore, this “could be done without leaving the library and the telephone, unlike participant observation - which invests a

lot of time in field work – and ethnographic studies – which require a lot of time in the field and emphasise observational evidence” Webb and Auriacombe (2006:600). In this regard, in terms of the research being proposed, documents and the library are all important parts of the research process to be undertaken.

1.10 Databases consulted

The databases consulted include the North-West University Library’s online catalogue, its A-Z List, a host of other public management and development databases (e.g. EbscoHost, JSTOR - also a digital library of academic journals, books and primary sources, etc.), the Internet, newspaper articles and reports. The databases consulted offered substantial amounts of scholarly literature readily available for conducting research on the topic. The selected sources included textbooks, journal articles, newspaper articles, Department of Rural Development and Land Reform policy documents, government documents and reports which contain information relevant to the research topic. Most of the sources are written in English and provide useful insight into all aspects of the research issue, such as the information required to address the research questions and justification of instrumentation.

1.11 Significance of the Study

The research project is important in that it seeks to examine, through the analysis of the trajectory of land redistribution policy development and implementation in post-independence Zimbabwe and post-apartheid South Africa:

- how the trajectory of land redistribution in post-independence Zimbabwe, and post-apartheid South Africa, as a transformation issue (of the agrarian structure) resembles differences and commonalities with pre-independence and post-apartheid era;
- the extent to which the influence of political power in administrative policy making and execution may assist or retard the effectiveness and efficiency of the public administration’s role to support the government to fulfil their service delivery commitments;

- the capacity of public administration to objectively conceptualise and convert political policies and commitments to implementable delivery outcomes; and
- the likelihood of continued sustenance of South Africa's non-radical approach to land redistribution amidst pressing demands for change fuelled by the ramifications of the Zimbabwe's approach to land redistribution.

1.12 Ethical Considerations

According to Welman, Kruger and Mitchell (2005:201), "the researcher should pay attention to four ethical considerations, namely informed consent, right to privacy, protection from harm and involvement of the researcher". These basic ethical considerations, including voluntary participation by selected participants (Trochim, 2012; Watson, 2012) are applicable when data collection takes place through questionnaires. In this study, a questionnaire will not be used. The study is based on examination of multiple information sources, mainly secondary sources.

Writing in a different context, in relation however to data analysis specifically, Wasserman's argument (2013:3) becomes relevant and instructive in relation to ethical considerations in this research project: "Improper data analysis is an ethical issue because it can result in publishing false or misleading conclusions". Furthermore, Wasserman (2013:4) is of the opinion: "It is generally accepted that flagrant scientific misconduct is an ethical issue."

Scientific misconduct, according to Grisso *et al.* (cited in Wasserman, 2013:4) is about "falsification, fabrication, or plagiarism (FFP) in proposing, conducting, or reporting research, or other practices that seriously deviate from those commonly accepted by the scientific community." All care would be taken in this research project to guard against scientific misconduct as it relates especially to data analysis in respect of "falsification, fabrication, or plagiarism". Care will also be taken to guard against the following issues (and guidelines) for ethical conduct in data analysis, as indicated by Keith-Spiegel *et al.* (cited in Wasserman, 2013:6-9): incompetence, carelessness and dishonesty indirectly related to work as a researcher.

1.13 Chapter Layout

In Chapter 1 a general introduction to the study is provided. This includes the background to the research problem, problem statement, research objectives and questions, research design and the methodology, the significance of the study and the theory for analysis. Chapter 2 provides a critical review of relevant literature on land redistribution in post-independence Zimbabwe and post-apartheid South Africa in terms of the three phases of policy formulation and implementation that both countries went through. It also reflects on how the theory of analysis can be used to explain the attitude of the countries regarding land redistribution. Chapter 3 focuses on the research methods (that is, the design and instrumentation) employed in the study to collect data. Chapter 4 discusses the study data, the themes and findings emanating from the data content analysed. Chapter 5 answers the study research questions and presents the research conclusions and some recommendations.

1.14 Conclusion

This chapter aimed at providing the background against which the research was conducted. It outlined the background to the problem and rationale of the study, the problem statement, the research objectives and questions, central theoretical statements and the theory for analysis advanced by agrarian reform scholars Paul Hebinck, Derick Fay and Kwandiwe Kondlo (2011) in their journal article titled "*Land and Agrarian Reform in South Africa's Eastern Cape Province: Caught by Continuities*". The next chapter (Chapter 2) provides a comprehensive review of relevant literature in relation to land redistribution and how it was implemented in post-independence Zimbabwe and post-apartheid South Africa through a process involving three phases of policy formulation and implementation.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW ON LAND REDISTRIBUTION IN POST-INDEPENDENCE ZIMBABWE AND POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

2.1 Introduction

A literature review is described in a variety of ways by different theorists and scholars. For example, Taylor (2001:1) and Bless, Higson-Smith and Kagee (cited in Majam and Theron, 2006:605), consider it to be a “structured evaluation and classification of what reputable scholars have already written on a particular topic; the sources and identification of a particular research problem; the analytical points of departure employed and a guiding *golden thread* hypothesis”. Based on this description, one may deduce that literature review is about the analysis of the content in qualitative research.

Scholars generally concur on several aims that the literature review seeks to reach. According to Majam and Theron, Creswell and Auriacombe, all cited in Tlhoalele, Nethonze and Lutabingwa (2007:561), these purposes include the following:

- It helps the researcher to gain expertise on the selected topic for study.
- It assists with the development of research problems and questions.
- It helps the researcher to relate the study to the greater, continuing debate and discussion in literature about the topic chosen, filling in gaps and “extending prior studies”.
- It provides a framework for the establishment of the significance of the study and “a benchmark for comparing the results” of the study with other research findings.

Schurink (2010:422) argues that: “A good literature review engages one in a dialogue with the scholarly writings and arguments in the particular field and helps to set a pattern for critical thinking and the development of a theoretical framework for the

intended research. It forms an integral part of the thesis and should encourage a reflective approach to the research”. In support of this view, Bryman (2012:8) writes that “a literature review is not a summary of the literature that has been read. The written literature review is expected to be critical”.

To search for relevant literature, the following keywords were used: agrarian reform, land reform, land redistribution, land question, native reserves, apartheid, and colonialism. Search engines used on the internet included Google Scholar, EbscoHost and JSTOR (also a digital library of academic journals and books).

The next section presents an overview of literature that is relevant to land redistribution in Zimbabwe and South Africa. It begins by presenting the context of land redistribution in these countries, with a particular focus on the similarities and differences. It then proceeds to analyse and discuss land redistribution policy formulation, policy shifts and policy implementation in terms of the three phases in these countries. On the basis of the discussion of these tenets related to land redistribution in these countries, three research questions are posed. The chapter also reflects on the notion of continuities and discontinuities in relation to South Africa and Zimbabwe, respectively.

2.2 Context: Some Similarities and Differences

A proper appreciation of the challenge of land redistribution as a public policy issue requires first a sound understanding of the *politics* of the land question. This is because land redistribution itself has been one of the key issues that have been central to the land question for which liberation struggles were fought in both Zimbabwe and South Africa. Thus, post-liberation governments in these countries were expected to implement land redistribution policies to address the land question. However, it seems that addressing the land question has remained a key challenge in these countries, where land reform (including land redistribution) was considered to be important in addressing poverty, especially rural poverty (Sachikonye, cited in Hunter, 2004).

According to the Southern African Development Community’s (SADC) document titled “*Land Policy in Africa: Southern Africa Regional Assessment*” (2010:5) the SADC countries (such as Zimbabwe and South Africa) have experienced different land

questions. This was mainly due to different forms of colonisation they have experienced, especially the extent of land expropriation, and the different contemporary political, economic, social and environmental experiences which confronted the SADC region. This resulted in the development of different national land reform policies in these different contexts, although some similar responses were produced due to some common experiences and challenges.

In the SADC region, addressing the land question has been a key challenge for several reasons. These include, as the ICG (2004:1) reports, the fact that countries in this region have had to wrestle with a key question of justice and fairness (i.e. the need to expand the land ownership and land use patterns to include the black majorities). As a result, this question has always been observed through the lens of historic injustice, and has always included racial elements (ICG, 2004:1-4).

According to Moyo (cited in Mbwadzwo-Siangombe & Uzodike, 2014:92), the colonial governments in many parts of Africa (including Zimbabwe and South Africa) “institutionalised racial inequality with regard to land”. This means that the “best agricultural lands were largely reserved for European commercial farmers and formal private tenure, while dispossessed rural Africans were confined to ecologically marginal, overcrowded lands under communal ownership”. In support of this view, Cousins and Scoones (2010:35) claim that the roots of rural poverty can be traced to (land) dispossessions, which helped create a dual agrarian structure. It was this state of affairs and the land question that fuelled support for the liberation struggle in these countries.

In the SADC region, land reform has taken on a special meaning due to the history of land expropriation and the struggles for liberation (Sachikonye, cited in Hunter, 2004). In this region, intimates Cousins and Scoones (2010:33), the struggles for liberation have “focused on land dispossession as a major grievance”, and as a result, the “key policy focus of post-liberation governments” in the region has been to design land reform programmes that would change the racial distribution of land possession to address the land question, considered to be “deeply rooted in processes of encompassing, violent and racialised dispossession intrinsic to the formation of minority regimes in the region” (Bernstein, 2003:212-3).

Post-colonial governments in Zimbabwe and South Africa were therefore confronted with particular pressures in terms of land redistribution programmes they opted to implement. They have had to “consolidate” their newly acquired political power, take charge of land for development purposes, “respond to the interests of traditional and local elites”, and also “meet the needs of the majority of the rural poor” (Dlamini, 2014:25).

Sachikonye (cited in Hunter, 2004) argues that the liberation struggles resulted firstly, in negotiations, which led to a settlement that paved the way to independence. The main liberation movements in Zimbabwe (ZANU-PF) and (ANC) in South Africa constituted the first post-independence and post-apartheid governments in these countries. The settlement included promises to respect and observe post-independence constitutions, pledges by the new governments to reconciliation and the upholding of the rule of law, and assuring the investors that their interests would not be interfered with. These “two countries’ constitutions themselves contained provisions that protected private property, including the ownership of freehold land, and insisted on fair compensation where government sought to acquire such land” (Sachikonye, cited in Hunter, 2004, 67). In Zimbabwe, for example, there were to be no wholesale changes to the Lancaster House Constitution allowed until ten a period of years had expired (Sachikonye, cited in Hunter, 2004).

The challenge, however, in these countries where post-independence and post-apartheid settlements were negotiated, notes SADC (2010:13), is that “the land questions remained relatively unresolved; particularly the racial dimensions of unequal landholdings and land markets. Racially inequitable structures of wealth and economic participation related to land distribution remained intact under the protection of liberal democratic constitutions and market principles”. In support of this view, Goebel (2005:350) contends that both Zimbabwe and South Africa “experienced independence and liberation processes that were vastly compromised by negotiation – Zimbabwe with the Lancaster House constitutional conference, which was in effect from 1980 to 1990 – and South Africa with the 1990 to 1994 period of ‘historic compromises’ of transition”.

Compromises made during the negotiations for post-independence and post-apartheid settlement in both Zimbabwe and South Africa resulted in “negotiated transitional agreements” within which land reform (including land redistribution) was locked. These negotiations between liberation parties and the out-going white minority governments, according to Goebel (2005) in Preston (2008), “signalled compromised revolutions which limited any hope of initial radicalization in land reform”, of which land redistribution is part.

To underscore the idea of a compromise, in respect of Zimbabwe, De Villiers (2003:9) posits that the British government strongly influenced the Lancaster House negotiations in Zimbabwe, and “although the basic principles of a majority government were accepted, various ‘safeguards’ were built into the constitution to protect the rights of the white minority for a period of 10 years”. Preston (2008) explains that the Lancaster House negotiations and agreement involved the Zimbabwe–Rhodesian government on the one hand, and the Patriotic Front (PF) on the other, the last-mentioned composed of the leaders of the liberation parties, the Zimbabwe African People’s Union (ZAPU) and ZANU. These two parties later merged to form ZANU-PF under ZANU’s leader Robert Mugabe. The Lancaster House agreement was concluded in 1979 and “set out two key terms designed to ease the white minority out of power” (Preston, 2008). The first ten years (from 1980 until 1990) were set to be a “willing buyer–willing seller”, market-based / market-assisted land reform approach with an emphasis on redistribution to the majority of landless black and rural population. During the second term, the white minority (about three per cent of the population) “would retain 20% of the legislature seats until 1987” (Preston, 2008).

According to Preston (2008) South Africa’s negotiations, labelled the “historic compromise”, occurred between 1990 and 1994. These talks also involved mainly the ANC and the outgoing minority rulers, led by the National Party (NP). The outgoing white minority government emphasised the significance of private property and the “willing buyer–willing seller” approach. The authors Beinart, De Wet, and Hall (cited in Preston, 2008) noted that the focus was accordingly “on legal restitution of specific properties appropriated by the white minority since the 1913 Natives Land Act; government appropriation was not initially allowed”, thus sacrificing the “socialist ideals” (contained in the RDP) in favour of the neo-liberal, market-based approach.

Since attaining majority rule, both Zimbabwe and South Africa have embarked on redistributive land reform processes (Moyo, 2013). Redistributive land reform, as Dlamini (2014:25) points out, “has been defined as a public policy that changes the relative shares between groups in society. It is understood that, to be truly redistributive, land reform must effect on a pre-existing agrarian structure a change in ownership of and/or control over land resources and such a change must flow strictly from the landed to the landless and land-poor classes or from rich landlords to poor Peasants”. For Borass (cited in Moyo, 2011:495) land needed for the transfer of “all the landowners’ land to the non-landed poor” so that land reform can be redistributive, is only “substantial enough amount to alter social and agrarian relations”.

Redistributive land reform, according to Dlamini (2014:26), “aims to create purposive change that can result in the improvement of the situation of the landless rural poor”. Such a ‘purposive change’ or ‘reform’ is “inherently relational”, and by this, Dlamini (2014:26) means that “it must result in a net increase in poor peasants’ power to control land resources with a corresponding decrease in the share of power of those who used to have such power over the same land resources and production processes”. Thus he Dlamini concludes that, in fact, “land redistribution is essentially power redistribution” (Dlamini, 2014:26).

The above background to the context of the land question within the SADC region, structures the analysis and discussion of land redistribution policy formulation and implementation and its phases.

2.3 Land Redistribution Policy Formulation, Policy Shifts and Implementation in Post-Independence Zimbabwe

At the time of the Zimbabwean independence in 1980, land ownership remained deeply inequitable. It has been established in many studies that a few white commercial farmers (4 500 – 5 000) had monopolised virtually all of the most fertile land with the most rainfall. They owned 15.5 million hectares (ha) of land, “while the majority of the indigenous population, about 700 000 households, subsisted on 16.4 million ha of land, i.e. less than 50% of the total land” (Sachikonye, cited in Hunter, 2004:9; Moyo *et al.*, cited in SADC, 2010:26; Moyo, 2013; Thomas, cited in Gumede,

2014:54; Kinsey, 2000; Potts & Mutambirwa, cited in Thomas, 2003:694; Mamdani, 2009:3). There was, however, some variation on the total land hectares at independence. Some studies put it at 33 million hectares (Moyo, 2013; Gumede, 2014:54; Thomas, 2003:694), while others put it at 39 million hectares (SADC, 2010:26) or 39-40% of the land in Zimbabwe (SADC, 2010:26, Mamdani, 2009:3). At the end of the colonial rule and the start of independence, most of Zimbabwe was owned by about “6,000 (white) commercial farmers” (De Villiers, 2003:6; Moyo, 2011:497).

After independence, land reform and land redistribution was broadly supported to alter the *status quo*. Palmer, in Cousins and Scoones (2010:51), intimates that land resettlement constituted a key element of Zimbabwe’s post-independence government policy. In the early 1980s the targets set with regard to land redistribution were ambitious, and there was a commitment to offer land to war veterans and the extremely poor.

According to Moyo (2011:495; 2013), the land reform programme of the Zimbabwean post-liberation government was undertaken in three phases: the period 1980 to 1990, during which the Lancaster House Agreement dictated the pace of reform; the period 1990 to 1996, during which numerous laws were enacted after the realisation that the first decade did not achieve much; and the last phase from 1997 and beyond, generally considered to be radical in nature. It commenced with the identification of 1 471 farms for compulsory acquisition by the state in 1997. These phases are discussed in the next section.

2.3.1 Phase 1: 1980 – 1990: Land Reform and Resettlement Programme - The Lancaster House Agreement

Phase one of Zimbabwe’s land redistribution programme began with the implementation of the Lancaster House Agreement reached in 1979, which set the terms and conditions for all land reform policies for the first ten years after independence (Gumede, 2014:54). Parties to the Agreement included the Rhodesian (later to be re-named Zimbabwe) government and the Patriotic Front (PF), composed

of liberation movements ZAPU and ZANU. The main elements of the Agreement, which defined the context, terms for implementation and the approach to be followed, included a “market-driven acquisition; the return of exiles and displaced persons; priority on the accelerated resettlement programme; availability of donor funds to assist with reform; huge increases in small farmer activity; main distribution of marginal and under-used land; 60% of land since independence distributed during the first decade” (De Villiers, 2003:22).

The most significant terms of the Agreement, “was the right of all white farmers to retain their land, at least for ten years; availability of British aid to purchase lands of white farmers through the principle of ‘willing seller–willing buyer’; compulsory purchase of only under-utilised land, at the full market price, of which the owners could convert into foreign currency; and agreement by the United Kingdom to fund half the cost of a resettlement scheme for black farmers in exchange” (Palmer & Birch, cited in Thomas, 2003:697; De Villiers, 2003:7, Sibanda, 2010:26).

Amongst other principles, the Lancaster House Agreement contained constitutional guarantees for ten years. These guarantees, according to De Villiers (2003:9), “could only be changed prior to the expiry of the 10 years with consensus of all members of Parliament”. It is stipulations such as these that, according to Dlamini (2014:33), “effectively blocked any meaningful programme of land reform and resettlement for at least the first ten years of national sovereignty unless land was available on the open market”, because “Section 52 (3) (b) (i), read together with subsection (4) of that Constitution stipulated that provisions concerning fundamental rights (which included the property rights spelled out in Section 16) could not be amended for ten years without an affirmative vote of all the members of the National Assembly – a body that guaranteed 20 seats to Zimbabwe’s white population during these first ten years”.

The first ten years of Zimbabwe’s land redistribution process (Phase 1) was therefore “a period of gradual and orderly reform” through the “willing seller–willing buyer” approach (Sachikonye, cited in Hunter, 2004). Through this process, argues Moyo (2013), the post-independence government sought to redress the past skewed land ownership patterns by fostering “equal access to land for the majority of the population”. This initial programme, of which the centrepiece was the resettlement of

the poor and the landless, was known as the *Land Reform and Resettlement Programme* (LRRP). The goals of this programme included the creation of “political stability and an acceptable property rights regime”; promotion of “economic growth through wider equity and efficiency gains from land redistribution”; and fostering “national food security, self-sufficiency, and agricultural development through labour intensive small farm production, optimal land productivity, and returns to invested capital targeting the landless”, the “war veterans and poor farm workers”. In the words of Cousins and Scoones (2010:52), this programme “set out to ‘ameliorate the plight of people adversely affected by the war and rehabilitate them’, and to ‘provide, at the lower end of the scale, opportunities for people who have no land and who are without employment, and may . . . be classed as destitute’, and to ‘extend and improve the base for productive agriculture in the peasant farming sector”.

The LRRP therefore became the first firm step that the Zimbabwean government took with land reform (Mofune, 2010:4). In this regard, six models of resettlement were set up. These included Model A (which were “individual family farming” or “based on a planned village settlement and land use similar to that promoted in communal areas in earlier decades”); Model B (which were “collective production cooperatives in which land is state-owned and operated, but communally held and managed” or based on a “socialist cooperative model”); and Model C (which were “individual family holdings” linked “to a cooperative or state farm” or out-grower schemes”). There was also Model D (in which “ranches were incorporated as extended grazing areas for communal farms” or based on a “village ranch model”); Model E (which was “additional grazing land for communal farms”) and Model F (where “master or emerging commercial farmers could be resettled”) (Mofune, 2010:4; Cousins & Scoones, 2010:52).

The fact that the centrepiece of the government’s land redistribution programme during phase one was the LRRP, with the overall objective of resettling “162 000 households” on “8.3 million hectares of land” set to be acquired by the government, is well established in many studies (Thomas, 2003:697; Sachikonye, cited in Hunter, 2004; Spierenburg, 2011:1476-7; Moyo, 2013; Gumede, 2014:54; Dlamini, 2014:34, Sibanda, 2010:26). There are some variations in the hectares of land set to be acquired. For example, Sachikonye (in Hunter, 2004) puts these hectares at 9 million. However, the plan with the LRRP did not yield results as expected by the end of period.

Many studies contend that during the period “1980 and 1989, the government managed to acquire only 2.6 million hectares” and had “resettled only 52 000 families, 70% of these families were resettled by 1983, the period by which most of the land was released by the white farmers” (Moyo, 2013; Gumede, 2014:54; Dlamini, 2014:34; Thomas, 2003:697). There are still variations, however, in the precise number of families settled, the percentage and specific periods within which they were resettled. For example, Cloete (cited in Mofune (2010:4) points out that the reports by the beginning of 1990 stated that “51,000 peasant families had been resettled on 2.65 million hectares of land”.

The LRRP was implemented in line with the Lancaster House Agreement in terms of which, amongst others, the British government would contribute and/or assist with financing of the programme with “half of the costs provided the Zimbabwean government could match it pound for pound” (De Villiers, 2003:9). The LRRP was to be rolled out in terms of the “willing seller–willing buyer” basis (Sachikonye, cited in Hunter, 2004; Spierenburg, 2011:1476-7), which is according to Dlamini (2014:35) essentially “a market mechanism of voluntary sales by owners and voluntary purchase by the government and was in keeping with the constitutional provisions which entrenched property rights”.

There were several problems with the Lancaster House Agreement itself, and the “willing seller–willing buyer” principle in particular. For example, De Villiers (2003:9) points out that “unfortunately the Lancaster House Agreement did not contain a detailed and enforceable commitment from any of the foreign donors to actually contribute to land reform. In essence, there were no guarantees of any kind, which in turn left the new government exposed to take political responsibility for the programme without necessarily having the means to abide by the constitutional guarantees. The government of Britain promised £75 million and the US promised US\$500 million, but none was in the form of written guarantees. By the year 2000, Zimbabwe had only received approximately £30 million”. Furthermore, according to Alexander (1994:343-344), Cliffe (2000:37) and Munslow (cited in Thomas, 2003:697) “the ‘willing seller’ principle ensured that whites only sold the land that had been abandoned during the War of Liberation, or else was of poor quality, thereby denying new settlers the opportunity to establish a successful economic sector”.

It is important to note that what distinguished this phase characterised by gradual land redistribution from the later “fast track” phase, was its peaceful and orderly nature. During this first decade, the government managed to reduce “the white commercial farming sector to 11 million hectares, constituting 29 per cent of agricultural land” (Dlamini, 2014:35).

2.3.2 Phase 2: 1990–1996: Constitutional Amendments for Compulsory Land Acquisition – the Land Acquisition Act

Phase two of Zimbabwe’s land resettlement programme was introduced in the 1990s and included the objective of reducing “the extent and intensity of poverty among rural families and farm workers” (Cousins & Scoones, 2010:52). This was borne of a land redistribution programme context within which, as Dlamini (2014:36) intimates, toward the end of the first decade of independence, “there were troubling signs that land distribution and access were being tilted in favour of the new black elite who were connected to the ZANU-PF leadership and who were able to take advantage of the lack of clear guidelines for the land reform programme”.

De Villiers (2003:10) indicates that during this phase, schemes for land distribution were initially envisaged in terms of the National Land Policy. These schemes were “Model A (Normal Intensive Resettlement), whereby individual households would each be given five to six hectare plots, plus a share in a communal grazing area and Model B (Communal Farming), which provided for farming of commercial farms on a cooperative and mechanised basis, and later, “a Model C scheme was added to provide for a core commercial estate with individual small-holdings, as well as a Model D, which provided for pastoral grazing areas”.

According to Cousins and Scoones (2010:53), the early 1990s witnessed “major shifts in economic strategy in Zimbabwe following adoption of the structural adjustment policy (ESAP) from 1991”. This was pushed by the international financial institutions’ ideology of neo-liberalism. In this scheme of things, the government policy was driven by an “export-oriented, free-market agenda”, where redistributive land reform was now considered a peripheral issue, one that “was not going to deliver the economic growth

and foreign exchange earning possibilities” as would “a focus on the commercial agricultural sector”.

According to Palmer and Birch (cited in Thomas, 2003:699-700) the period after the expiry of the Lancaster House Agreement in 1990 led to the government amending its constitution to provide for compulsory acquisition of land by the state “with ‘little compensation and limited rights of appeal to the courts’”. In 1991-1992 a *Land Acquisition Act* followed “to facilitate the purchase of farms” by giving the government the right to forcefully “acquire land with minimal compensation” (Palmer & Birch, cited in Thomas, 2003:699-700; Moyo, 2013; Gumede, 2014: 54-55).

The government indicated that “50% of the remaining commercial farming areas would be purchased for resettlement” (Thomas, 2003:699). However, “donor pressure ensured that the Lancaster House ‘willing seller’ condition persisted and, with escalating land prices, very little land redistribution actually occurred” (Thomas, 2003:699-700; Gumede, 2014: 54-55).

Researchers (Moyo, 2013; Gumede, 2014: 54-55; Thomas, 2003:699-700) point out that it was only in 1997 that the government changed its position and opted to act radically. The year 1997 saw the launch of phase two of the LRRP (LRRP2), which was based on compulsory acquisition, but with compensation. Several farms were identified by the programme for acquisition on the basis of the following criteria spelt out in the 1990 land policy statement: ownership of “more than one farm” by farmers; absent farmer (s); derelict or under-utilised farm; or where the farm bordered a communal area. This increasing radicalism in acquiring land can be understood as a response to farmers who resisted to relinquish their massive productive farms.

2.3.3 Phase 3: 1997 and beyond: Fast Track Land Reform Programme

The early years (2002-2003) of phase 3 of the land redistribution policy option – Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FLRP) – were, according to Sachikonye (cited in Hunter, 2004) “that of chaotic and hurried reform”, characterised “by land occupations, which were accompanied by significant levels of intimidation, violence and

lawlessness". All these defined the context within which phase three FLRP was conceptualised and implemented as a land redistribution policy option.

According to Dlamini (2014:37), the occupation of land by war veterans started on a small scale in 1999, but lessened after the government provided assurances that the resettlement programme would be expedited. However, in February 2000, "a draft constitution, which included a clause to make compulsory acquisition easier, was rejected in a national referendum, and this is said to have further angered the war veterans". It eventually led to land occupation at a larger scale. Hughes (2011:138) claims that the ruling party (ZANU-PF) lost in a referendum in 2000 as a result of stagnating development and the rise of opposition. As a result, the ruling party then used the "race card" and blamed the whites for the poverty in the country (Hughes, 2011:138). Apportioning blame to the whites for the country's challenges at the time, one may argue, may have been one of the factors that contributed to the country's radical approach to land redistribution, which manifested in, amongst others, invasion and occupation of white-owned farms.

Meldrum and MacAskill (2000) and La Guardia (cited in Thomas, 2003:700-701) intimate that despite the defeat in the referendum, the "government still amended its constitution on 6 April 2000, giving it the right to acquire commercial farms. A few weeks later, the government sent three ministers to London to request British funding. They were unsuccessful and in May 2000 a change to the law was announced to allow confiscation of land". This marked the beginning of the government's 'Fast Track Land Resettlement (FLRP) Programme'. Dlamini (2014:37) claims that the stated aim of FRLR was to confiscate land from the rich white commercial farmers for redistribution to the poor and middle-income landless black Zimbabweans. In this regard, the process of allocation of plots to those who wanted land was often discriminatory.

Land occupations commenced early in the year 2000, accompanied "by widespread violence - against white farmers but also against anyone suspected" of opposition. These events then received far too much media attention (Hammar *et al.*, 2003; Hellum & Derman, cited in Spierenburg, 2011:1477). In this regard, Sachikonye, (cited in Hunter, 2004) contends that: "In the first week of March 2000, about 400 farms were seized by way of these occupations, known as *jambanja*. Some of the 'invaders

caused disruption in production operations while others were more aggressive: they threatened to unleash or indeed unleashed violence, slaughtered cattle and broke into farmhouses. A number of farm workers and farm owners were killed and wounded in the course of the land invasions. Nearly 1,500 farms had been invaded in this way by June 2000, with the three Mashonaland provinces witnessing a relatively higher level of coercion and violence.”

Under the FLRP, Mofune (2010:4) maintains, the government both passed legislation for land expropriation and presided over forceful occupation of white-owned farm land. The programme passed through legislative and/or constitutional amendments and it enabled the government to forcefully acquire land in April 2000. These amendments also “allowed the government to acquire by *eminent domain* about 10 per cent of the land owned by white farmers”. The period from February 2000 saw the occupation of white farms by war veterans and their sympathisers. These invasions were as a result of frustrations among war veterans with the slow process of land reform. Furthermore, they were also fuelled by the “fact that of the 1 471 farms listed for compulsory acquisition in November 1997, only 630 were uncontested and still part of the legal process of acquisition”. The defeat of the draft constitution, which “would have made obligatory procurement of land easier for the government”, is also said to have contributed to the anger of the war veterans. In a period of the first two weeks of the resulting actions, “the veterans, who in 1997” had “forced the government to give them war gratuities, occupied more than 400 white farms. By the end of May 2000 these veterans had seized nearly 1 000 white-owned farms” (Mofune, 2010:4).

Land invasions and occupations, according to Bernstein (cited in Hughes, 2011:138), took Zimbabwe back two decades by plunging it into a state-sponsored mass displacement, rape and pogroms, something from which the country had only recently emerged. Mamdani (2009:6) notes that the aftermath of the period leading to the parliamentary elections of 2000 brought about many incidents that compromised the rule of law. These included the government fixing the election outcome in its favour. The country experienced violence that claimed more than a hundred lives, “including six white farmers and 11 black farm labourers”. The judiciary was reshaped, “local institutions in rural areas narrowly politicised” and laws enacted to grant “local agencies the powers necessary to crush” land reform opponents. The government

“authorised the militias and state security agencies to hound down opposition” (i.e. trade unions and NGOs). The “leading independent newspaper, the Daily News, was shut down” in 2003. Repression and reform became two sides of the same coin (Mamdani, 2009:6).

The fact that the "fast track" process of resettlement was being undertaken so hurriedly and was “short-circuiting” legal processes and procedures, even the people who were allocated plots on former commercial farms appeared in many cases to have had “little security of tenure on the land, leaving them vulnerable to future partisan political processes or eviction on political grounds, and further impoverishment” (Dlamini, 2014:38). This also undermined the rule of law.

Since the introduction of the FLRP, however, land redistribution in Zimbabwe had radically changed and reconfigured Zimbabwe’s agrarian structure. Aliber and Cousins (2013:160-161) refer to several studies, for instance by Scoones *et al.* (2010:6) and (Moyo, 2011:942), which point out that “by 2008/9, over 4 500 large-scale commercial farms, comprising 7.6 million hectares in total”, were “redistributed to over 145 000 households in the smallholder-oriented resettlement schemes” known as A1 schemes. Furthermore, there were also around “16 500 beneficiaries” occupying medium-scale, commercial farms known as the A2 model.

Moyo (cited in Aliber & Cousins, 2013:160-161) states that total land allocations under FLRP amounted to “9 million hectares”. In 2011, more or less “3.4 million hectares were still large-scale farms”, not A2 schemes, although “some in very large holdings, with about 200 white farmers occupying 117 000 hectares”, and black Zimbabweans owning “around 950 large farms”. Around “98 per cent of all farms in Zimbabwe, including communal areas and “old” (pre-2000) resettlement schemes”, are now smallholdings. One may argue that the FLRP was a deliberate intervention implemented by the government to ensure bias of land redistribution policy towards black Zimbabweans.

2.4 Land Redistribution Policy Formulation, Policy Shifts and Implementation in Post-apartheid South Africa

South Africa's land redistribution programme was founded on a historical context which Lahiff (2007:1578) describes as follows: "At the end of apartheid roughly 82 million hectares of commercial farmland (86% of total agricultural land, or 68% of the total surface area) were in the hands of white people (10.9% of the population), and concentrated in the hands of some 60 000 owners. Over 13 million black people, the majority of them poverty-stricken, remained crowded into the former homelands, where rights to land were generally unclear or contested and the system of land administration was in disarray. These areas were characterised by extreme poverty and under-development relative to the rest of the country. On privately owned (white) farms millions of workers and their families faced tenure insecurity and lack of basic facilities."

It is in the light of the description provided by Lahiff above, that "one of the most contentious and racially sensitive issues" the new democratic government has had to deal with since 1994 was land redistribution. South Africa is, according to Alden and Anseeuw (2009:75), "arguably the country with the most pressing land question and in many ways the one which is most intractable", and "Of all of the cases of unequal land distribution in the world, ... one of the starkest examples of inequity relative to population" (Moseley & McCusker, 2008:322). This simply means, as Lahiff (2007:1578) argues: "The extent of dispossession of the indigenous population in South Africa, by Dutch and British settlers, was greater than in any other country in Africa, and persisted for an exceptionally long time." This situation is also referred to as the "most extreme case of land alienation" (SADC, 2010: 26) ever. This degree of dispossession, coupled with "the low quality of land available in communal areas, and the violence that accompanied resettlement, overpopulation of such areas impacted more severely on South Africa's black population than was the case in Zimbabwe, Namibia or arguably in any other part of Africa" (De Villiers, 2010:46).

What makes the land question more pressing as recently as 2016 is the sense of acknowledgement of failure by the government itself to meet its own target of

redistribution of 30% of the 82 million hectares of agricultural land under white ownership to previously disadvantaged individuals by 2014. This indicates that meeting this target has proved to be challenging. The government has further acknowledged in its 2013 policy proposals document titled "*Strengthening the Relative Rights of People Working the Land*", that: "The root of the land question today arises out of the pervasive process of land alienation that dispossessed the majority of South Africans of their land over the past few centuries" (Department of Rural Development and Land Redistribution, 2013:6).

The resolution of the national land question in South Africa, is important for South Africa's future. In this regard, Cousins (2013:11) argues that, "South Africans probably agree that the Land Question simply has to be resolved, one way or another." Le Duan (cited in Turok, 1991:155) clarifies the national question by stating that: "to liberate the nation means first and foremost and in the main, democracy for the peasantry ... To bring land, is the essence of the democratic revolution". The same sentiment is shared by Gumede (2014:51) who indicates that Frantz Fanon (1963:9) aptly stated that "for a colonial people the most important essential value, because the most concrete, is first and foremost the land: the land which will bring them bread and, above all dignity". Land has therefore remained the most contested issue in South Africa, as it is in most post-colonial and post-apartheid societies.

South Africa's democratic dispensation did not result from a revolution. It was the outcome of negotiations. The foundations for South Africa's land reform programme were laid during the period of negotiations for a transition from apartheid to democracy and for a constitution (Lahiff, 2007:1580; Moseley & McCusker, 2008:324). Gibson (2009:139-140) states that "the major pillars of contemporary public policy are found" in the constitution. Several laws were passed by the new government in the new dispensation to address the issue of historical land dispossession.

The new dispensation has attempted to address the legacy of land dispossession through the introduction of a three-pronged land reform programme in 1994. The first aspect of the programme is land restitution, which is a constitutional provision according to which those people "who were dispossessed of land after June 1913 as a result of racially discriminatory laws and practices", were entitled to claim and/or

apply for restoration of their land, “alternative land or financial compensation”. The second aspect is land redistribution, which is about “acquisition of land by the state for distribution purposes”. The third aspect is land tenure reform, which seeks to provide for secure tenure rights to people living on land owned by others for an extended period “without secure rights” (Weiderman, 2004:219; Mngxitama, 2004:11; Marco-Thyse, 2006, 134-135; Commey, 2002; Philpott & Butler, 2004:16; Hall, 2004a in Atuahene, 2011b:956; SADC, 2010:27; Mofune, 2010:10; Spierenburg, 2011:1474; Gibson, 2009:139-140; Moseley & McCusker, 2008:324, Sibanda, 2010:55).

The new government’s plan in 1994 through the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), was to redistribute 30% of agricultural land within five years (1994-1999). Although some progress was made, the amount envisaged was not achieved. After ministerial review, the time frame was extended to 2014 by the then Minister of Land Affairs, Ms Thoko Didiza. Despite “the government’s continued commitment to redistribute 30% of agricultural land (24.6 million hectares) to black South Africans by 2014, only 6.7% (5.5 million hectares) had been redistributed by June 2009” (Irin, 2009), 6.9% (just 5.67 million hectares) by the end of September 2009, ostensibly to 1.78 million beneficiaries (Greenberg, 2010:4).

The government’s plan of transferring “30% of white-owned agricultural land” to black owners by 2014 received criticism from many agricultural organisations. These blamed endless “red tape”, a lack of implementation “capacity and a dire shortage of experienced, committed officials” for the failure of the government’s plan (Anon, Weekend Post, 2010). Borass Jr. (2003:368) records that the pro-market criticism of state-led agrarian reform led by Klaus Deininger and Hans Binswanger attributes the “slow pace of land redistribution” to other factors. These factors include “land size ceiling” (i.e. restriction of ownership of land by landlords to a “maximum farm size” only), the “supply-driven” (i.e. identification of “lands for expropriation” and then beneficiaries or vice versa) nature of the “state-led approach”, “huge state bureaucracy” and “distortion of the land market” by the state.

Land redistribution, according to Dlamini (2014:16), is addressed in section 25 (5) of the Constitution, which obliges the state to enhance accessibility to land. Lahiff (2008:21) argues that, “in line with Section 25(5) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 (Act 108 of 1996), the objective of the land redistribution programme is ‘to foster conditions which enable citizens to gain access to land on an equitable basis’. In practice, this is generally taken to imply the redistribution of land from white to black owners and occupiers.”

The land redistribution strategy in South Africa (i.e. “an open-ended programme that seeks to revise land-holding patterns” by enabling blacks to buy land owned by whites “through the use of government grants”) was initially based on the principle of “willing buyer–willing seller” to re-design land-holding patterns (Boudreaux, 2010:16). The principle was, in terms of Moseley and McCusker’s aversion (2008:324), “designed to facilitate the transfer of land from white communities to black ones through a ‘willing buyer–willing seller’, market-based approach”. Dlamini (2014:9) claims that this “approach generally denotes a completely voluntary transaction” between the (willing) seller and the (willing) buyer. The form transactions took in South Africa, is that of “negotiations between landowners who wish to sell their land and government officials who act on behalf of the intended beneficiaries of the land”.

The 1997 “*White Paper on South African Land Policy*”, which “was responsible for establishing the overall land reform policy” (Kloppers & Pienaar, 2014:692), committed the government to approaching land redistribution through the use of the “willing seller–willing buyer” principle. It further stated that “the government will not be an active buyer *per se*, but will avail grants and services to assist the needy with the purchase of land” from whosoever was willing to sell (Gumede, 2014:59-60). The objectives and scope of land reform in the new dispensation are therefore clearly set out in the White Paper. These are, in essence, to redress the injustices of apartheid by providing “the poor with access to land for residential and productive uses, in order to improve their income and quality of life”; to “foster national reconciliation and stability”, and “to underpin economic growth” (Cousins & Scoones, 2010:49; Kloppers & Pienaar, 2014:692).

The government has since implemented a land redistribution programme that consists largely of grant provision and other support to “would-be landowners to acquire land through the market”, and this was carried out in line with the government’s “neo-liberal macro-economic policy”, according to which the land reform programme is based on “free market principles” (Dlamini, 2014:9). Boudreaux (2010:16) argues that the strategy “provides grants to qualified applicants to help them buy land, primarily in rural areas and for purposes of farming. In order to qualify for funding, beneficiaries create a business entity to manage the property (a community land trust or community property association) and they must also create a business plan for the property which is approved, modified or rejected by the government.” The following sub-sections reflect on the three phases during which the grant provision strategy and policy shifts occurred.

2.4.1 Phase 1 (1995–1999): Settlement / Land Acquisition Grant (SLAG)

The government’s support for land redistribution in post-apartheid South Africa is based on two forms. The first form was the Settlement/Land Acquisition Grant (SLAG) from 1995 to 1999, through which “the government provided a grant of R16 000 to poor households (those earning less than R1 500 / month) to buy land for subsistence purposes” (Boudreaux, 2010:16; Hall, 2004:215; De Villiers, 2003:50). The grant provided was initially R15 000 per household for acquisition of land and start-up capital (Mofune, 2010:13; Dlamini, 2014:45) in accordance with the 1997 “*White Paper on Land Reform*” developed by the Department of Land Affairs (Moyo, 2013). These grants or subsidies were supposed “to cover the needs of the poor for a modest dwelling and/or a productive land ownership opportunity” (Rugege, 2004:11).

SLAG was implemented within a context of “a market-assisted approach to land acquisition and transfer” on the basis of “voluntary transactions between willing sellers and willing buyers” (Cousins & Scoones, 2010:49, De Villiers, 2003:50). In this regard, Cousins and Scoones (2010:49) point out that the SLAG grants were targeted at applicants, the poor and marginalised, and women. The other criteria according to which projects were prioritised included their viability and sustainability “defined in terms of economic and social viability of intended land use, fiscal sustainability by the local authority, environmental sustainability, proximity and access to markets and

employment, and availability of water and infrastructure” (Cousins & Scoones, 2010:49).

Groups were meant to purchase land from willing sellers by pooling together the SLAG grants of R16 000 each. The result of what unfolded during this period is documented by Kirsten *et al.* (cited in Mofune (2010:13), who argue that “by 1996 a total of 220 such applications for grants had been received and a total of 53 649 hectares were due for transfer”; and “by 1996 a total of 73.5 million Rands had been committed to land settlement grants; from 1994 to 1996 about 33 300 hectares of land were redistributed to the disadvantaged”. Furthermore, the then “Minister of Land Affairs, Mr. Derek Hanekom”, reported that “31 128 hectares of land were distributed” during the period “December to February 1998”, involving “39 projects and about 4 000 households” (Miller & Pope, cited in Mofune, 2010:13).

Implementation of SLAG was not without its shortcomings. Many authors generally concur that these amounts (R16 000 per household) were too “small even for the very poor to be able purchase land with it and construct a dwelling” given the land prices. Large groups were often required to “pool their grants in order to gather sufficient funds to purchase land” (Hall, 2004:215; Rugege, 2004:11).

It was these weaknesses in the SLAG model that led to much criticism. The SLAG programme was criticised for being slow, affecting very poor buyers of land negatively due to long delays and uncertainties, which led to willing owners and sellers withdrawing from deals. By virtue of being poor, purchasers were typically unable “to buy the needed agricultural inputs for their new land and they had very limited abilities to obtain credit. Without additional financial or technical support from the private sector, government or NGOs, many of these beneficiaries”, being poor households (those earning less than R1 500 per month) were “unable to make the transition to commercial farming” (Boudreaux, 2010:16). Hall (2004:215) puts aptly that this model created “complex group dynamics” and “it did not link the acquisition of land to support and resources to enable people to generate a livelihood off it”.

By the end of the 1990s progress in land redistribution and redress was very slow and produced disappointing results, and the major problem was the lack of resources made available for “post-transfer support” to beneficiaries (Turner & Ibsen, cited in Moseley & McCusker, 2008:322). The Department of Land Affairs began, in 1999, “to reach a critical level of awareness that a high proportion of its redistribution projects were plagued with serious problems” (Dlamini, 2014:46), including too large groups, unavailability of “land for sale at reasonable prices in areas of high demand and in parcels appropriate to the needs of applicants”, and “limited post-transfer support in the form of extension services, training, infrastructure development, access to credit and markets” (Hall, 2004:217). These problems led to the formation of a revised programme for land redistribution. The second form of the government’s support, known as the Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development (LRAD), is discussed in the next sub-section.

2.4.2 Phase 2: 2000: Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development (LRAD)

The Department of Land Affairs revised its land-reform strategy to signal a policy shift from a “model of land redistribution” geared towards poverty alleviation, towards one meant to promote a “class of black commercial farmers” (Moseley and McCusker, 2008:323; Hall, 2004:215; Cousins and Scoones, 2010:49). The major vehicle for this revised, second strategy which replaced SLAG and became known as the government’s ‘flagship’, was the “*Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development*” (LRAD) program (Moseley and McCusker, 2008:323; Boudreaux, 2010:16). In terms of the LRAD, “the time frame for transferring 30% of white-owned land was extended to 30 years” (Mofune, 2010:14).

The aim with LRAD, as De Villiers (2003:50) indicate, was “to facilitate the transfer of agricultural land to landless people who had the resources and experience to become commercial farmers”. This programme was intended to assist previously deprived South Africans to purchase agricultural land or agricultural inputs. It provided bigger grants of up to R100, 000 to individuals, as opposed to households. LRAD abandoned the prerequisite that the beneficiaries had to be poor. It meant that potential beneficiaries had to make some kind of arrangement of their own contribution. LRAD focused on providing support to people who had the potential to be commercial

farmers. These people, however, had to make their own “contribution of their own funds, their own property or equipment, or their own labour to qualify for an LRAD grant” (Boudreaux, 2010:16). This new approach “downplayed the pro-poor principle”, and focused on “emerging entrepreneurial black farmers” (Moseley and McCusker, 2008:325). This created a situation in which it became difficult even for those targeted individuals who were unable to make their own contributions to be potential commercial farmers.

In terms of the LRAD, the minimum grant was raised to R20 000 and the beneficiaries did not have to be poor. Individual beneficiaries who could raise R5000 “would qualify for the minimum amount, while those with bigger amounts would qualify for larger grants”. In this scheme of things, individuals who could raise the maximum of R400, 000 would qualify for up to R100, 000 in grants (Rugege, 2004:12; Hall, 2004:215; Weideman, 2004:219-220; Mofune, 2010:14; Dlamini, 2014:46-47).

According to, Rugege (2004:12) the lower scale grants were supposed to be used “to provide a food-safety-net for the very poor”, i.e. for purposes of engaging in subsistence agriculture. The higher the grant provided meant that it was “expected of the beneficiary to produce for the market”. At the higher end of the scale, the objective was thus to promote “emerging black commercial farmers” and to use “land redistribution as a mechanism to facilitate long-term structural change in agriculture”. Dlamini (2014:47) indicates that the majority of redistribution projects “involved groups of applicants pooling their grants” together to purchase “formerly white-owned farms for commercial agricultural purposes. Less commonly, groups of farm-workers have used the grant to purchase equity shares in existing farming enterprises”.

According to, Mofune (2010:14) the LRAD signalled “a distinct shift in the government’s land redistribution policy from poverty alleviation and group settlement to settling prospective farmers on their own farms”. This shift in policy “certainly increased wealth disparities and started transforming the land reform process into a class project of creating more black capitalists on land”. The LRAD was thus criticised for “missing the point” because it aimed “to benefit the ‘haves’ in the black community to the detriment of the rural poor” (De Villiers, 2003:50; Rugege, 2004, 12). It was criticised for not doing much to assist the very poor rural inhabitants and instead,

provided more black South Africans who had more financial resources and were also “more likely to succeed as commercial farmers” (Boudreaux, 2010:16).

Criticism notwithstanding, “a total of one million hectares was transferred between 1994 and 2001” under both SLAG and LRAD programmes (De Villiers, 2003:50). In April 2003, the then Minister of Agriculture and Land Affairs announced that during the period 1 April 2002 and 30 March 2003, a total of “185,609 ha had been transferred under LRAD” with “8,139 ha” benefiting “previously disadvantaged beneficiaries, including labour tenants” (Rugege, 2004:12). According to, Aliber and Cousin (2013:158) “between 2001–2 and 2005–6, only about 3,900 households benefitted from LRAD per year, while between 2006–7 and 2008–9 there were fewer than 2,000 households, despite annual expenditure in excess of R1 billion”.

Despite some gains made in terms of delivery, the poor and the rich continued to compete for limited resources. Some of the key challenges experienced during the previous programme were yet to be addressed. These included “problems of the availability of land for sale at reasonable prices in areas of high demand and in parcels appropriate to the needs of applicants; financial and practical obstacles to the poor accessing to the programme; and limited post-transfer support in the form of extension services, training, infrastructure development, and access to credit and markets” (Hall, 2004:217).

2.4.3 Phase 3: Pro-active Land Strategy (PLAS) – From 2006

Kutya (2012) indicates that the “*Pro-active Land Strategy*” (PLAS) was introduced in 2006 (*as yet another shift in land redistribution policy*) to fast-track land acquisition and to “offer a flexible option in how land was acquired and used”. In this regard, the State would identify and purchase land, and provide the beneficiaries with leases that included an option to buy. This strategy, like its predecessor the LRAD, facilitated matching the beneficiaries to land, and did not consider matching land to the beneficiaries. The land remained under state ownership, thereby expanding the government's control over its use and its users. Whereas the Minister of Rural Development and Land Reform, Mr. Gugile Nkwinti argued that “90% of government's

land reform projects have failed”, Dr. Aliber pointed out that the 90% figure was “used to justify the fact that the state was reluctant to provide people with title deeds”. By the year 2008, “the grant was increased from R111 000 to R400 000”, and “now it had 3 or 4 adults in a household applying”. In both cases there were too many cases of “‘non-delivery’ because in most instances people had no interest in farming”; they instead opted to receive the grant (Kutya (2012)).

In spite of the introduction of PLAS in 2006, land redistribution process in South Africa was still noted to have been very slow. For example, Moyo (2013) declared that “in 2007, only 4.7% of commercial agricultural land had been redistributed through all government programmes”, something that was “a far cry from the 30%” commitment which the government had hoped to have reallocated by 2014. In South Africa, “white owned commercial farmland” comprised “82 million hectares”, which meant that the target for transfer was “24, 6 million hectares”. Thus, “the redistribution of 4.7% of commercial agricultural land” meant that “only 4.2 million hectares had been redistributed by 2007”. The reasons provided for the slow pace were “high land prices and the lack of willing sellers”.

The Minister of Rural Development and Land Reform, stated at an Agri Farmer Development Conference at Somerset West (Western Cape) on 26 February 2010: “We cannot talk anymore about acquiring 30 per cent of land (by 2014). It’s just not practically possible” (Saturday Weekend Argus, 27 February 2010, p.7; Reuters, Business Day, 1 March 2010, p.2). Two years later, the President of the Republic, Mr. Jacob Zuma, also attested to the Minister’s statement on the slow pace of land reform, by conceding in his 9 February 2012 State of the Nation address:

“We have only distributed 8% of the 30% target of land redistribution for 2014 that we set ourselves. The process is slow and tedious and there is general agreement that the ‘willing buyer–willing seller’ option has not been the best way to address this question. That is why we have introduced a new policy framework, the Green Paper on Land Reform”.

The same “*Green Paper on Land Reform*” released in 2011 was also severely criticised than applauded by various participants and scholars in land reform matters. For example, Andries du Toit (Du Toit, 2012) boldly stated, “the Ministry has produced

a document that provides almost no guidance on any of the crucial questions facing land and agrarian reform in South Africa". Dr. Michael Aliber (Agricultural Economist) also expressed a similar view in Kutya (2012), that the 2011 "*Green Paper on Land Reform*" "does not express clear direction of what it aims to achieve". The same sentiment is shared by Ashton (2012) that: "A green paper on land reform took six years to compile. When it was released in 2011, it said nothing new and was arguably counter-productive". On a lesser tone, Cousins (2013b) remarked that "in 2011, a short, 11-page Green Paper outlined some new policy thrusts, but with scant justification or discussion of past experience". One may infer, based on these arguments, that notwithstanding the fact what must in fact matter most should rather be the quality of arguments advanced in support of proposed policy proposals, the size of the Green Paper itself is hardly sufficient to adequately convince one of in-depth analysis done on the full magnitude of land redistribution challenges facing South Africa.

Dr. Aliber stated that there was "a need to revisit the delivery approach and clarify targets, as well as to experiment with subdivision of land and learn how to do it cheaply", and "to review the conditions of PLAS that disallow private ownership"; and to "acknowledge the importance of local knowledge and avail land so that people can be located in suitable places and have a chance of creating sustainable livelihoods" Kutya (2012).

Land redistribution implementation in South Africa has exposed and implied capacity challenges of public administrators to spend allocated budgets. These were due to problems which included shortage of "technical staff at central and regional levels, and the complexity of the challenges relating to implementation on the ground" (SADC, 2010:65). Coupled to this has been, Dlamini (2014:55) argues, "various institutional issues" affecting implementation of land reform programme. These included, for the Department of Land Affairs not meeting "the very high expectations of rapid land reform among the newly enfranchised majority", drafting and guiding through an "unfamiliar parliamentary process" the laws to achieve this, and development of "institutional structures and operating systems to support its work". In addition, the staff of the same department's "lack of staff capacity has been a continuing constraint",

“isolationism of government departments, often finding that it was working at cross-purposes with other departments, especially at the provincial and local level”.

Dlamini (2014:55) indicates that Walker has argued that “the complexity of the institutional task was unanticipated by the advocates of land reform- and that even today politicians, policy-makers and the public still grossly underestimate the multidimensional capacity needed for effective implementation”.

2.5 The Notion of Continuities and South Africa’s Land Redistribution Policy Implementation

The idea that land reform is a transformation issue implemented to break away with the past and transform the agrarian structure is the departure point. In terms thereof, in terms of the principle of continuities theory developed by Hebinck *et al.* (2011), the government in South Africa did not have radical land redistribution policies that suggested a clear intention to “discontinue” with the *status quo*. The government’s land redistribution policy positions were not substantially different and far apart from those of the previous regime. In fact, these policy positions represented continuity with the past, amidst the fact that “expectations were naturally high that a fundamental transformation of property rights to redress the history of centuries of land dispossession and oppression would be amongst the priorities of new regime in South Africa” (Ntsebeza, 2007:109; Lahiff, 2001:1). The democratic government, according to Letsoalo and Thupana (2013: 304) “has not deviated from the principles of land reform as contained in the 1991 White Paper on Land Reform”.

Hebinck *et al.* (2011) argue that in South Africa, the strengths and weaknesses of the pre-1994 land reforms were replicated post-1994 in the form of, for example, a lack of ‘coherent state procedures and institutional inadequacies’ to manage the land reform process. It is in part for this reason that these authors point out that contemporary land reform policies and practices are characterised by continuities, rather than by discontinuities (Hebinck, *et al.* 2011).

As indicated in Section 1.3 (Theory for Analysis - Continuities and Discontinuities Thesis), the case of South Africa also indicates the existence of an agrarian structure

characterised by the same duality as that of Zimbabwe. South Africa's dual agrarian structure comprised of, on the one hand in the former white rural areas around "35,000 large-scale, mostly white owned" and "capital-intensive" commercial farms, occupying "the majority of the country's agricultural land and producing almost all marketed output", and on the other hand, "a much larger number of small-scale, black farmers", with "low-input, labour intensive forms of subsistence production as a key source of livelihood along with migrant remittances and state pensions". This impoverished sector is largely confined to the ex-Bantustans or former black homelands (Hall, 2004:213; Cousins and Scoones, 2010:32; Aliber and Cousins, 2013:141-142; Dlamini, 2014:31).

Hebinck *et al.* (2011:220) use the cases of communal areas of Dwesa-Cwebe, the Nguni project and Chatha in the Eastern Cape to illustrate how continuities in land and agrarian issues and the "social and power relationships behind them have shaped current land and agrarian reform projects" in these communal areas. They are of opinion that these case studies reveal that: "The policy and expert language categorizing farms, land use, people and assets has hardly changed" (Hebinck *et al.*, 2011:235). In this regard, land and agrarian issues are about, amongst other, the "relations between government bureaucrats, the experts they hire", the "practices of state institutions with regard to planning", etc., (Hebinck *et al.*, 2011:220).

Post-apartheid land redistribution posed similar challenges as was the case in apartheid South Africa. In this regard, these authors argue, for example, that the *Association for Rural Advancement's* 1993 Report (AFRA, 1993:9) (non-governmental), stated that "the physical return of land to communities' threw up new challenges and problems, which included 'procedures and terms for the return of title deeds, the creation of appropriate community land holding trusts, the brokering of resettlement and land use planning resources' as well as divisions and conflicts within beneficiary communities". These problems continued even into the new democratic dispensation. The proposed solutions also continued likewise, as the government, NGOs and consultants have addressed these challenges and problems "through planning visions and practices that bore strong continuities with Apartheid-era planning" (Hebinck *et al.*, 2011:221).

In this scheme of things, “experts, expert knowledge and networks” have come to “play a key role in the contemporary agricultural sector”, as these “are crucial to the implementation of land reform, especially in South Africa where consultants have come to play an important role in the design of business plans for land-reform projects and their beneficiaries” Hebinck *et al.* (2011:223). Of crucial importance to note is that the manner in which “expert knowledge *vis-à-vis* the state” was positioned, and “has allowed experts, whether academics, retired academics (acting as consultants) or former officials of Departments of Agriculture, to give directions to pre-Apartheid, Apartheid and post-Apartheid agrarian policies and simultaneously shape the domain of the agrarian sciences”. By virtue of this positioning the “knowledge and institutional culture” that has produced the contemporary experts continues to lay the foundations for future experts, “thereby reproducing expert practice and knowledge in its own image”. As “a typical continuity, curricula in agricultural faculties have hardly changed, both in contents and in paradigmatic orientation” (Hebinck *et al.*, 2011:224).

Several authors also generally concur with the Hebinck *et al.*’s (2011:224) view on the role of experts and/or consultants in terms of designing of “business plans for land-reform projects and their beneficiaries”, and thus giving directions to and informing agrarian policies pre-and post-apartheid. For example, Cousins and Scoones (2010:50) observed that in this scheme of things, the business plan was “usually drawn up by private consultants who have little contact with the intended beneficiaries”. The process carried the risk that such plans were drafted with the aim of satisfying and/or appealing to the Department of Land Affairs Selection Committees for grant proposals “or foreign donors rather than to address the realistic needs of beneficiaries”, or match the capabilities of intended beneficiaries or the qualities of the land in question (De Villiers, 2003:72; Moseley and McCusker, 2008:325). Hebinck *et al.* (2011:223) concluded that: “Generic solutions are usually cast in inflexible ways, even if they are incompatible and ‘out of sync’ with the desires and needs of people.”

Cousins and Scoones (2010:50) indicate that these plans typically provided “ultra-optimistic projections for production and profit, based on textbook models drawn from the large scale commercial farming sector, and further influenced by the past use of the land in question. Production for the market is usually the only objective, and plans typically require substantial loans from commercial sources, purchase of heavy

equipment, selection of crop varieties and livestock breeds previously unknown to the members, hiring of labour (despite typically high rates of unemployment amongst members themselves) and sometimes the employment of a professional farm manager to run the farm on behalf of the new owners”.

According to, De Villiers (2003:144) the successful outcome of land reform “requires beneficiaries to take ownership of the expected outcome”. However, there has been notable and inherent risk of low participation by potential beneficiaries in the planning processes for expected outcomes of land redistribution, or even if intended beneficiaries do participate, they often lack an understanding of processes and the implications thereof. De Villiers (2003:144) further argues that: “In South Africa, centralised planning and management by external ‘professionals’ and ‘consultants’ has been found to be lacking in community participation in many instances”.

A principal weakness of most business plans drafted by consultants, according to Lahiff (2007:158–89), is that they are based on the assumption “that the land will be operated as a single entity (i.e. as used by the previous owner), regardless of the size of the beneficiary group”. As a result of “lack of support for subdivision, beneficiaries are often obliged to buy properties much larger than they need, and even to expand the size of groups to aggregate sufficient grants to meet the purchase price”. This led to “widespread problems of group dynamics as former single-owner farms are turned into agricultural collectives”.

In line with Hebinck *et al.*'s (2011:2325) observation with regard to the cases of communal areas of Dwesa-Cwebe, the Nguni project and Chatha in the Eastern Cape (i.e. that categorisation of farms, land use, people and assets have hardly changed), another continuity with past practices was observed by the Southern African Development Community (SADC) (2010:5), that the “selective provision” of investment incentives and infrastructure for agricultural production (i.e. large-scale commercial farming dominated by white elites, foreign landowners and small groups of emerging black elites), including water development, has resulted in uneven land development, investment and productivity. It has further limited the prospects for the majority to take part in economic enterprises related to land. As a result of “such preferential resource allocations”, wrong impression has been created that it is large-scale (commercial)

farming that is “generally the only feasible” path for agricultural development, and thus “relegating smallholder farming to fend for itself”. This is a colonial legacy that continues “to distort and bias land policies towards land market and agricultural large-scale or export agriculture, to the detriment of the livelihoods of the poor”, thus also perpetuates continuity with dualism of agrarian structure. Hall (2004: 221) has also observed that: “Powerful discourses of the economic efficiency of commercial farming, and the inefficiency of low-input agriculture by the poor, appear to persist within the state bureaucracy”.

Post-apartheid South Africa’s land redistribution has not done much to reduce dualism in agrarian structure. Aliber and Cousins (2013:142) have pointed out that “the main thrust of agricultural policy” after the dawn of democracy was “deregulation and liberalisation”, which appeared “to have facilitated higher levels of concentration of land ownership rather than open up space for smallholders”.

2.6 The Notion of Discontinuities and Zimbabwe’s Land Redistribution Policy Implementation

The departure point in this section is still the idea that land reform is a transformation issue, implemented to break away with the past and transform the agrarian structure. In this regard, Aliber and Cousins (2013:164) note that it is only in Zimbabwe where the dual agrarian structure “inherited from the past been radically transformed”, at least in the Masvingo.

Aliber and Cousins (2013:160-161) argue that land redistribution programme has radically reconfigured Zimbabwe’s agrarian structure. As a result, they point out that by 2008-9, over 4,500 large-scale commercial farms, comprising 7.6 million hectares in total, had been redistributed to over 145,000 households in the smallholder-oriented A1 resettlement schemes, with around 16,500 beneficiaries occupying medium-scale, commercial farms, the A2 model. Furthermore, there are also many ‘informal’ resettlement sites that have not yet been recognised by the government. Some larger A2 farms, akin to the large-scale commercial farms of the past, had been allocated more recently, and Moyo (2011, 497) suggested that total land allocations under FTLRP now amounted to 9 million hectares. In 2011, around 3.4 million hectares were

still under large-scale farms, some in very large holdings, with about 200 white farmers occupying 117,000 hectares, and black Zimbabweans owning around 950 large farms. Including, communal areas and 'old' (pre-2000) resettlement schemes, 98 per cent of all farms in Zimbabwe are now smallholdings.

Aliber and Cousins (2013:164) indicate that this case suggests that "smallholder farming on subdivided commercial farms" can potentially provide support for a huge number of rural producers, and that "small-scale agriculture combined with other livelihood sources" can also potentially "benefit many of the rural poor". They further warn that "policies premised on the assumption" that only large-scale commercial farms are "real agriculture", and "that land reform projects must be based on some version of this model to be 'viable', are part of the problem, and often contribute directly to project failure". Hence they argue that: "New thinking is required to inform policy and planning if land reform in South Africa ... is to make more than a marginal contribution to poverty reduction."

According to, Moyo (2013) South Africa can emulate the Zimbabwean model of land reform "where new land owners are given small plots of between two and five hectares to practice subsistence farming and petty commodity production". This, Moyo (2013) argues, requires that South Africa should sub-divide "large farms into smaller units to act as multi-function farms that will benefit more people". This approach will ensure access by "more people to land, which should be considered the basis of socio-economic development. New land owners must be enabled to access markets, preferably local ones, to sell their produce. Off-farm initiatives such as marketing and transportation services can also provide the multiplier effect to provide more employment in rural areas".

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter has provided an overview of the variables that explain the research. It began by outlining the land question context, within which post-liberation governments in Zimbabwe and South Africa were expected to implement their land redistribution policies. This also focused on some similarities and differences between these two

countries. The chapter has also focused on the three phases of land redistribution policy formulation, implementation and outcomes in these countries.

The literature reviewed in terms of Zimbabwe and South Africa indicates that these countries “share a similar historical profile of race-based minority rule” that saw the majority of indigenous black people being driven into “unfertile reserves” during the periods of colonialism and apartheid. Post-independence Zimbabwe and post-apartheid South Africa were both faced with the pressures to effect land redistribution. They both have, however, reacted differently and have pursued different approaches to land redistribution. The critical land redistribution dilemma that faced both these countries was how to find an appropriate balance in fast tracking land redistribution to adequately address the needs of all stakeholders, i.e. the government itself, land owners and the landless people?

The next chapter (Chapter Three), provides the details of the research methodologies that were used in the study. Relevant aspects of the research methodologies are presented and described in Chapter Three.

CHAPTER 3

Research Design and Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter defines the research methodology used in this study to provide answers to the questions raised. According to the Industrial Research Institute (2010), “research methodology is a way to find out the result of a given problem on a specific matter or problem”, which may also be referred to as “research problem”. The chapter further defines the scope and the limitations of the research design. It situates the research amongst existing research traditions in public administration.

The following research questions were raised: 1) What does the continuities and discontinuities theory by Paul Hebinck, Derick Fay and Kwandiwe Kondlo (2011) entail and how can it form the foundation of this study? 2) What has been the influence of political power in administrative policy making and execution in terms of assisting or retarding the effectiveness and efficiency of public administration to support the implementation of land redistribution in post-independence Zimbabwe and post-apartheid South Africa? 3) What has been the capacity of public administration to conceptualise and convert land redistribution political policies and commitments to implementable delivery outcomes? 4) What is the likelihood of continued sustenance of South Africa’s non-radical approach to land redistribution amidst pressing demands for policy change fuelled by the ramifications of the Zimbabwe’s approach to land redistribution?

The main aim of the study is to examine how post-independence Zimbabwe’s approach to land redistribution policy implementation and the ramifications of this limits the scope for policy choices in post-apartheid South Africa with regard to land redistribution. The study is also aimed at examining whether the South African government would have all the time it needs to implement its land redistribution policy in a manner it deems fit without having to succumb to pressures for policy changes and calls for speedy implementation from different stakeholders. To validate this, it is important that information be extracted from multiple targeted sources of secondary

information in the main (textbooks, published articles, newspapers, archives, internet websites, government policy documents, etc.), and from a few primary sources (written speeches and addresses). This should be done using the correct methodology. This chapter describes the research methodology used in this study, the methods of data collection used, sampling method and the ethical considerations complied with in this study.

3.2 Research Types

There are at least two broad categories of research, namely qualitative and quantitative research. These are briefly discussed and compared below with a view to laying the foundation for the research type chosen for this study, namely qualitative research.

3.2.1 Qualitative Research

Mora (2010) argues that qualitative research is by definition exploratory and it is the type of research that is used when there is no knowledge of “what to expect” or how to “define the problem or develop an approach to the problem”. This type of research is used to delve deeper into matters of interest and explore nuances that relate to the problem at hand. The methods of data collection commonly used in this research type include “focus groups, in-depth interviews, uninterrupted observation, bulletin boards”, triads, dyads, and “ethnographic participation / observation”

According to Creswell (2003:18), qualitative research is an approach characterised by the researcher often making “knowledge claims based primarily on constructivist perspectives (i.e. multiple meanings of individual experiences, meanings socially and historically constructed, with an intent of developing a theory or pattern) or advocacy / participatory perspectives (i.e. political, issue-based, collaborative or change-oriented) or both”. Qualitative research may also employ “strategies of inquiry” that include “narratives, phenomenologies, ethnographies, grounded theory studies, or case studies”. The inquirer “collects open-ended emerging data with the primary intent of developing themes from the data”.

3.2.2 Quantitative Research

Creswell (2003:18) indicates that in quantitative research, the inquirer primarily uses post-“positivist claims to develop knowledge (i.e. cause-and-effect thinking, reduction to specific variables and hypotheses, questions, use of measurement and observation, the test of theories)”. The strategies used for data collection include “experiments and surveys”, and data is “collected on pre-determined instruments that yield statistical data”.

Furthermore, Mora (2010) states that “quantitative research is conclusive in its purpose”; it attempts “to quantify the problem and understand how prevalent it is by looking for projectable results to a larger population”. In this case, data collection tools used include “surveys (online, phone, paper)”, “audits, points of purchase (purchase transactions), click-streams”.

Table 1: Brief comparison between qualitative and quantitative research types

	Qualitative Research	Quantitative Research
“Objective purpose /	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To gain an understanding of underlying reasons and motivations. • To provide insights into the setting of a problem, generating ideas and/or hypotheses for later quantitative research. • To uncover prevalent trends in thought and opinion. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To quantify and generalise results from a sample to the population of interest. • To measure the incidence of various views and opinions in a chosen sample. • Sometimes followed by qualitative research which is used to explore some findings further.
Sample	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Usually a small number of non-representative cases. • Respondents selected to fulfil a given quota. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Usually a large number of cases representing the population of interest. • Randomly selected respondents.

	Qualitative Research	Quantitative Research
Data collection	Unstructured or semi-structured techniques, e.g. individual in-depth interviews or group discussions.	Structured techniques such as online questionnaires, on-street or telephone interviews.
Data analysis	Non-statistical.	Statistical data is usually in the form of tabulations (tabs) Findings are conclusive and usually descriptive in nature.
Outcome	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exploratory and / or investigative. • Findings are not conclusive and cannot be used to make generalisations about the population of interest. • Develop an initial understanding and sound base for further decision making. 	Used to recommend a final course of action.”

Source: <http://www.snapsurveys.com/qualitative-quantitative-research>

3.3 Research Method Used in this Mini-Dissertation

It is worth reiterating Bryman’s contention (2012:383), as indicated in Chapter 1 (1.9 Research Approach and Methodology), that there are various research methods associated with qualitative research. These include the following: “ethnography / participant observation, qualitative interviewing, focus groups, language-based approaches to the collection of qualitative data, and collection and qualitative analysis of texts and documents”. A somewhat similar contention is made that several analysis methods can be used in qualitative research, which include phenomenology, hermeneutics, grounded theory, ethnography, phenomenographic and content analysis (Bengtsson, 2016:8; Hsieh & Shannon, 2005:1277).

The specific research design and approach, in other words the method, chosen for the study is the *collection and qualitative analysis of texts and documents*. This method involves *content analysis*. Although this method was already introduced in Chapter 1 (1.8 Research Design) it is still necessary in this chapter to elaborate further on content analysis.

Many contemporary definitions of content analysis make reference to the work of earlier theorists on this research technique. The earlier theorists predominantly cited include Berelson, Krippendorff, Holsti, Weber and Gao. The following are some of the contemporary scholars who have cited these earlier theorists and some commonalities on definitions of content analysis:

Elo and Kyngäs (2007:108):

- “a systematic and objective means of describing and quantifying phenomena. It is also a method of analysing documents, and it allows the researcher to test theoretical issues to enhance understanding of the data” (Krippendorff 1980, Downe-Wamboldt, 1992; Sandelowski, 1995).
- “a research method for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context, with the purpose of providing knowledge, new insights, a representation of facts and a practical guide to action” (Krippendorff, 1980).
- “The aim is to attain a condensed and broad description of the phenomenon, and the outcome of the analysis is concepts or categories describing the phenomenon”.

Stemler (2001:1):

- “a systematic, replicable technique for compressing many words of text into fewer content categories based on explicit rules of coding” (Berelson, 1952; GAO, 1996; Krippendorff, 1980; Weber, 1990).
- “any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages” (Holsti, 1969:14).

Bengtsson (2016:9):

- “a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication”.
- “a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use” (Krippendorff).
- “a research method that provides a systematic and objective means to make valid inferences from verbal, visual, or written data in order to describe and quantify specific phenomena” (Downe-Wambolt, 1992:314).

Prasad (2008:2):

- “a method where the content of the message forms the basis for drawing inferences and conclusions about the content. Furthermore, it falls in the interface of observation and document analysis” (Nachmias & Nachmias, 1976).
- “a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication” (Berelson, 1952).
- “any technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying specified characteristics of messages” (Holsti, 1968).
- “a method of studying and analyzing communication in a systematic, objective, and quantitative manner for the purpose of measuring variables” (Kerlinger, 1986).
- “a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context” (Krippendorff, 1980).
- “a research methodology that utilizes a set of procedures to make valid inferences from text” (Weber, 1985). The inferences made “are about sender(s) of message, the message itself, or the audience of message”.

3.3.1 Advantages and Strengths of Content Analysis

Many authors have pointed out the different advantages, strengths and uses of content analysis. The following are some of those noted in this research project:

For the following theorists, in Stemler (2001:1), it “enables researchers to sift through large volumes of data with relative ease in a systematic fashion” (GAO, 1996); “it can be a useful technique to allow inquirers to discover and describe the focus of individual, group, institutional, or social attention” (Weber, 1990); “it also allows inferences to be made which can then be corroborated using other methods of data collection”; and “[m]uch content analysis research is motivated by the search for techniques to infer from symbolic data what would be either too costly, no longer possible, or too obtrusive by the use of other techniques” (Krippendorff, 1980:51).

On the advantages of content analysis, Wienclaw (2015) indicates that it “has little to no effect on the subject's behaviour; it is performed after the fact on artefacts of human behaviour. Therefore, it does not influence that behaviour because the artefacts of human behaviour has already been produced”. Furthermore, it assists the researchers “to gather data and information on aspects of human behaviour within society that could not otherwise be gathered because subjects are unwilling or unable to directly share their attitudes or feelings on a topic”.

Wienclaw (2015) indicates the following uses of content analysis. It:

- “enables researchers to review and analyse large volumes of data” systematically in ways “that could not be done, or not be done easily by other methods”;
- permits the “researchers to extract data from historical artifacts” when information gathering “is no longer possible from the subjects themselves (e.g., historical data)”;
- can assist researchers to “determine and articulate the focus of individuals, groups, institutions, or society in general”;
- is frequently used to identify and analyse “trends and patterns in documents”; and
- it gives the researchers “a basis to monitor trends and shifts in public opinion”.

Prasad (2008:7-8) points out that content analysis, among others things:

- “is an unobtrusive research technique useful to study sensitive research topics”;
- “is a safe method in the sense that if the researcher found that a portion of the necessary information was missing or incorrectly coded, it is possible to return to the text and supplement the missing data”; and
- can handle huge volumes of data, especially in view of the existence of appropriate computer software.
- “is a shoestring methodology, which is normally labour-intensive and requires minimum capital investment”.

3.3.2 Disadvantages and Weaknesses of Content Analysis

Elo and Kyngäs (2007:108) indicate that content analysis has also been criticised for being a “simplistic technique that does not lend itself to detailed statistical analysis”. They also do not view it as sufficiently qualitative in nature.

Wienclaw (2015) notes the following disadvantages:

- Since it “is typically based on mass communication, it is limited to data that can be disseminated through such sources”.
- It “is subject to the limitations of other data collection techniques that use human raters. The rating criteria for content analysis need to be operationally well-defined *a priori* to increase the consistency of ratings. However, even when this is done, the criteria used to operationally define constructs may not be universally accepted and, therefore, cannot be replicated or extrapolated”.
- “Since content analysis is based on subjective criteria, it is relatively easy for experimenter error to influence the results of the analysis (Experimenter error occurs when the influence of the expectations, beliefs, prejudices, or other attitudes of the researcher affect data collection process and subsequent interpretation of results).”

For Prasad (2008:8), some of the weaknesses of content analysis are that:

- “its inferences are limited to the content of the text only”;

- “when it deals with semantic differences or differences in regard to the meanings of words, the findings can be less valid and reliable”;
- the issues of “reliability and validity in content analysis still remain unresolved (Krippendorff, 1980)”; and
- it “cannot be used to test casual relationships between variables (Chadwick *et al.*, 1984)”.

3.4 The Unit of Analysis

Wessels, Pauw, and Thani (2009:10) and Thani (2009:44) point out that McNabb (2002:293) indicates that the concept “unit of analysis” refers to “narrowing relevant data” allowing the researcher “to focus the study on topics identified in the research objectives”. In this research project, the “definition of the standard works on social science research” is that by unit of analysis, reference is made to “the WHAT of your study: what object, phenomenon, entity, process or event you are interested in investigating” (Babbie & Mouton 2001:84), and that it is “the ‘entity’ or ‘phenomenon’ to which one’s conclusions ought to apply (Mouton, 1996:91).

Babbie (2001:95) defines the unit of analysis as “those things people examine to create summary descriptions of all such units and to explain the differences among them”. In this study, the unit of analysis refers to completed scholarly articles, books and chapters in books, newspaper articles, internet sources, speeches and addresses in land redistribution in both post-independence Zimbabwe and post-apartheid South Africa.

3.5 Categories

Whereas Babbie (2001:95–96) provides four categories of the unit of analysis namely, “individuals, groups, organisations and social artefacts”, Mouton (1996:48–50) provides seven such categories namely, “individuals, collectives, organisations (formal and informal), institutions, social events and actions, cultural objects and interventions”. Mouton’s classification is somewhat comprehensive and is therefore

selected and adapted for this analysis. The category of focus in this study is interventions, in other words land redistribution policy interventions.

According to Mouton (1996:50), the category of interventions refers to “programmes such as education, health care and management training”. This category may “also refer to policies such as affirmative action and performance appraisal and systems such as information systems”. Interventions can be acts of parliament, government White Papers, or policies for delivery of public goods and services. It can also include legal documents. The term “intervention” is diverse in the sense that it does not only refer to policies and acts of parliament, but it can also include strategies that are undertaken for delivery of public services and goods. This category was relevant for this research project in that the study is about land redistribution policies in post-independence Zimbabwe and post-apartheid South Africa, as public policy options and interventions. Babbie and Mouton (2001:88) further consider interventions to be “sets of actions and decisions that are structured in such a way that their successful implementation would lead to clearly identifiable outcomes and benefits.” In this research, documents and articles containing discussion and analysis of land redistribution in post-independence Zimbabwe and post-apartheid South Africa are covered in the category of interventions.

3.6 The Unit of Observation (Data Source)

According to Babbie (2001:95), the “units of analysis are usually also the units of observation”. Babbie and Mouton (2001:174) however, define it “as a unit of data collection and an element or aggregation of elements from which information is collected”. In this instance, the researcher considers what was used as a source of information. Sources of information differ, “depending on the nature of the study”. Information can be gathered from journal articles, books, policies, acts, encyclopaedias, surveys, interviews, questionnaires, individuals and groups. Some of the units of observation can be “the same as the unit of analysis”. Additional units of observation include “scholarly literature, official documents, secondary data and statistics and computer software packages”.

3.6.1 Data Sources Relevant to this Study

The following data sources were relevant to the study:

- *Scholarly literature*: In this category, “accredited scholarly material such as books, journal articles, encyclopaedias, dictionaries, work in progress by other scholars”, theses and dissertations are included.
- *Official documents*: This category consisted of legal documents such as acts of parliament and policies.
- *Secondary data and statistics*: This category refers to scholarly literature and statistics that are obtainable from different government departments and from some other entities.
- *Other texts*: This category consisted of information that is not scholarly or official. These included newspapers, reports, speeches, etc.

3.6.2 Application of Relevant Data Sources in the Study

The research used different documents to compare the identified two cases of post-liberation Zimbabwe and post-apartheid South Africa. Leedy and Ormrod (2001:149) insist that the comparative “method of analysis” does not only provide for in-depth study of a phenomenon, but it is also “suitable for learning more about a little known or poorly understood situation”; and “is useful for investigating how an individual or programme changes over time, perhaps as a result of certain circumstances” or interventions. This choice has enabled better comprehension of the changes in the land redistribution programmes in post-independence Zimbabwe and post-apartheid South Africa, and the impact of its implementation on various stakeholders.

According to Yin (cited in Webb & Auriacombe, 2006:600), case studies are used “when the focus is on contemporary phenomena within some real-life context, and especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident”. In this regard, this approach has examined the phenomenon of land redistribution in the cases of post-independence Zimbabwe and post-apartheid South Africa in terms of policy choices. It has enabled an examination of the implementation

of the policies in the two cases and reflected on the implication of the outcomes of one case for the other.

Webb and Auriacombe (2006:600) indicate that “case studies use documents, artefacts, interviews and observation as sources of evidence and seek to present empirical evidence fairly and rigorously”. This “could be done without leaving the library and the telephone, unlike participant observation - which requires a lot of time in the field and emphasise observational evidence”. In terms of this research project, documents and the library were important part of the research process undertaken.

3.7 Empirical Study

Chapter 1 established that this study is qualitative in nature in that words rather than the quantification of data and data analysis processes are emphasised (Bryman, 2012:35-36). Theory is “supposed to be an outcome of an investigation rather than something that precedes it” (Bryman, 2012:384). The study was based on multiple sources of information, which included textbooks, journal articles, newspaper articles, government policy documents, etc. Bryman’s reference to ‘grey literature’ (2012:103), meaning articles in non-peer-reviewed journals, for example conference papers and reports by different organisations, were also included.

Bryman’s argument (2012:380) that qualitative research involves a strategy that is broadly inductive, constructionist, and interpretivist, adequately represents the intent of this study. Bryman describes these concepts as follows:

- *Inductive* refers to the “relationship between theory and research”, where the theory is generated from research. In line with this description, this study seeks to investigate land redistribution policy formulation and execution in both post-liberation Zimbabwe and post-apartheid South Africa to better understand how the ramifications of Zimbabwe’s approach on the matter impacts on South Africa’s policy options.
- *Interpretivist* is an “epistemological position” that “stresses an understanding of the social world through an examination of the interpretation of that world by its

participants”. In line with this description, this study seeks to reflect on how different stakeholders have conceptualised the challenge of land redistribution to understand their motivations and the positions they hold on land redistribution.

- *Constructionist* is an “ontological position” that implies that the “social properties are outcomes of the interactions between individuals, rather than phenomena ‘out there’” that are “separate from those involved in its construction”. In line with this description, this study seeks to understand the dynamics of the relationship between the policy makers and implementers (i.e. government and public administration) who are obliged to meet the expectations of the different stakeholders, including the citizens.

The qualitative approach was chosen for the study for at least four reasons: First, in line with Brynard and Hanekom’s retort (1997:29) that a qualitative study generally deals with people’s own written or spoken words, this study is very much about different stakeholders’ conceptualisation of the challenges and solutions to land redistribution in Zimbabwe and South Africa. Leedy and Ormrod (2001:112) also regard this approach as being generally suited for research questions that are exploratory and interpretative and a research focus that involves in-depth study of the phenomenon. By focusing on land redistribution policies in post-liberation Zimbabwe and South Africa, the study sought to thoroughly explore how these policies were formulated and implemented in these countries.

Secondly, a qualitative approach allows the researcher to see the world from the viewpoint of the participant or actor (Brynard & Hanekom, 1997:29). The study aims to interpret the land redistribution challenges and solutions in post-liberation Zimbabwe and post-apartheid South Africa from the perspective of interested parties such as government officials, agricultural farmers’ unions, non-governmental organisations, political parties, etcetera.

The third reason for the choice of a qualitative research strategy concerns the flexibility that this approach offers. Brynard and Hanekom (1997:29) point out that a qualitative approach “entails discovering novel or unanticipated findings and the possibility of altering research plans in response to accidental discoveries”. This view is shared by Bryman (2012:403), who argues that the qualitative research strategy does not try to

“delimit areas of enquiry too much”. It tends to pose “fairly general rather than specific questions”. It prefers an unstructured approach to data collection and qualitative researchers tend to adopt methods of research that do not require development of highly specific research questions in advance. Qualitative research, continues Bryman (2012:404), prefers “a more open-ended”, and therefore, “less structured approach”. The advantage of the “unstructured nature” of this kind of enquiry, that is, “in addition to the prospect of gaining access to people’s worldviews”, is that “it offers the prospect of flexibility”. Furthermore, “the researcher can change direction in the course of his or her investigation much more easily than in quantitative research”.

Lastly, “qualitative research focuses on the real-life experiences” of people in the real world (Brynard & Hanekom, 1997:29; Leedy & Ormrod, 2001:147). The research project proposed was not imaginary. It is about a serious issue of land redistribution in post-independence Zimbabwe and post-apartheid South Africa as a public service delivery issue to honour post-liberation commitments. Accordingly, these adequately characterized the intent of this study.

3.8 Type of Data Required

Lubbe and Klopper (2005) point out that data can be obtained from either a primary or secondary source. In their view, primary data refers to original information which is collected directly from the real world “by the researcher specifically for the research study at hand”. Collection of primary data is commonly expected when one is using a quantitative research approach. Furthermore, they cite the Wolfgram Memorial Library (undated) in which a primary source is defined as the first hand “testimony or direct evidence concerning the topic under investigation. Sources of primary data include, amongst others, interviews, questionnaires, research data, letters and speeches” (Lubbe & Klopper, 2005). Secondary data on the other hand, is “data that has already been collected for some other purpose” (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2003).

According to Lubbe and Klopper (2005), “a secondary source interprets and analyses primary sources”. According to Saunders *et al.* (2003), secondary data includes “both quantitative and qualitative data, and can be used for both descriptive and explanatory research”. They cite Kervin, who argues that “this data could be either raw (little or no

processing) or compiled (received some form of selection and summarising)". Secondary data are commonly acceptable when a qualitative research approach is employed. Secondary sources include published articles, government policy documents, books, reports, newspapers and magazines, archives and internet websites. This study has extracted data mainly from multiple sources of secondary information.

3.9 Data Collection / Instrumentation

Since data was extracted mainly from secondary sources of information, except for a few written speeches on the subject of land redistribution by, for example, the Minister of Rural Development and Land Reform at an Agricultural Conference 26 February 2010, and South Africa's State President in his 9 February 2012 State of the Nation address, data collection tools usually used for collection of primary data (e.g. questionnaires), observation, interviews, and telephone and cell-phone Interview, were not necessary in this study.

3.10 Data Collection Methods

Collection methods are determined by the kind of data required to address the research questions and the overall research problem. Mouton (1996:18) argues that: "How one defines the goal of scientific inquiry (the epistemic dimension of science) clearly determines which road or route should be taken (the methodological dimension of science)".

Both *primary* data (from original sources) and *secondary* data (documented) were needed for this research project, especially secondary data. Primary data was gathered from written speeches and/or addresses.

As far as relevant secondary data was concerned for the study, there was no limit that would determine that the sources are enough. In this study, the accumulation of secondary sources was guided by Brynard & Hanekom's note (1997:30): "It is only by casting the 'research net' wide that the researcher in Public Administration will be able to determine the truth about phenomena in the public sector." The purpose and

significance of continued data search and collection cannot be over-emphasised. Secondary data gathering was determined by the sampling method chosen for the study (purposive), which is discussed below.

3.11 Sampling Method

The decision about the choice of sampling for a particular study is informed by appropriateness and value it has for that particular research study. Therefore, the nature of scientific enquiry necessarily determines the type of sampling that may be appropriate. In qualitative studies such as this one, there is a tendency by researchers to emphasise purposive types of sampling (Bryman, 2012:416-418). This is the type of sampling that places the “research questions at the heart of the sampling considerations”. It is mainly concerned with selecting the units of analysis, such as “people, organisations, documents, departments”, etc., that have “direct reference to the research questions being asked”. In the case of this study, purposive sampling was chosen precisely for these reasons. What makes the choice of this kind of sampling technique a particularly appropriate choice, is Bryman’s contention (2012:416-18) that (purposive sampling) “is a non-probability form of sampling”, which means that “the researcher does not seek to sample research” units of analysis or units of observation (i.e. data sources) on a random basis. The goal was to sample these in a strategic way to ensure that all those sampled were relevant to the research questions being posed. In the case of this study, data requirements made purposive or judgmental sampling the most appropriate sampling choice. The idea was to purposefully select the data and sources that will fit with the research study in terms of research questions posed.

Auriacombe and Mouton (2007:448-449) make the point that: “According to Lincoln and Guba (in Lutabingwa & Gray, 1997), sampling in qualitative field research is designed to enhance the informational value of one’s observations by maximising variations, and not for statistical generalisation. The sampling plan emerges during the course of conducting research.” In terms of enhancing the information value of this study, a few primary and mainly secondary data sources were drawn purposively.

According to Bryman (2012:418), purposive or judgmental sampling can either be sequential or non-sequential (or fixed). The main distinction is that a sequential sampling approach is “an evolving process” where the research “usually begins with an initial sample and gradually adds to the sample as befits the research questions”. The “sample is gradually added to as the investigation evolves”. In a non-sequential or fixed strategy, there is little or no adding to the sample as the research proceeds. In the case of this study, a sequential purposive sampling approach was chosen by virtue of the flexibility it offered the researcher to gradually add to the sample units of analysis such as documents as was necessary.

This study took advantage of flexibility through theoretical sampling, described by Glaser and Strauss in Bryman (2012:419) as the “process of data collection for generating theory whereby the analyst jointly collects, codes, and analyzes his data and decides what data to collect next and where to find them, in order to develop his theory as it emerges”. In the case of this study, the researcher was interested in (through a sequential purposive sampling approach) undertaking theoretical sampling until theoretical saturation was reached. Charmaz (2006), in Bryman (2012:420) describes “theoretical saturation” as a theoretical sampling “when new data no longer stimulate new theoretical understanding or new dimensions of the principal theoretical categories”. It refers to a point where relevant categories are saturated. That point (theoretical saturation) was, however, not reached.

The most important reason for sampling, according to Strydom (cited in Burger & Silima, 2006:657) lies in “feasibility”. This is due to the fact that: “It is often too costly and impractical to study an entire population and researchers make use of sampling to save time and resources.” According to Mouton, Lutabingwa & Auriacombe (2006:579), sampling has to do with questions about “the target population for the study”, “the sampling frame”, the “sampling techniques” to be used by the researcher “to select individuals or events to participate in the study”, the researcher’s interest in sample “representativeness”, the “degree of accuracy or level of confidence”. It was anticipated that all these sampling considerations would be addressed through the purposive sampling approach preferred for the study.

3.12 Data Sources

A total of 90 different data sources were used in this study to attempt to address the three research questions. These comprised of 22 books (11 dealing with land redistribution and 11 dealing with public administration), 38 published articles from different academic journals, five newspaper articles, 14 internet sources, two government policy documents, two speeches / addresses, two master's theses / dissertations, two reports, one policy brief and one occasional paper, and one Study Guide (titles **attached** Appendix A – Matrix).

3.13 Data Analysis

Data analysis in the study was informed by at least two approaches suggested by Bryman (2012) and Brynard & Hanekom (1997).

According to Bryman (2012:13), several elements are incorporated in the data analysis, and this may also “mean the application of statistical techniques to the data that have been collected”. The collected data should, for a start, be managed to check for any obvious flaws. Of crucial importance to note is that this stage is “fundamentally about data reduction – that is, it is concerned with reducing the large corpus of information that the researcher has gathered so that he or she can make sense of it”. The first step was therefore to reduce the information gathered so that only information relevant to the research questions could be managed.

Data analysis in the context of this research was conducted in terms of Brynard and Hanekom's (1997:55) view that integration of other authors' views is essential and necessary when conducting in-depth analysis of data. This approach assists the researcher to formulate and personally explain the phenomenon under investigation, informed by the analysis and integration of different viewpoints. This technique of integrating viewpoints of various “authors contributes to a fairly objective analysis of the findings researched”. The study made use of different documents and different viewpoints to achieve this objective.

Auriacombe and Mouton (2007:455) argue that data analysis in qualitative field research is an ongoing process that does not occur only once data has been collected. Accordingly, even in this study the process of data analysis was ongoing based on the units (documents, people, organisations, etc.) that may be required for further sampling as may be determined by the sequential sampling approach.

In terms of the analysis of the content of data from data sources indicated in Section 3.12 (Data Sources), Bengtsson (2016:10) makes the point that in all “data analysis, the purpose is to organise and elicit meaning” from the collected data and draw realistic conclusions, regardless of whether data analysis is within a positivist or naturalistic research tradition. In this regard, content analysis, as a method, is unique in the sense that it contains both a quantitative and qualitative methodology and it can be used in an inductive or a deductive way.

Bengtsson (2016:8) contends all qualitative research deals with some interpretation. Interpretations, however, differ in both depth and level of abstraction, depending on the analysis method used and the researcher's ability to distance him or herself. Bengtsson (2016:8) further suggests that during the entire research process, “the researcher must adhere to a qualitative perspective, and the main issue is to achieve the rigor and credibility that make the results as trustworthy as possible”.

Trustworthiness and credibility are therefore key in qualitative research. Elo and Kyngäs (2007:112) argue that, in respect of trustworthiness, “the analysis process and the results should be described in sufficient detail” to enable the readers to “have a clear understanding of how the analysis was carried out”, what were its strengths, weaknesses and limitations, in other words, this means the “dissection of the analysis process and the validity of results”, and the results are then the described contents of the categories (Elo & Kyngäs, 2007:112).

Credibility, according to Bengtsson (2016:13), “refers to the study process, that is, to establish how the data and the analysis procedures are carried out and to ensure that no relevant data have been excluded”. There is therefore the need to demonstrate “the reliability of the findings and interpretations to enable someone else to follow the process and procedures of the inquiry” (Elo & Kyngäs, 2007:112).

On the question of reliability, Weber intimates in Stemler (2001:5) that: "To make valid inferences from the text, it is important that the classification procedure be reliable in the sense of being consistent: Different people should code the same text in the same way" so that "reliability problems (*that*) usually grow out of the ambiguity of word meanings, category definitions, or other coding rules" can be avoided.

An argument is presented in Bengtsson (2016:11) that validity in a qualitative study is about the results truthfully reflecting the phenomena studied, and it (reliability) requires that the same results would be obtained if the study were replicated. However, there is always a risk that different researchers would draw dissimilar conclusions from the same data. To increase the validity of results, at least two researchers should perform the analysis separately and then discuss their results and obtain consensus. In qualitative research, validation assumes the "form of triangulation" (Bengtsson, 2016:11; Stemler, 2001:7). To use different sources or methods for data collection are other ways to perform triangulations for the purpose of confirming the results (Bengtsson, 2016:11). Stemler (2001:7) argues that: "Triangulation lends credibility to the findings by incorporating multiple sources of data, methods, investigators, or theories."

Bengtsson (2016:13) also refers to other equally important concepts in qualitative data analysis. These are dependability, transferability and conformability. Dependability, refers to stability, in other words "the extent to which data change over time and the alterations made in the researcher's decisions during the analysing procedure", while transferability is about the "degree to which the results may be applicable" to other settings and to the number of study objects. Confirmability is more an issue of presentation and it "refers to the objectivity or neutrality of the data". Generally, Bengtsson (2016:13) maintains that, "credibility corresponds to validity, dependability to reliability and transferability to generalisation. In any case, the key is not the choice of concept but how the concepts are discussed in relation to 'truth' and 'trustworthiness', since in qualitative studies there is no definite 'truth'. In general, there searchers are more interested in depth understanding of a specific issue and in showing different perspectives rather than aiming at singular truth and generalization".

3.14 Ethical Considerations Pertaining to the Study

According to Welman, Kruger and Mitchell (2005:201), “the researcher should pay attention to four ethical considerations, namely informed consent, right to privacy, protection from harm and involvement of the researcher”. These basic ethical considerations, including voluntary participation by selected participants (Trochim, 2012; Watson, 2012) are applicable when data collection takes place through questionnaires. In this study, a questionnaire was not used. Only examination of multiple information sources, mainly secondary sources, was done.

Writing in a different context, in relation however to data analysis specifically, Wasserman’s argument (2013:3) becomes relevant and instructive in relation to ethical considerations in this research project: “Improper data analysis is an ethical issue because it can result in publishing false or misleading conclusions”. Furthermore, Wasserman (2013:4) is of opinion: “It is generally accepted that flagrant scientific misconduct is an ethical issue.”

Scientific misconduct, according to Grisso *et al.* (cited in Wasserman, 2013:4) is about “falsification, fabrication, or plagiarism (FFP) in proposing, conducting, or reporting research, or other practices that seriously deviate from those commonly accepted by the scientific community.” All care was taken in this research project to guard against scientific misconduct as it related especially to data analysis in respect of “falsification, fabrication, or plagiarism”. Care was also taken to guard against the following issues (and guidelines) for ethical conduct in data analysis, as indicated by Keith-Spiegel *et al.* (cited in Wasserman, 2013:6-9): incompetence, carelessness and dishonesty indirectly related to work as a researcher.

3.15 Limitations and Delimitations

The nature of qualitative research itself has, according to Bryman (2012:405), been criticised as being “too impressionistic and subjective”. This means the findings tend to depend “too much on the researcher’s often unsystematic views about what is significant and important”. This might be a potential risk in the study.

Bryman (2012:406) argues that “case study is not a sample of one drawn from a known population”. Therefore, participants in this kind of qualitative research strategy “are not meant to be representative of a population”. The findings should be generalised “to theory rather than to populations”.

The nature of the study sampling itself, i.e. purposive sampling, involves purposively selecting participants (*in the case of the study, documents*) who will provide the required information that will assist in the study, which may keep the findings of the study from being generalised to other populations (Schurink & Auriacombe, 2010:441).

This research was primarily an analysis of existing literature and data on land redistribution in post-independence Zimbabwe and post-apartheid South Africa. The greatest challenge was that only a few primary sources were used. This made it impossible to strike a balance as there are numerous stakeholders with conflicting views on the successes and failures of land redistribution in these countries.

3.16 Conclusion

This chapter provided an overview of the research methodology employed in this study. It considered the instrumentation, research type, sampling method, types of data and methods of data collection from a theoretical perspective. This study also presented the application of these methods. Content analysis of primary and mainly secondary data sources was discussed. Chapter 4 presents a detailed data analysis and interpretation of the results in relation to the objectives set out in Chapter 1 of the mini-dissertation. The chapter presents and discusses the categories developed and themes emerging from the analysis of the content of all data sources. This is done with the aim specifically of answering the research questions.

CHAPTER 4

PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS, DISCUSSION AND INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

Chapter 4 is a presentation, discussion and interpretation of the data gathered through the research methodologies described in Chapter 3. The research methodology was proposed as collection and qualitative analysis of texts and document. The content analysis method was applied. A coding schedule and a coding manual were developed, which include all the variables / dimensions and associated categories. A computer programme was used to assist.

4.2 Data Analysis

According to Hsieh and Shannon (2005:1285), the success of content analysis is largely dependent on the “coding process”, the basic logic of which is to “organize large quantities of text into much fewer content categories” (i.e. “patterns or themes directly expressed in the text or derived from them through analysis”).

Coding plays a critical part in content analysis. According to Bryman (2012:298), “there are two main elements to a content analysis coding scheme”, namely designing a “coding scheme” (a “form onto which all the data relating to an item being coded will be entered”) and a “coding manual” (a “statement of instructions to codes that also includes all the possible categories for each dimension being coded”). Bryman (2012:299) further states that the coding manual is of crucial importance in that “it provides codes with complete listings of categories for each dimension they are coding and guidance about how to interpret the dimension”. Both a coding schedule with variables / dimensions and a coding manual which included a variety of categories were developed. These are attached as **Appendix B**.

Elo and Kyngäs (2007:109-110) make the argument that during the analysis process, the researcher is concerned with making “sense of the data to learn ‘what is going on’

and obtain a sense of whole”. In this regard, there are critical questions that need to be posed, which include, “Who is telling? Where is this happening? When did it happen? What is happening? And why?”, with the “aim to become immersed in the data”, to make sense of it, and to conduct the analysis using either an inductive or deductive approach (Elo & Kyngäs, 2007:109-110).

If the researcher has opted to use inductive approach, what follows is to organise qualitative data through a process of open coding (i.e. writing notes and headings in the text while reading it), creating categories and abstractions (that is, “formulating a general description of the research topic through generating categories”). The aim of grouping data, according to Elo and Kyngäs (2007:109-110), is to “reduce the number of categories by collapsing those that are similar or dissimilar into broader higher order categories”. The purpose “is to provide a means of describing the phenomenon, to increase understanding and to generate knowledge” (Elo & Kyngäs, 2007:109-110).

4.3 Study Data

The data of the study was collected from multiple sources of information. These included textbooks, journal articles, newspaper articles, accredited internet websites, dissertations and theses, government policy documents and speeches / addresses.

4.4 Analysis of Findings

The findings are presented as divided into 12 variables. All the categories developed and associated with land redistribution implementation in post-independence Zimbabwe since 1980 and post-apartheid South Africa since 1994 fall into these 12 variables.

4.4.1 ANALYSIS OF VARIABLES

4.4.1.2 FINDINGS IN RELATION TO TYPE LAND REFORM PROGRAMMES

Figure 4.4.1.2 Type of Land Reform Programmes

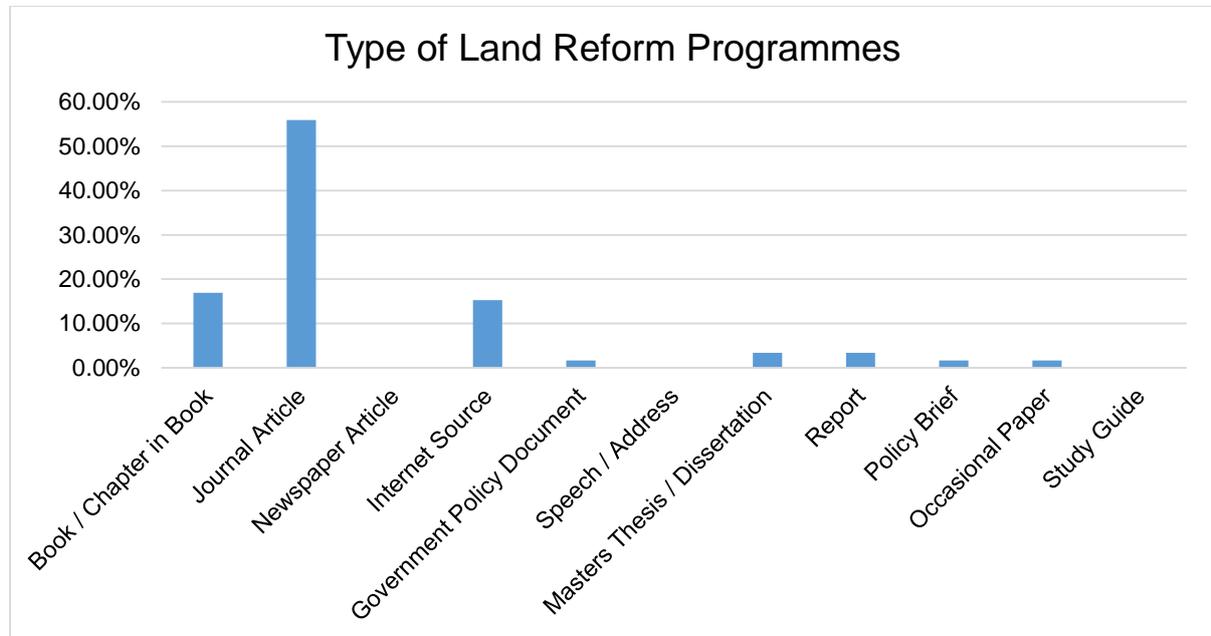


Figure 4.4.1.2 shows that the type of land reform programmes, in other words land redistribution, land restitution and land tenure, featured prominently in discussions in academic journal articles, with a record of 33 times or 55.93% against a total of 59 appearances. This was followed by appearances in books or chapters in books with ten appearances or 16.95%, and then with internet sources recording nine appearances or 15.25%, master's thesis and/or dissertation and reports equally recording two appearances or 3.39%, and followed, lastly, by appearances in policy briefs and occasional papers recording only one appearance or 1.69%.

The data sources analysed reveal that, in relation to South Africa, the democratic dispensation has attempted to address the legacy of land dispossession through the introduction of a three-pronged land reform programme in 1994. These included land restitution, land redistribution and land tenure reform (Hall, cited in Atuahene, 2011b:956; Weideman, 2004:219; Philpott & Butler, 2004:16; Mngxitama, 2004:11; Marco-Thyse, 2006:134-135; Commey, 2002).

Cousins (2013b:12) intimates that the second aspect of South Africa's land reform programme, namely land redistribution, sought to "address gross racial inequalities in land ownership inherited from the past"; it also had "the potential to address an underlying cause of rural poverty – lack of access to productive land, or land suitable for settlement, together with secure rights to such land". This programme, Weideman (2004:219-220) declares, "was based on market principles with some state assistance".

Cousins (2013b:12) indicates that the government's plan in 1994 was to transfer and/or redistribute 30% of agricultural and/or commercial land, or 24.5 million hectares (24.6 million hectares according to O'Laughlin *et al.*, 2013:8), by 1999. This was later adjusted to 2014. According to Jacobs *et al.* 2003:5 in O'Laughlin *et al.* (2013:8) "less than a million hectares had been transferred (around 1.2 per cent of white-owned farm land") by 1999 (714 407 hectares to 360 256 beneficiaries in 55 424 households according to Weideman, 2004:219-220), which resulted in the extension of the target date to 2014. By the year 2007, "only 4.2 million hectares (4.7%) of commercial agricultural land had been redistributed through all government programmes" (Gumede, 2014:59). In March 2011, "only 7.2 per cent (6.3 million hectares) had been transferred" (O'Laughlin *et al.*, 2013:8), and by 2012 only about "7.5 per cent (or 7.95 million hectares) had been transferred through a combination of redistribution and restitution" (Cousins, 2013b:12). According to Gumede (2014:59): "White-owned commercial farmland in South Africa comprises 82 million hectares, and the transfer target is 24.6 million hectares." The target date for the initial 30% has been revised and set at 2025 (O'Laughlin *et al.*, 2013:8).

The slow progress towards achieving the 30% target as planned has received criticism from many organisations. Critics blame "endless red tape, a lack of capacity and a dire shortage of experienced, committed officials" for the collapse of the government's plan (Weekend Post, 2010). Further factors, according to Borass Jr (2003:368-9) include "land size ceiling", the "supply-driven" nature of the "state-led approach", "huge bureaucracy", and "distortion of the land market" by the state.

In Zimbabwe, however, land redistribution has resulted in "13 per cent" of the country's "entire agricultural land" being "held by a range of middle-scale farmers", whereas

“over 70% is held by small farm producers”, and “only 11% is held by large farms and estates” (Moyo, 2011: 499).

It is important to acknowledge that, as argued in Moyo (2013) and Gumede (2014:56), Zimbabwe has undergone a process of radical alteration of its agrarian structure. These theorists indicate that “in 1980, over 15 million hectares of land were devoted to large scale commercial farming”, which then comprised of “approximately 6 000 farmers, nearly all of them white. This fell to around 12 million hectares by 1999, in part through the modest land reform and resettlement programme”. In the year 2010, “there were less than 5 million hectares under large-scale farming”, with “some of it in very large holdings, representing just over 2 000 white-owned commercial farms”, and “with most having been displaced along with a substantial number of farm workers”. Currently, most land in Zimbabwe is held “under small scale farming, either as communal or resettlement areas”. Although the estimates vary, it is argued that in the order of “7 million hectares have been taken over through the FTLRP, exceeding the original FTLRP target of expropriating 5 million hectares” (Moyo, 2013; Gumede, 2014:56).

Scoones *et al.*'s argument (2010:327) becomes instructive, namely that the “outcomes of land redistribution” were more of a balancing act “between local conditions, particular histories and contingent circumstances, the structuring forces of nationalist politics, technocratic planning models and local institutional arrangements, mediated by diverse forms of traditional and modern political authority, gender dynamics and social relations” (Scoones *et al.* cited in Aliber & Cousins, 2013:161). However, the “potential of the new agrarian structure to put accumulation from below on a firm foundation” to ensure “improved livelihoods on a sustained basis, will thus require appropriate state policies and investments if it is to be realised” (Aliber & Cousins, 2013:162).

4.4.1.3 FINDINGS IN RELATION TO THE NATURE OF LAND REFORM

Figure 4.4.1.3 Nature of Land Reform

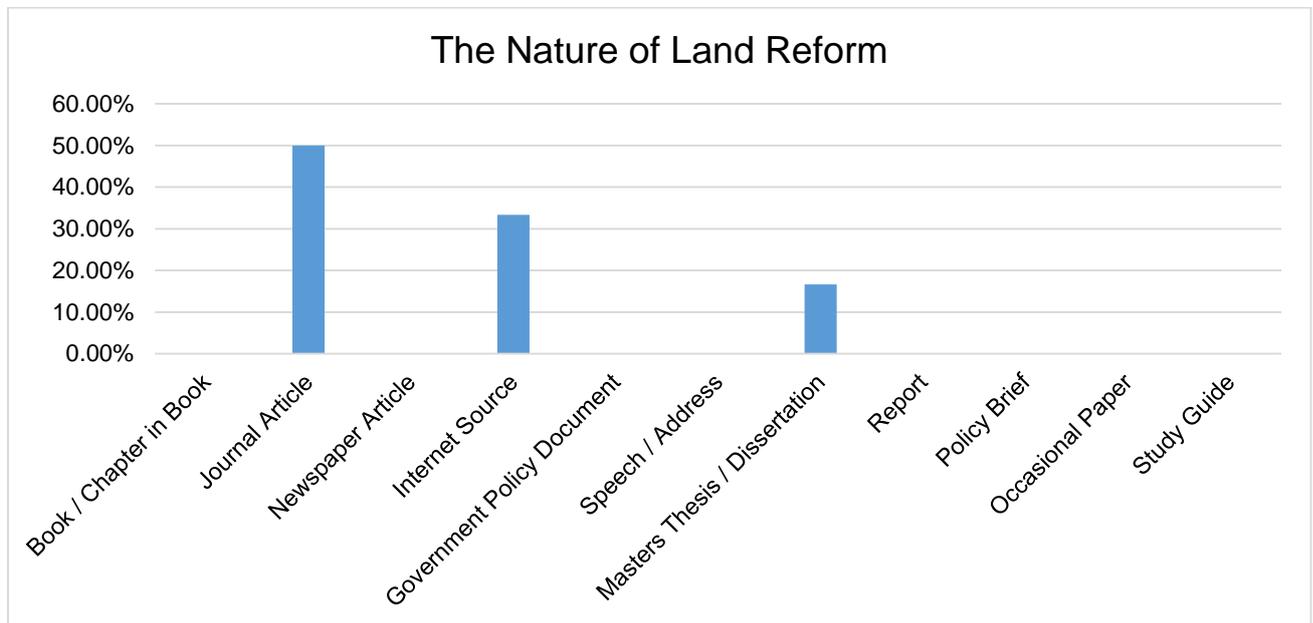


Figure 4.4.1.3 shows that the nature of land reform, in other words redistributive land reform, is not discussed at length in many of the data sources reviewed. It features in only six sources, i.e. three journal articles (50.00%), two internet sources (33.33%) and one master’s thesis / dissertation (16.67%).

In relation to the data examined on redistributive land reform, Moyo (2013) indicates that since attaining majority rule, both Zimbabwe and South Africa have embarked on redistributive land reform processes. Redistributive land reform, as Dlamini (2014:25) points out, “has been defined as a public policy that changes the relative shares between groups in society. It is understood that, to be truly redistributive, land reform must effect on a pre-existing agrarian structure a change in ownership of and/or control over land resources and such a change must flow strictly from the landed to the landless and land-poor classes or from rich landlords to poor Peasants”.

Redistributive land reform “aims to create purposive change that can result in the improvement of the situation of the landless rural poor.” Such a “purposive change” or “reform” is inherently relational, in other words, “it must result in a net increase in poor peasants’ power to control land resources with a corresponding decrease in the share

of power of those who used to have such power over the same land resources and production processes. In fact, land redistribution is essentially power redistribution” (Dlamini, 2014:26).

4.4.1.4 FINDINGS IN RELATION TO HISTORIC NEGOTIATIONS IN BOTH COUNTRIES

Figure 4.4.1.4 Historic Negotiations

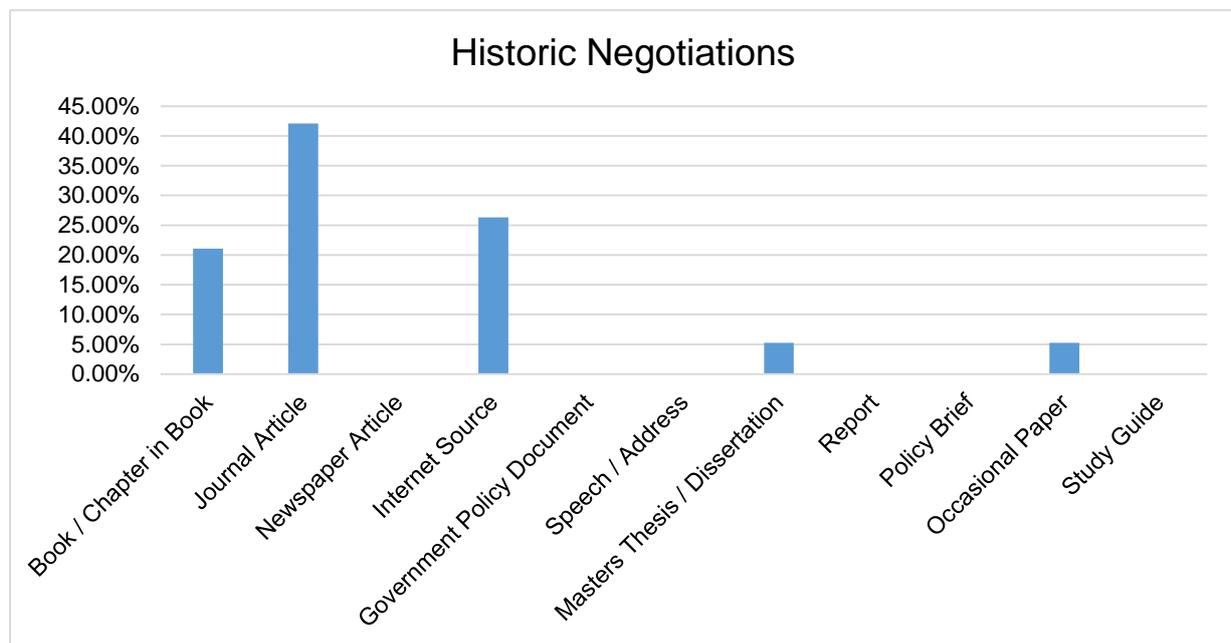


Figure 4.4.1.4 shows that the subject of historic negotiations and compromises entered into by the new and out-going governments in Zimbabwe and South Africa featured prominently in academic journal articles. Journal articles accounted for 42.11% from a record of eight appearances against a total of 17 sources. Journals were followed by internet sources with a record of five or 26.32%, books or chapters in books with a record of four or 21.05%, and then master’s thesis or dissertation and occasional papers equally with one or 5.26%.

The central theme that runs through data sources in relation to historic negotiations and compromise, is that the approach in the first decade of independence and freedom in these countries has been somewhat similar: It involved firstly negotiation, and then, difficulties that arose from “adherence to a willing seller–willing buyer approach to land transfer” (Goebel, 2005:354; SADC, 2010:26). In Zimbabwe, the Lancaster House

Agreement of 1979 required of white farmers to be willing sellers of their land to the government and prescribed that they then “receive a fair market price for that land”. Matters that relate to the historic negotiations are aptly captured by Goebel (2005:354), who paints the picture as follows, that the reality was that “many white farmers were unwilling to sell” their land, and the new “Zimbabwean government was also hard-pressed to come up with market rates for any land that became available”. Furthermore, “much of the land used for the early resettlement programme in the 1980s had been abandoned during the war”. Post-apartheid South Africa too followed pretty much a similar approach of commitment to a “willing seller–willing buyer” principle. At the heart to this principle, lay “the protection of private property rights in the constitution, which makes it illegal for government to expropriate land, except in extraordinary circumstances”. South Africa’s “*White Paper on South African Land Policy*”, for example, “states that the government is committed to a land reform programme that will take place on a “willing seller / willing buyer” basis where possible. However, where this is not possible, the state must be able to expropriate land required in the public interest” (Goebel, 2005:354).

Initially, it seemed that both Zimbabwe and South Africa, based on the outcomes of negotiations (new constitutions, willing seller–willing buyer approach), recognised the need for a gradual and incremental approach to land redistribution. Cousins and Scoones (2010, 35-36) argue, for example, that “policies set out to reform the agrarian structure more gradually, through removing barriers to racial ownership and encouraging the de-racialisation of commercial farming and through versions of market-based land reform. These policies were premised on a particular view of viability and centred on preserving the productive capacity of the large-scale farming sector, while at the same time promoting the growth of small-scale commercial farming, both in communal areas (the former reserves) and on redistributed land”.

It was compromises made during the negotiations for post-independence and post-apartheid settlements in both Zimbabwe and South Africa that resulted in “negotiated transitional agreements” within which land reform was locked.

4.4.1.5 FINDINGS IN RELATION TO THE CONTEXT OF LAND REDISTRIBUTION

Figure 4.4.1.5 Context of Land Redistribution

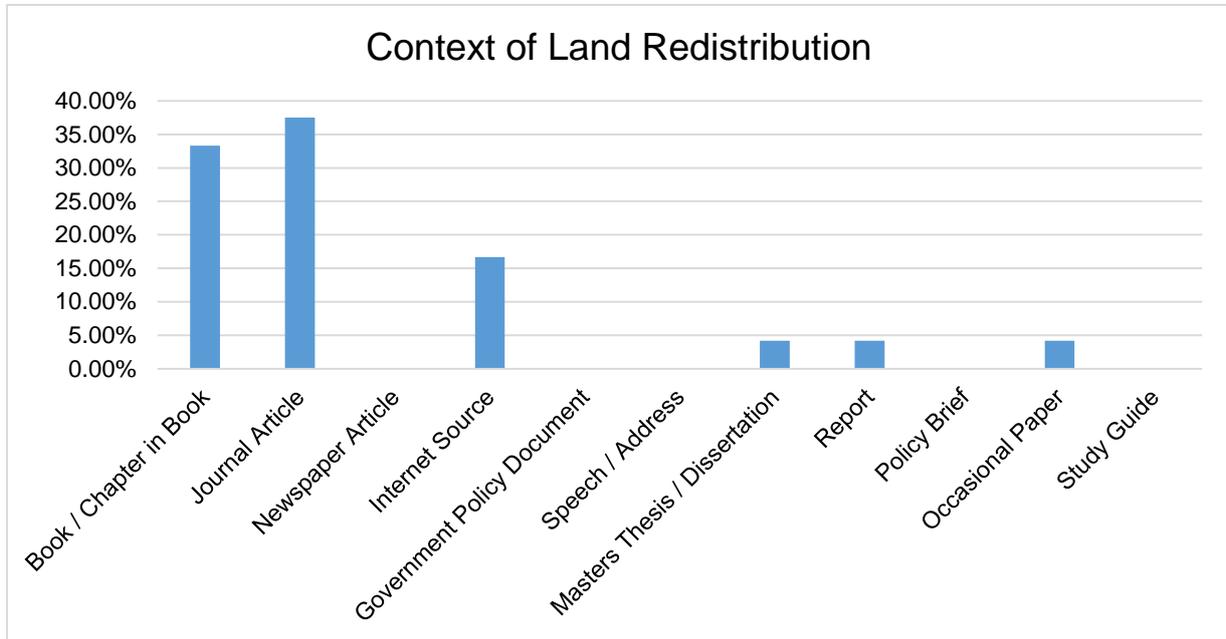


Figure 4.4.1.5 shows that the subject of the context of land redistribution (market-led or state-led land redistribution) assumed prominence in academic journal articles and books or chapters in books. From a total of 24 data sources in which it appeared, it recorded nine appearances or 37.50% in journal articles and eight appearances (or 33.33%) in books or chapters in books. Internet sources recorded four appearances or 16.67%, while master's thesis or dissertation, reports and occasional papers each recorded one appearance or 4.17%.

According to SADC (2010:15), prescriptions for land reform in neo-liberal contexts (*such as South Africa*) tend to emphasise the “role of market rights and the protection of the rights of existing land-owners over social justice”, thus downplaying the “emotive grievances and demands for the redistribution of land and related resources”. However, Moyo (2011, 527) in Gumede (2014:62-63) seem optimistic that the experience of Zimbabwe demonstrates that “even under neoliberal economies such as South Africa, a radical process of land redistribution is still possible”, and “with the correct dose of radicalism, and the benefit of retrospection afforded by the Zimbabwean land reform processes, South Africa should be able to proceed smoothly

towards acceptable redistribution levels within the foreseeable future. The land redistribution process should speed up in order to avoid a potentially dangerous situation – it is feared that what occurred in Zimbabwe would be worse in the case of South Africa”.

In relation to South Africa, for example, Lahiff (2007:1577) argues that since the inception of democracy in 1994, “South Africa has adopted a strongly pro-market approach to land reform, influenced by conservative forces within the country and international backing for market-assisted agrarian reform (MLAR), particularly from the World Bank”. In this regard, one may argue that a pro-market approach defined the context within which South Africa’s land redistribution policy options were conceptualised, formulated and implemented.

It seems from the data analysed that the debate between and among the theorists on land redistribution is mainly about whether it is the state-led or market-led approach that would adequately and sufficiently address the land redistribution challenge. Furthermore, even though the need for land reform in general is not in dispute, it is the manner in which it must unfold that is debatable. In this regard, it seems that many participants share the sentiment that land redistribution has to be implemented in a manner that will minimise the potential for chaos.

It is the very approach adopted by South Africa in contrast with that of Zimbabwe that has given rise to different theories about the cause of the problem. For example, theorists such as Philpott and Butler (2004:6) consider the problem in South Africa to be the government’s adoption of a “neo-liberal” macro-economic strategy. Some theorists, such as Marco-Thyse (2006:135), apportion blame on “willing seller–willing buyer” principle. Other theorists such as Ntsebeza (2007) consider the “Property Clause” in the 1996 Constitution as an obstacle to land redistribution.

4.4.1.6 FINDINGS IN RELATION TO THE APPROACH TO LAND REDISTRIBUTION

Figure 4.4.1.6 Approach to Land Redistribution

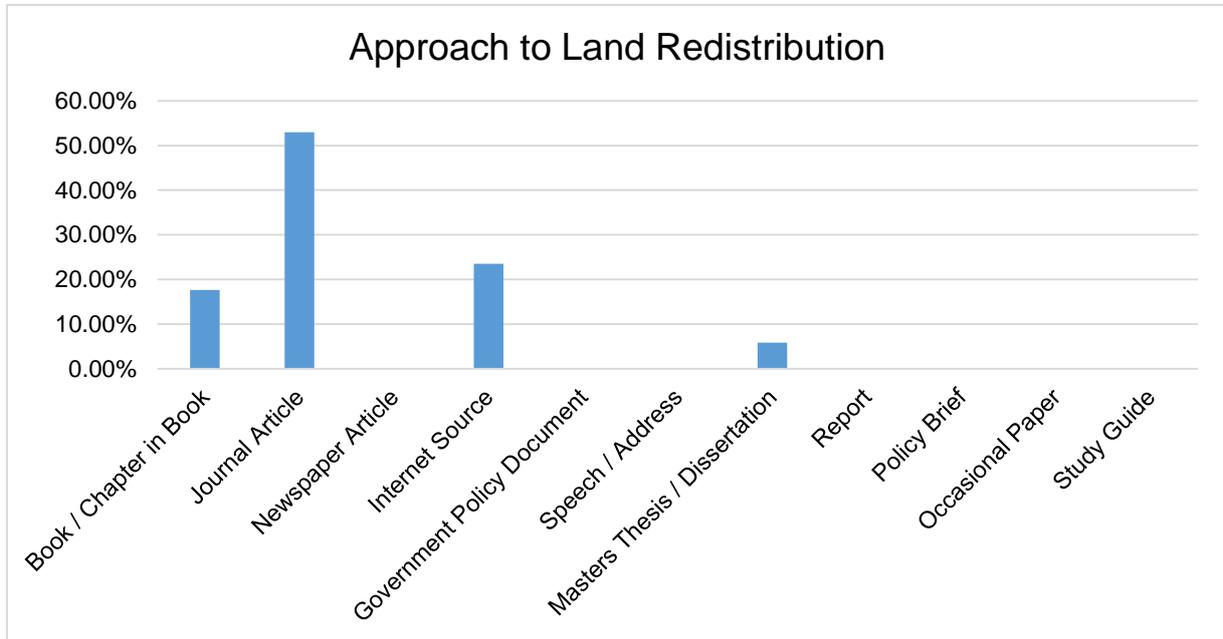


Figure 4.4.1.6 shows that the approach to land redistribution (i.e. whether radical or gradual), appeared in 17 data sources analysed, against the total of 90 data sources. Of these, journal articles recorded nine appearances or 52.94%, followed by books or chapters in books with a record of three appearances or 17.65%. Internet sources recorded four appearances or 5.88% while master’s thesis or dissertation recorded one appearance or 5.88%.

The data sources analysed indicate that both post-independence Zimbabwe and post-apartheid South Africa were confronted by the pressures to effect land redistribution. They both have, however, reacted differently and have pursued different approaches to land redistribution (Mofune, 2010:1). Preston (2008) contends that Zimbabwe has followed a radical approach, while South Africa has opted to remain gradual in terms of its approach.

The differences relate to the approach they have followed to address land redistribution. Zimbabwe’s approach is considered by many sources to have been radical (Preston, 2008; Sachikonye, 2004:81; De Villiers, 2003:149) in that it involved,

among others things, violent occupation and invasion of white-owned farms. South Africa's approach is considered more gradual (Preston, 2008; Goebel, 2005:362).

Zimbabwe's approach to land redistribution was not necessarily a process solely shaped by the state through its technocratic processes. There was a wide variety of issues and forces that contributed to the form it took, which included occupations of white-owned farms. These issues and forces related to history, expectations and unfulfilled commitments, and included pressure for land redistribution exerted mainly by the liberation war veterans and a small number of indigenous businesses. Mamdani (2009:4-5) points out that: "At the end of the liberation war in 1980, 20 000 guerrillas had been incorporated into the national army and other state organisations, and the rest - about 45 000 - had had to fend for themselves. They found it difficult to survive without land or a job, which is why land occupations began in the countryside soon after independence."

Mamdani's (2009:6) observation that although Zimbabwe has experienced the greatest transfer of property, it did not come at no cost, is of importance. It happened extremely rapidly after independence. According to Mamdani (2009:6), the "price to pay" was heavy, with the "first casualty" being "the rule of law, already tenuous by 1986". He contends that: "In the violence that followed, more than a hundred people died, including six white farmers and 11 black farm labourers. Some of the violence was government-sponsored and most of it state-sanctioned." Adversaries in the "trade unions and NGOs" were denounced "as servants of the old white regime", while the "militias and state security agencies" were authorised to "hound down opposition".

According to Mamdani (2009:8-9), "the second casualty of the reform was farm labourers", who numbered "about 300 000 in all, around half of them part-time workers. Fast-track reform resulted in a massive displacement of these workers, who were traditionally drawn from migrant labour. Nearly a fifth came from neighbouring states and were regarded with suspicion by peasants in communal areas. Even if they'd been born locally, they were often seen as foreigners and denied citizenship rights".

4.4.1.7 FINDINGS IN RELATION TO THE CASE / COUNTRY PROFILE (SIMILARITY)

Figure 4.4.1.7 Case / Country Profile (Similarity)

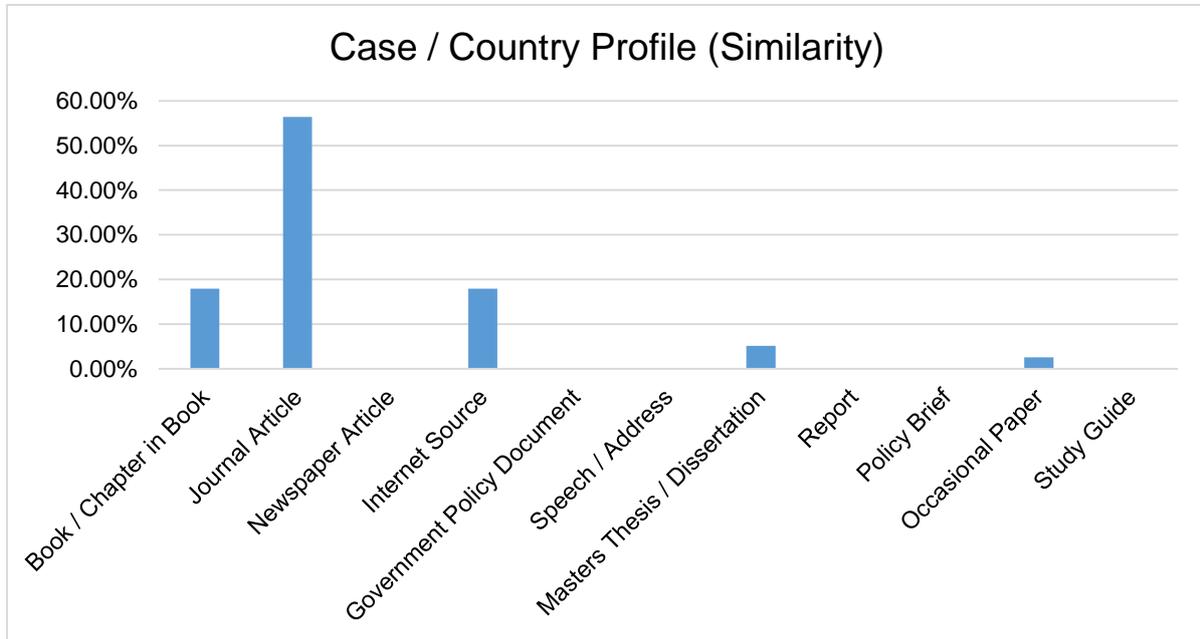


Figure 4.4.1.7 shows that the case / country profile (similarities between Zimbabwe and South Africa) featured prominently in 39 data sources, against the total of all 90 data sources analysed. Journal articles are the main sources in which the case / country profiles were discussed, with a total of 22 or 56.41% of all 39 sources. These were followed by internet sources and books or chapters in books, both of which recorded seven appearances each or 17.95%. Master’s thesis or dissertation recorded two appearance or 5.13%, while occasional paper recorded only one appearance or 2.56%.

Data sources indicate that Zimbabwe and South Africa “share a similar historical profile of race-based minority rule” that saw the majority of black people being driven “into unfertile reserves during the colonial period” (Mofune, 2010:1; Irin, 2012; Sachikonye, 2004:65; Breytenbach, 2004:51-54; De Villiers, 2003:5-6;45-46, Sibanda, 2010:1). These countries also share certain similarities and differences. Some of the similarities include the fact that both countries “have experienced some form of armed struggle” against the colonial and apartheid governments, both “negotiated their settlements for a political dispensation”, both “have constitutions that entrench rights

to immovable property (including land)", and both "have a judiciary to enforce that right" (Mofune, 2010:2; Hunter, 2004:2).

The accepted general ownership and distribution of land based on race which resulted from colonial and apartheid periods of rule by white minorities in these countries has been established in many sources (Mofune, 2010:1-2; Moyo, 2007:66-68; ICG, 2004: ix-xx1; Irin: 2012; Breytenbach, 2004:51-54; Sachikonye, 2004:65; De Villiers, 2003: Chapters 1-3). For example, in South Africa land was "87% white-owned as opposed to 13% black-held" (Andrews, 2007:203; Alden & Anseeuw, 2009; Walker, 2005:807; Rugege, 2004:1; Mngxitama, 2004:3; Irin, 4 September 2009; Khumalo, 2005; The Economist, 2007; Commey, 2002; New African, 2003; Nyanto, 2006).

By the end of apartheid in South Africa in 1994, the white population had monopolised fertile soil to an even greater degree than it was in Zimbabwe (Hughes, 2011:139). The "vast majority of farmland in the country (86%) and the majority of all land (68%) was held by white South Africans" (Lahiff, 2001:1). At the same time, "millions of black South Africans were living in former homelands on poor quality land, far from jobs and economic opportunity" (Boudreaux, 2010:15). In Zimbabwe, "42% of the country was owned by 6 000 (white) commercial farmers" at the end of colonial rule (De Villiers, 2003:6).

4.4.1.8 FINDINGS IN RELATION TO THE MAIN POST-INDEPENDENCE – POST-APARTHEID CHALLENGES

Figure 4.4.1.8 Main Post-independence and Post-apartheid Challenges

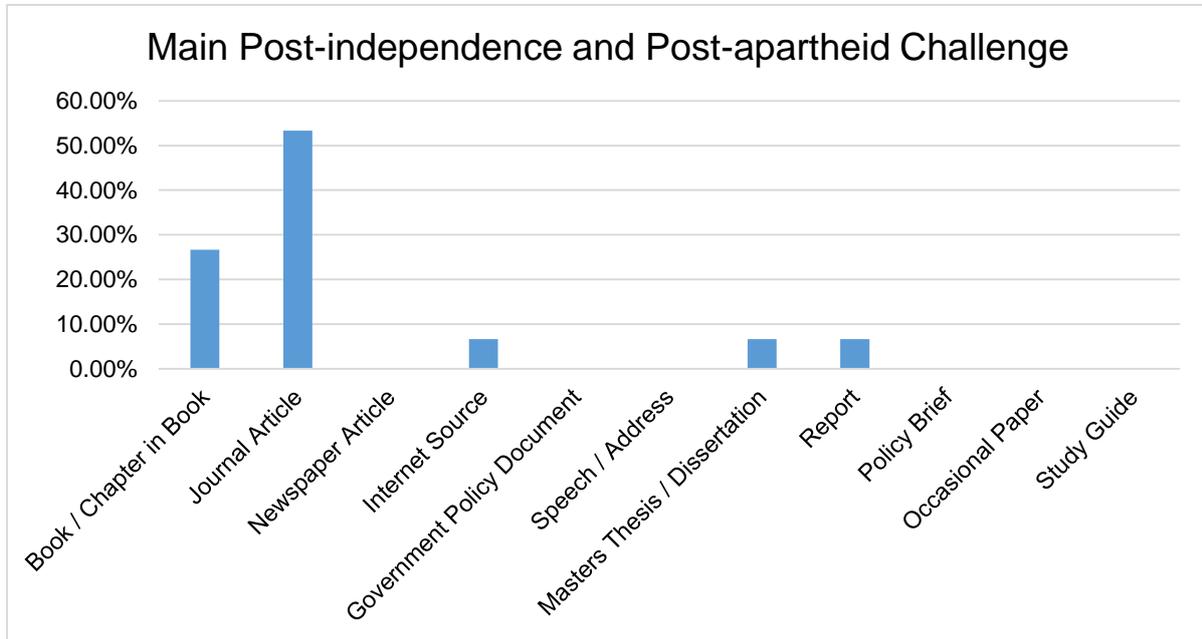


Figure 4.4.1.8 shows that the main post-independence and post-apartheid challenges in Zimbabwe and South Africa respectively featured prominently in journal articles. There are 8 appearances (33.33%) from a total of 15 data sources in which it was addressed. This was followed by books or chapters in books with a record of four appearances (26.67%), and the internet sources, master’s thesis or dissertation and reports each recorded one appearance or 6.67%.

The data sources analysed indicate that the governments in post-independence Zimbabwe and post-apartheid South Africa are essentially faced with a critical land redistribution dilemma of finding an appropriate balance between fast-tracking land redistribution and ensuring that the needs of all stakeholders (i.e. the government itself, land owners and the landless people) are adequately addressed. This is put even more aptly by De Villiers (2003:7-8) when he says that: “The question (faced by post-colonial governments after independence) was essentially how to undertake land reform in a way that would address the fears and expectations of all sides. It was, after all, not a simple task to reverse policies of more than a century of colonial rule that saw Africans lose much of their land to the benefit of the new colonial arrivals.”

The dilemma is that land redistribution processes are by their nature, highly politically charged. They entail difficult questions of economic, political representation and the relative value a society attaches to “traditional systems of land tenure versus imported systems governing use, access and ownership”. The ICG (2004:4) has pointed out that “issues of land ownership often bring major commercial interest, public expectations, politics, the law and international concerns into direct and open conflict”. Furthermore, the specific history of the “region has had an impact on economic development and land policy” development. The region has a history of “large-scale commercial farming dominated by white elites and foreign landowners” and a “small-scale farming predominately black” (SADC, 2010: 75). This is precisely one of the reasons that led to people participating in the liberation war – “skewed land ownership patterns” which favoured the minority white population (Shoko, 2004; Huddle, cited in Gumede, 2014:54).

4.4.1.9 FINDINGS IN RELATION TO THE POLICY DELIVERY CONTEXT / ENVIRONMENT

Figure 4.4.1.9 Policy Delivery Context / Environment

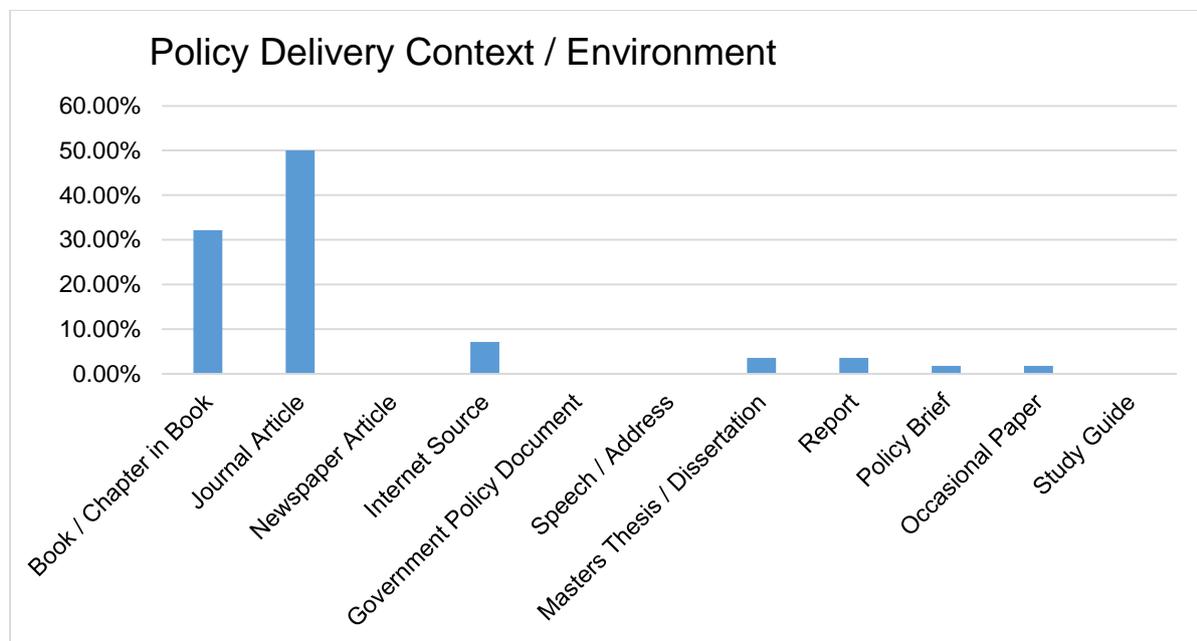


Figure 4.4.1.9 shows that the subject of policy delivery context / environment (i.e. whether or not policy delivery occurred within a democratic, independent or neo-liberal environment), appeared mostly in journal articles with a record of 28 (50.00%) from a

total of 56 data sources in which it occurred. Books and/or chapters in books recorded 18 appearances (32.14%), followed by internet sources with a record of four appearances (7.14%). Both master's thesis and/or dissertation and reports recorded two appearances each (3.57%), while policy briefs and occasional papers recorded one appearance each (1.79%).

The analysis of data sources indicates as that Sachikonye (cited in Hunter, 2004:67) argues, the liberation struggles in Zimbabwe and South Africa “culminated in negotiations, leading to a settlement that paved the way to independence” and democracy. The main liberation movements, ZANU-PF in Zimbabwe and ANC in South Africa, constituted the first post-independence and post-apartheid governments in these countries. The settlement included promises to respect and observe the post-independence constitutions, pledges by the new governments to reconciliation and the rule of law, giving assurances to investors that their interests would not be tampered with. Data sources further reveal that the outgoing white minority rulers in South Africa emphasised private property and the “willing buyer–willing seller” during negotiations (Preston, 2008).

4.4.1.10 FINDINGS IN RELATION TO THE POLICY FORMULATION STRATEGY

Figure 4.4.1.10 Policy Formulation Strategy

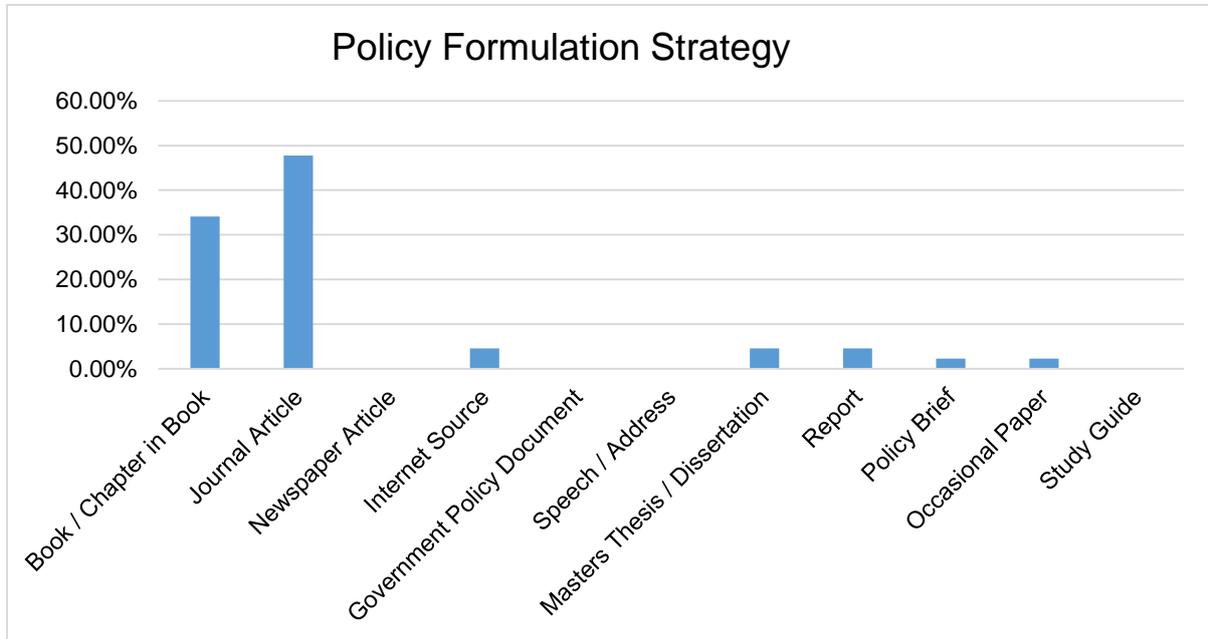


Figure 4.4.1.10 shows that the subject of policy formulation strategy (i.e. the phases through which land redistribution policies were formulated and implemented), appeared mostly in journal articles, with a record of 21 (47.73%) from a total of 44 data sources in which it occurred. Books and/or chapters in books recorded 15 appearances (30.09%), followed by internet sources, master’s thesis and/or dissertation and reports, which recorded two appearances each (4.55%). Policy briefs and occasional papers recorded one appearance each (2.27%).

Data sources reveal that Zimbabwe’s land reform programme was implemented in three phases over a period of three decades since its independence in 1980. The first phase “consisted of market sales of land led by state land acquisition and redistribution”. This phase also involved “intensive illegal land occupations” and “substantial transfer” of land, “albeit below the official targets”. Phase two “enabled the state to acquire some land through expropriation and market mechanisms”. This was done during “the era of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP)”. The third phase was that of FLRP and it “entailed intensive land expropriation alongside illegal land occupations” (Moyo, 2011:495-496).

The period 1980 to 2009 saw “over 13 of the 15 million hectares of land” that “were controlled by 6 000 white farmers” in 1980, “been transferred to over 240 000 families of largely rural origin, but in a relatively differentiated manner” (Moyo, 2011: 497). Gumede (2014:55) notes that the main approach to land acquisition between the period 1981 to 1996 was considered to be “a state-centred, market-based approach to land redistribution” (Moyo, 2013). Furthermore, during this period, the state purchased land from the willing sellers and redistributed it to beneficiaries. The private sector also played a key role in influencing the identification of land and controlling the supply available for resettlement, while the government’s role was mainly confined to that of a buyer (Scoones, Marongwe, Mavedzenge, Mahenehene, Murimbarimba & Sukume, 2010).

The government’s support for land redistribution in post-apartheid South Africa was based, firstly, on the Settlement/Land Acquisition Grant (SLAG) from 1997 to 2000. In terms of SLAG, “the government provided a grant of R16 000 to poor households (those earning less than R1 500 / month) to buy land for subsistence purposes”. The second support for land redistribution was the Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development (LRAD), which was “designed to help previously disadvantaged South Africans buy agricultural land or agricultural inputs”. The LRAD provided “larger grants (up to R100 000) to individuals as opposed to households”. LRAD abandoned the requirement that beneficiaries should be poor (Boudreaux, 2010:16).

Both SLAG and LRAD were widely criticised. The SLAG programme was criticised for being very slow to get started. This affected very poor buyers of land negatively due to long delays and uncertainties, which led to willing owners and sellers withdrawing from deals. Further criticism levelled was that the grants provided were hardly enough, so that beneficiaries often had to pool grants to buy the land that they wanted. By virtue of being poor, purchasers were therefore typically unable to buy the “needed agricultural inputs for their new land and they had very limited abilities to obtain credit” (Boudreaux, 2010:16).

Major problems emerged in terms of “group acquisition, ownership and management of land, lack of capacity and resources in the Departments of Agriculture and Land Affairs (exacerbated by the market approach to land acquisition) and lack of post-

settlement support” (Weideman, 2004:219-220). The LRAD was, in contrast, criticised for giving less to support very poor rural dwellers and instead concentrated on “supporting those black South Africans who have more financial resources and are more likely to succeed as commercial farmers” (Boudreaux, 2010:16).

4.4.1.11 FINDINGS IN RELATION TO POLICY IMPLEMENTATION INSTRUMENTS

Figure 4.4.1.11 Policy Implementation Instruments

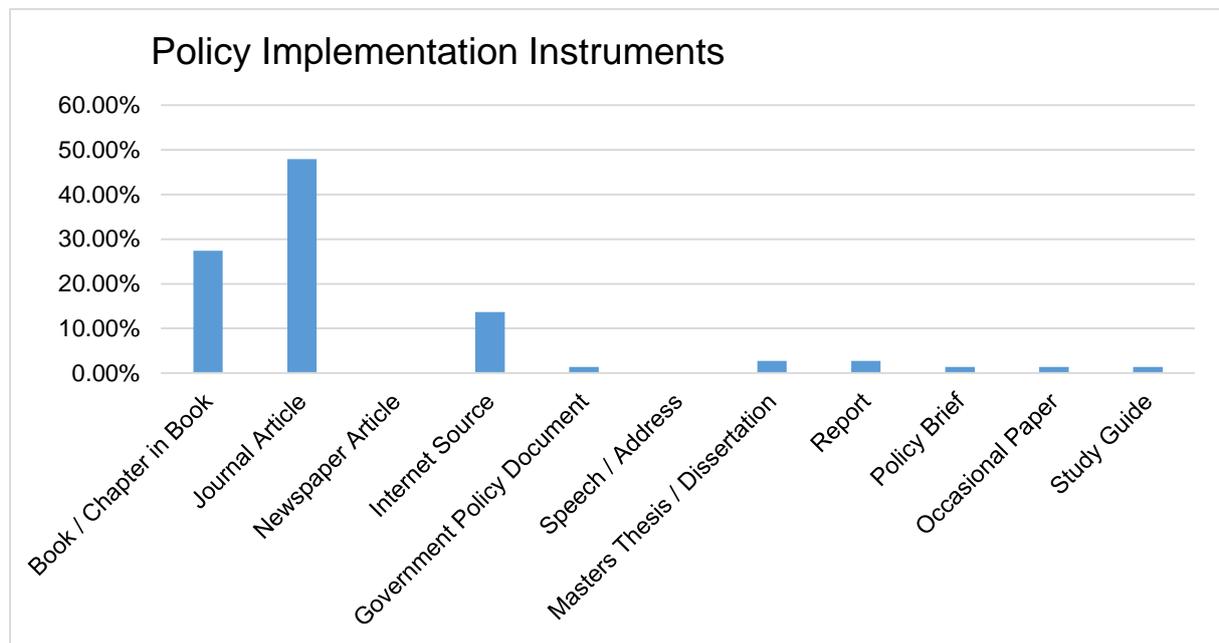


Figure 4.4.1.11 shows that the subject of policy implementation instruments (e.g. the constitution, other acts, principle of “willing buyer–willing seller”, etc.) appeared mostly in journal articles with a record of 35 appearances (47.95%) from a total of 73 data sources in which it occurred. Books and/or chapters in books recorded 20 appearances (27.40%), followed by internet sources with a record of ten appearances (13.70%). Both master’s theses and/or dissertations and reports recorded two appearances each (2.74%), while policy briefs, occasional papers, government policy documents and study guides recorded one appearance each (1.37%).

The data sources analysed reveal that in Zimbabwe, the “willing seller–willing buyer” principle became central in the “state-centred, market-based approach to land redistribution”, which, according to Moyo (2013), ensured that the whites withheld the

best of their land, “thereby denying new settlers an opportunity to fully participate in the agricultural economy”. Towards the end of the first decade, it was clear that the government plans for mass resettlement were not going to materialise. This led to the land question once again moving up the political agenda, especially as the *Lancaster House Agreement* neared expiry in 1990. This provided the basis for further land policy reform “to facilitate a more aggressive transformation to neutralise the looming crisis of expectation on part of the landless masses” (Moyo, 2013).

According to Scoones *et al.* (2010, 2011, 2012), quoted in Aliber and Cousins (2013:161), a decade of large-scale land redistribution in Zimbabwe initiated “a process of radical agrarian change”, which saw many Zimbabweans “enjoying enhanced land-based livelihoods and novel commodity chains and market linkages of much potential beginning to emerge”. This was not without problems, however. Challenges were experienced in “relation to insecure land tenure, unaccountable systems of land administration, absent or weak support services for supplying input, credit, infrastructure and extension”. Clover and Eriksen (cited in Mbwadzo-Siangombe & Uzodike, 2014:96), indicate that “many beneficiaries of the programme (under Model A1), which targeted masses of new farmers to decongest rural communities, received little or no training in farm management or associated skills and thus rely primarily on subsistence farming”.

Furthermore, contends Mofune (2010:5), the costs of purchasing “the land for free peasant resettlement was quite high”. In terms of estimates, Mofune draws from Nyoni (cited in Mofune, 2010:5) that “the market price costs were in the range of Z\$ 91,363,687 (the Zimbabwean dollar was nominally stronger than the US Dollar around this time), and 23 per cent of this amount was borne by the government”. Reference is also made to the “United Kingdom’s (UK) Department of International Development (DFID)”, that “the UK government provided 44 million pounds for land reform, seventeen million pounds of these was for land resettlement, while 27 million pounds was for budgetary support that would enable Zimbabwe to meet its contribution to land resettlement” (DFID 2000) in Mofune (2010:5). The rest of the monies were in the form of “loans or grants from foreign governments”, donors and organisations. Of importance to note, as pointed out by Herbst (1991) in Mofune (2010:5) is the existence of consistent failure by the government to meet resettlement targets due to

the high costs involved in buying land at market prices. Adams and Howell (cited in Mofune, 2010:5) concluded that although “Zimbabwe’s target was to settle 162 000 families on 9 million hectares of land in the first five years of independence”, and “although 52 000” of these “families were settled on 3.3 million hectares”, this was still “around 5 million hectares below expectations”.

In South Africa, the land redistribution programme was based on the “willing seller–willing buyer” principle from its inception, a practice that, according to Dlamini (2014:50-51), “denotes a completely voluntary transaction between a seller and a buyer”. In the South African context this was fraught with difficulties, which included the land owners not being willing to sell, and the government not being “a willing buyer because it has a legal duty to buy” land and redistribute land.

Dlamini (2014:50-51) argues that due to “willing seller–willing buyer” principle, the speed of redistribution had been “effectively determined by numerous uncoordinated negotiations between land owners and would-be purchasers. Commercial farmers own most of the land, and a small fraction is in the custody of the state. In many instances, commercial farmers are reluctant to release and/or sell land to willing buyers. Furthermore, the purchase of land in South Africa is market-based, and the sellers tend to overprice land, thus making it impossible for some buyers to acquire land”.

In South Africa, Cousins (2013b:13) argues, the government has negotiated land prices with landowners, and has “approved grants using long-winded bureaucratic procedures, while consultants have been hired to write constitutions for legal entities and develop farm business plans”. Furthermore, the landowners who were unwilling to sell their farms have been able to veto land transfers in specific locations. Lack of capital and ineffective post-settlement support measures have also hamstrung the ability of beneficiaries to engage in production, and in the absence of effective area-based planning, land acquisitions have lacked any spatial logic. South Africa’s land reform has therefore “combined the least effective aspects of both state and market-driven approaches”, and it is not surprising that beneficiaries aiming to farm have “struggled to achieve high levels of productivity”. The following argument by Cousins (2013b:13) is instructive: “These problems, together with the slow pace of redistribution, have led to widespread dissatisfaction with the “willing seller–willing

buyer” approach. Some political formations have called for the property clause in the constitution to be scrapped, so that land can be expropriated more easily”.

4.4.1.12 FINDINGS IN RELATION TO ORGANISING THEORY FOR ANALYSIS – CONTINUITIES (AND DISCONTINUES) THESIS

Figure 4.4.1.12 Organising Theory for Analysis - Continuities (and Discontinuities) Thesis

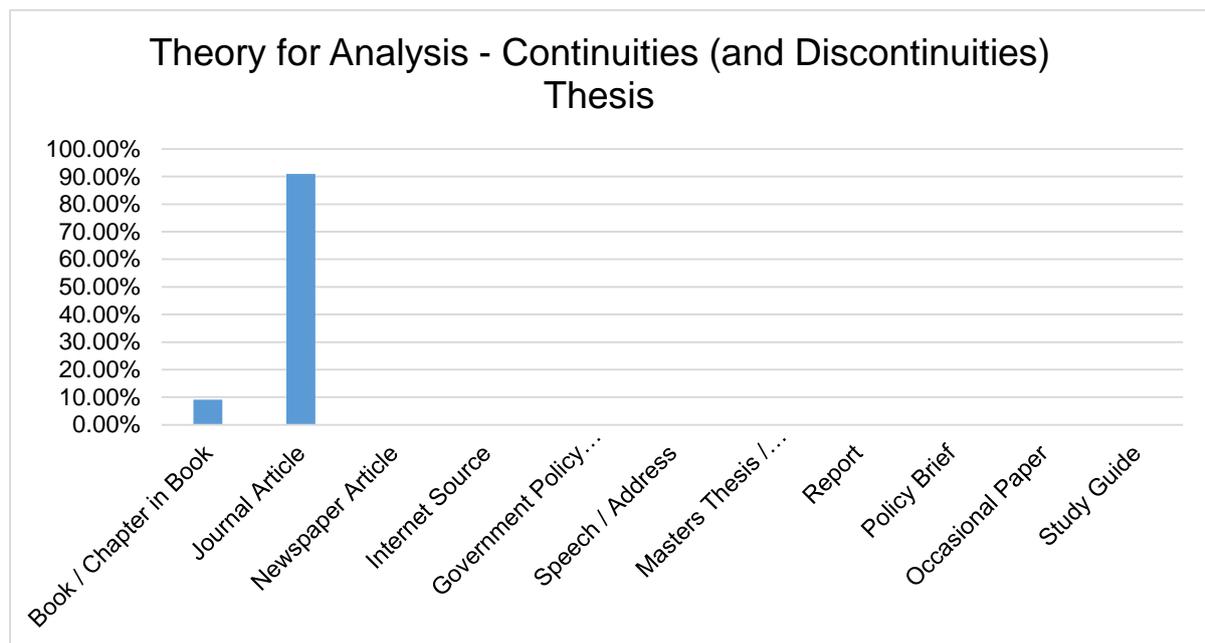


Figure 4.4.1.12 shows that the subject of continuities (and discontinuities) in the manner in which land redistribution was managed both before and after independence in Zimbabwe in 1980 and democracy in South Africa in 1994, featured in 11 data sources out of the total of all 90 data sources analysed. It appeared in 11 journal articles (90.01%) and only one appearance (9.09%) in a book or chapter in a book.

Based on the theory, the notion that land redistribution should create discontinuities is the departure point in this section. The logic of discontinuities, in other words interruptions in flow or coherence, one may be of opinion, would better assist to analyse the case of Zimbabwe. The case of South Africa with regard to land redistribution policies and management that reflect less commitment to discontinuities, is better analysed through the logic of continuities. This approach is informed by Aliber and Cousins’ argument (2013:164) that it is only in Zimbabwe and where the “dualistic’

structure inherited from the past been radically transformed, at least at Masvingo". Cousins and Scoones (2010:32) describe a dualist agrarian structure as one marked by racial division, and "comprising of a large-scale (white) capitalist farming sector, which dominated production for both domestic and international markets on the one hand, and a struggling peasant sector on the other".

Dlamini (2014:25) argues that there has been too much continuity between the colonial and the post-colonial land reforms in Africa, the reasons of which included "the weak nature of many post-colonial states, constitutions that preserved existing institutions and laws, the extent and influence of foreign investments, and the need to earn foreign exchange". One may argue that it is also against this background, as pointed out by Moyo (2013) and Gumede (2014:62), that it was important that the outcome of the process of land redistribution policy implementation should be a transformed agrarian structure that would ensure promotion of economic participation by the vulnerable and ensure food security and environmental sustainability for these countries. A transformed agrarian structure, one may insist, would be one that showed discontinuity with colonial land reform. The process of land redistribution policy implementation in these countries resulted in different outcomes with respect to agrarian transformation. For example, the outcomes of the negotiated transition to democracy and settlement in South Africa (1990-94) according to Lahiff (2007:1578) (*1990-1994 being the period during which the initial land redistribution policy was formulated*), "left much of the power and wealth of the white minority, including land ownership, intact". There are differences in outcomes of implementing land redistribution policies, in other words whether they represented continuity or discontinuity with the past, in terms of the inherited dualistic agrarian structure.

4.4.1.13 FINDINGS IN RELATION TO IMPLICATIONS OF LAND REDISTRIBUTION

Figure 4.4.1.13 Implications of Land Redistribution

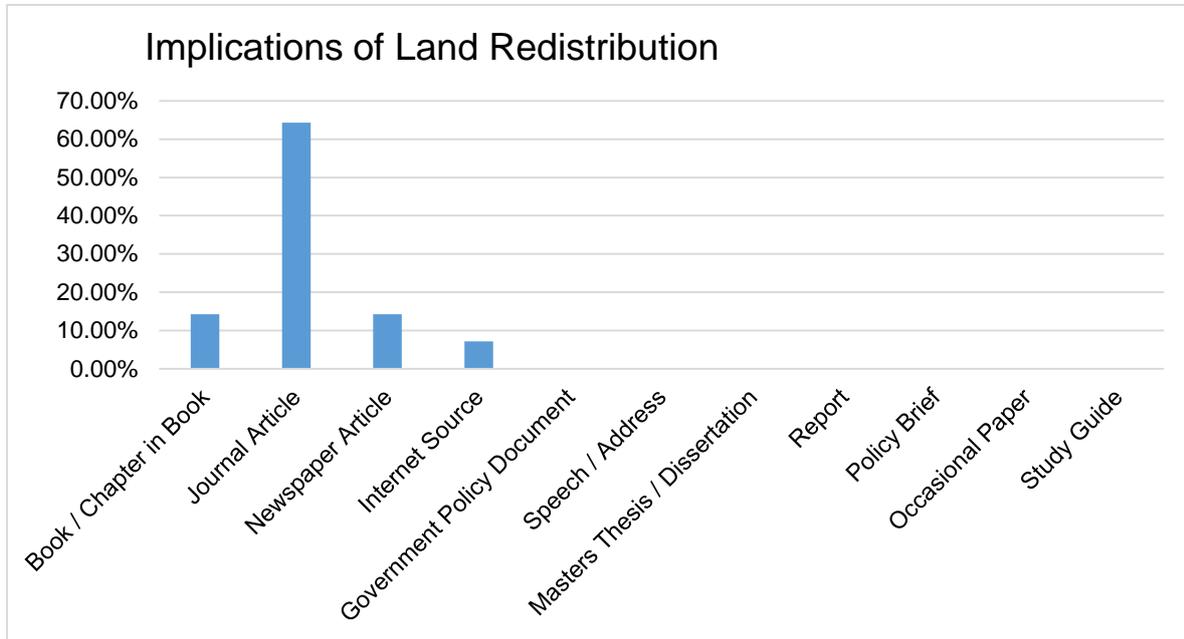


Figure 4.4.1.13 shows that the subject of implications of land reform (i.e. implications and lessons for both South Africa, and implications for public administration) was treated in 28 data sources analysed from a total of all 90 data sources used in this study. The subject appeared in 18 journal articles (64.29%). Both newspaper articles and books or chapters in books recorded four appearances each (14.29%), while internet sources recorded two appearances (7.14%). The implications of land redistribution concern both South Africa (implications and lessons) and public administration.

4.4.1.13.1 Implications of and Lessons from Zimbabwe's Land Redistribution Policy Implementation for South Africa

The data sources analysed revealed that the manner in which Zimbabwe approached land redistribution policy implementation and its outcomes has implications for South Africa. This is due to the fact that Zimbabwe was confronted with the challenge of land redistribution at least ten years before South Africa. Both Zimbabwe and South Africa are located in the southern tip of the African continent, they share a similar historical

profile of “race-based minority rule”, they have negotiated their transitions, they have constitutions that protect private property rights, and they have committed to a “willing seller–willing buyer” approach. In due course, however, Zimbabwe opted for a radical approach, which has caused it to become an important lens through which to reflect on South Africa’s land redistribution process. It is the outcomes of the radical approach (e.g. violent occupation of white-owned farms) that for some reflected “a haunting spectre of potential disaster”, while for others it was “a hopeful sign of the possibility of radical change”. The outcomes of this radical approach, weaknesses in the rule of law, etcetera, provided South Africa with many lessons and examples of what could possibly happen and the consequences during implementation of land redistribution policies.

The Zimbabwean experience indicates that it is important to ensure that a land redistribution policy is implemented carefully. This is to avoid potential consequences such as violence that may arise from declining patience as a result of not seeing the results. However, as argued by De Villiers (2003:149) with reference to “the political and economic reality of southern Africa”, “time is not necessarily on the side of those who favour a careful and considered approach to land redistribution”. South Africa may very well remain committed to peaceful implementation of its land redistribution policy, discourage violent invasion and occupation that undermine the rule of law, etcetera. It must also balance this against the patience and frustrations of land-hungry citizens who may be vulnerable to, and/or inclined to taking matters into their own hands and reclaim their land that was dispossessed during colonial and apartheid periods. Gumede (2014:55) intimates that “it is necessary to ensure that transformation does not drag on unnecessarily and that land hungry masses are assured that the process of land reform is still on track”, based on Moyo’s observation (2013) of the fact that Zimbabwean “process took a more aggressive format that resulted in political and economic turmoil”, which “both land owners and the government in South Africa fear”.

De Villiers (2003:22) points out that the land reform process in Zimbabwe was neither simple, nor an outright failure. It demonstrates the complexity of the land reform process, the challenges of redressing past injustices, as well as impact of a lack of resources on land acquisition and post-settlement support processes. It is important to find a balance between pursuance of land redistribution on the basis of “political

ideology and expediency” and the need for redress of historical imbalances, against the socio-economic costs that could outstrip the perceived benefits of radical approach to land redistribution. It is important to maintain this balance between short- and long-termism in vision so that the stresses that may arise from the system are not too difficult to manage.

4.4.1.13.2 Implications of Land Redistribution Policy Formulation and Implementation for Public Administration

Land redistribution as political policy to redress the history of past racial imbalances in property relations, is a government service delivery matter that requires instruments such as public administration, the public sector and its officials to convert it into realistic, practical, attainable and measurable delivery outcomes. These instruments play a central role in terms of whether or not its implementation succeeds, since it is public officials that have to plan, organise and budget for its implementation. Land redistribution policy therefore has a direct link with the public sector, which according to Cloete (1995:62), refers to the “legislative, governmental and administrative institutions” at all government levels, and all the functionaries employed at these institutions.

The public service officials have to implement land redistribution policy commitment in a politically charged environment, which impacts on the effectiveness of public administration to support the government by converting land redistribution strategy into realistic, practical, attainable and measurable delivery outcomes.

Dlamini (2014:55) points out that “the complexity of the institutional task was unanticipated by the advocates of land reform- and that even today politicians, policy-makers and the public still grossly underestimate the multidimensional capacity needed for effective implementation”.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter provided detailed results of the research. Graphs and statistics were used to augment the results. The study used a combination of qualitative and quantitative techniques to describe and analyse the findings based on the 12 variables / dimensions identified, their associated categories in relation to land redistribution policy implementation in both post-independence Zimbabwe and post-apartheid South Africa.

Having presented an analysis and discussion of the findings generated from the content of the documents analysed in the current chapter, the next chapter (Chapter 5) provides the main conclusions of the study. It also provides answers to the research questions of the study and presents a set of recommendations.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

5.1 Introduction

Zimbabwe's independence and democracy in South Africa led to the need "for new policies on land access" (Mbwadzwo-Siangombe & Uzodike, 2014:96). Based on the history of land dispossession in these countries, the key challenge was to ensure justice and fairness by broadening the "patterns of land use and ownership to include black majorities" who were dispossessed during the colonial period, "without undermining investor confidence or negating the rule of law" (ICG, 2004:3).

Post-independence Zimbabwe and post-apartheid South Africa have both been confronted by pressures to effect land redistribution since their respective political changes in 1980 and 1994. However, they reacted differently and have pursued different approaches to land redistribution (Mofune, 2010:1). Preston (2008) contends that Zimbabwe has followed a radical approach, while South Africa has opted to remain gradual in terms of its approach.

The approach followed in Zimbabwe to implement land redistribution policies and the ramifications thereof limits the scope for policy choices in South Africa with regard to the same land redistribution. Despite South Africa's commitment to the rule of law and commitment to implementation of land redistribution policies in a manner that seeks to discourage outcomes similar to those experienced in Zimbabwe, it cannot be stated with certainty that the South African government would have all the time it needs to implement land redistribution as it would deem fit without having to succumb to pressures for policy changes and calls for speedy implementation from different stakeholders. This seems to be the government's dilemma.

Against the above backdrop, the main aim of the study was to examine the phenomenon of land redistribution in the cases of post-independence Zimbabwe and post-apartheid South Africa in terms of policy choices, and to examine the

implementation of policies with a view to reflecting on the implications of the outcomes of one case (Zimbabwe) for the other (South Africa).

Accordingly, the study was primarily concerned with posing the following questions: (1) What does the Continuities and Discontinuities Theory of Paul Hebinck, Derick Fay and Kwandiwe Kondlo (2011) entail and how can it form the foundation of this study? (2) What has been the influence of political power in administrative policy making and execution in terms of assisting or retarding the effectiveness and efficiency of public administration to support the implementation of land redistribution in post-independence Zimbabwe and post-apartheid South Africa? (3) What has been the capacity of public administration to conceptualise and convert land redistribution political policies and commitments to implementable delivery outcomes? (4) What is the likelihood of continued sustenance of South Africa's non-radical approach to land redistribution amidst pressing demands for policy change fuelled by the ramifications of the Zimbabwe's approach to land redistribution?

In this chapter the summary of the study is presented and the findings per research question are addressed. The chapter ends with a conclusion and some recommendations.

5.2 Summary of the Findings

Below is a discussion of the main findings of this research in relation to each research question.

5.2.1 What does the Continuities and Discontinuities Theory of Paul Hebinck, Derick Fay and Kwandiwe Kondlo (2011) entail and how can it form the foundation of this study?

Land redistribution programmes and policies in Zimbabwe since 1980 and in South Africa since 1994 can be analysed through the use of the continuities (and discontinuities) theory advanced by agrarian reform scholars Paul Hebinck, Derick Fay and Kwandiwe Kondlo (2011). These authors are of the opinion that the trajectory of land and agrarian reform in South Africa post-apartheid, as a

transformation issue, has many commonalities with the manner in which land and agrarian reforms were managed before the dawn of democracy. Using their thesis, it is possible to locate the notion of continuity in the South African case and discontinuity in the case of Zimbabwe.

Their theory holds that land redistribution should create discontinuities. The logic of discontinuities, in other words interruptions in flow or coherence, one may argue, better assisted to analyse the case of Zimbabwe. The case of South Africa with regard to land redistribution policies and management that reflected less commitment to discontinuities, was better analysed through the logic of continuities. To support this view, Lahiff (2007:1578) proposes that the outcome of the “negotiated transition to democracy in South Africa” (1990-94) (*1990-1994 being the period during which the initial land redistribution policy was formulated*), “left much of the power and wealth of the white minority, including land ownership, intact”. It is these differences in outcomes of implementing land redistribution policies, in other words whether they represented continuity or discontinuity with the past, in terms of the inherited dualistic agrarian structure.

5.2.2 What has been the influence of political power in administrative policy making and execution in terms of assisting or retarding the effectiveness and efficiency of public administration to support the implementation of land redistribution in post-independence Zimbabwe and post-apartheid South Africa?

Public administration is duty-bound to formulate and implement policies to support the government of the day on promises and commitments made, as well as expectations created in respect of land redistribution. Public administration does not, however, function and carry out this duty in isolation of the service delivery environment and climate created by the government of the day. This climate, according to McLennan (2009:19-22), “is highly politicised” in that “it represents some of the contradictions of the transition from apartheid to democracy”.

The highly politicised or politically charged public service delivery environment within which public administration functions, by implication, requires, as McLennan (2009:21)

aply puts it, an understanding that in South Africa, provision of public services goes beyond the country's ability to provide these services to users or people "who need or demand them". In South Africa, service delivery is linked to some sense of socio-economic redress of the history of apartheid; it is linked to a sense that includes issues such as "redistribution, social justice, poverty alleviation and economic growth". Service delivery in South Africa is about "state-driven delivery processes" which, "while apparently technical or managerial, are also political because they define the power relationship between the state, its citizens and the economy". In this regard, one may argue that public administration (in its neutral and professional conduct in carrying out its function), has to take this understanding into consideration in its support for the government of the day to deliver on land redistribution.

Public administration supports the government of the day by developing policies and other mechanisms of public service delivery. In this regard, SADC (2010:16) notes that "effective land policy making should recognize that land is a fundamental resource for the livelihood of the majority (who are poor) in diverse rural and urban situations", it should "balance the rights and interests of the weak against the powerful, while ensuring the inclusion of all sections of society in realizing the variety of social, environmental and economic benefits from land". This, one may argue, highlights the significant role of public administration in policy formulation for service delivery, with an understanding of the direction in which the government of the day is steering. This implies, one may further claim, that public administration had to function with an understanding of the country's history in land ownership patterns and the need for redress to ensure "redistribution, social justice, poverty alleviation and economic growth".

The effectiveness of public administration depends on the extent to which the ruling party prefers its political commitments and promises to be reflected in land redistribution policy formulation and implementation. One may argue that this implies that there is a solid relationship between the government of the day and public administration, in that public administration has to conceptualise the governing party's land redistribution vision and political policy and convert it into service delivery outcomes. Therefore, the ruling party's election manifesto (promises and

commitments) greatly influence the manner in which government officials develop public policies.

5.2.3 What has been the capacity of public administration to conceptualise and convert land redistribution political policies and commitments to implementable delivery outcomes?

The capacity of public administration can also affect its effectiveness to assist the government to deliver on its land redistribution policy. On this score, SADC (2010:65) has observed that by focusing primarily on the development of policy and legislation, governments and their advisors have paid “little attention to capacity building”, translation of laws into programmes that could be implemented and prioritisation of the resources to support reform. Coupled with this is (SADC, 2010:17) the challenge of “state capacity to implement land policies and manage land administration in ways that are accountable, efficient and transparent”. It is therefore important that “implementation systems and institutions” should be functioning to deliver on good land policies, which “national land policies only provide high-level political guidance”, indicating the overall objectives (SADC: 2010:50).

Public service delivery (e.g. land redistribution) in a political environment impacts on the effectiveness of public administration to carry out its functions. This political environment itself brings about many challenges for public administration, including administrative, financial, managerial, etc. These challenges and more have made it difficult to successfully honour delivery commitments on land distribution made by the new government in South Africa. For example, the government’s failure to meet the service delivery expectation of land redistribution and the reasons often provided (e.g. endless red tape, capacity constraints, shortage of experienced and committed officials, etc.) also call into question the role and capacity of the public administration function to convert (land redistribution) political commitments into realistic, practical and attainable delivery outcomes. There are many factors that may be affecting the performance of the role of public administration in assisting the government to ensure successful implementation of land redistribution policies within the time frames. These factors may include the politically charged delivery environment and the influence of politicians in administrative processes. However, this does not entirely absolve public

administration of all blame in that the inability and failure of government to meet its targets also reflect the incapacity of public administration to assist the government in succeeding.

The implementation of land redistribution in South Africa has exposed and implied capacity challenges of public administrators to spend allocated budgets. These were due to problems that included shortage of “technical staff at central and regional levels and the complexity of the challenges relating to implementation on the ground” (SADC, 2010:65). Coupled with this has been, Dlamini (2014:55) argues, “various institutional issues” affecting implementation of land reform programme. The Department of Land Affairs had to meet the very high expectations of rapid “land reform among the newly enfranchised majority” by guiding through an unfamiliar parliamentary process to draft the legislation to achieve this and developing “institutional structures and operating systems to support its work”. In addition, the staff of the same department’s “lack of staff capacity has been a continuing constraint”, and “isolationism of government departments, often finding that it was working at cross-purposes with other departments, especially at the provincial and local level”.

5.2.4 What is the likelihood of continued sustenance of South Africa’s non-radical approach to land redistribution amidst pressing demands for policy change fuelled by the ramifications of the Zimbabwe’s approach to land redistribution?

Many observers are interested in whether or not land redistribution in South Africa will be addressed in the same manner as in Zimbabwe, or whether it will be carried out in a timely, lawful manner that reinforces rather than undermines South Africa’s recently established constitutional democracy (Lipton, 2010:1208).

The study indicates that in Zimbabwe and South Africa the need for land redistribution does not appear to be a matter in dispute. What appears to be at issue is how it is implemented. This is due to the fact that it affects different stakeholders (e.g. dispossessed Africans and white landowners) who have different expectations, differently. What both the white landowners and the dispossessed Africans are dissatisfied with, contends Letsoalo and Thupana (2013:298), relates to the policies and implementation of land redistribution as opposed to whether or not land

redistribution should happen. This leads one to infer that whether land redistribution should happen and by when is a matter of government and politics. However, the question of how it must happen practically (i.e. planning for it and costing thereof) and when will it happen (i.e. implementation of policies) concerns the role of public functionaries, which is often performed in a politically determined environment.

It may well be the case that in so far as land redistribution is concerned, different stakeholders want the same thing (i.e. land redistribution) albeit for different reasons. For example, Moyo (2013) contends that in both Zimbabwe and South Africa, current landowners and the landless “agree on the importance of land redistribution and the transformation of current land ownership patterns”. In the Zimbabwean case, contends Moyo, a wide range of blacks, especially the landless poor and farmworkers, “sought land reform to redress racial and class inequalities, foreign domination and historical loss of land. These reasons are also applicable to the South African” case. For example, Hall (2004:214) states that: “To different groups within South Africa, land reform is, variously, about the deracialisation of capital, the promotion of smallholder agriculture, direct poverty reduction by transferring assets to the poor, human security and secure tenure, and historical justice.”

The disagreements that exist between governments and landowners, Moyo (2013) points out, concerns mainly “the procedures followed and not in the substance of the action of land reform, which everyone considers noble”. A somewhat similar contention is made by O’Laughlin, Bernstein, Cousins and Peters (2013:1) that “even the skeptics acknowledge the political necessity of resolving or defusing the ‘Land Question’”, and reference by “public commentary to the spectre of Zimbabwe-style land invasions as a warning” of possible consequences should land reform fail.

It seems that unequal land ownership patterns are the greatest threat to security in the SADC region, especially in countries where land is the prime resource and poor people depend on farming (Moyo, 2004: iii, cited in Mbwadzwo-Siangombe & Uzodike, 2014:91). The slow pace of resolution of unequal patterns of ownership fuels the threat even further. In the South African context, for example, Zenzo Moyo (cited in Gumede, 2014:51) reckons that both the land owners and the landless people seem to agree that “South Africa is moving at a very slow pace” on land redistribution and the transformation of patterns of land ownership. However, both land owners and the

landless people differ fundamentally on the basis of their motivations. For land owners, a speedy land reform process is needed to avoid the 'chaotic' way in which it was done in countries such as Zimbabwe. For the landless people, land redistribution has to be fast-tracked to enable their full participation in the economy of the country and to correct the imbalances of the past. This is the dilemma that seems to fuel the security threat in the SADC region.

The resolution of land redistribution in South Africa, in light of the Zimbabwe experience and lessons, will either result from a fundamental restructuring of the government's land redistribution programme, or a fundamental "restructuring of property relations by the people" themselves. The current situation "can be controlled to create a different future". If South Africa cannot take charge of the present, it is likely to be "faced with outcomes similar to Zimbabwe's". The outcome will, in Commey's prediction (2002), probably be either "a mutually assured destruction (MAD) or a mutually assured prosperity (MAP)."

5.3 Recommendations

The following recommendations may be made from the results of the study:

- Effective land policy making should recognise that land is a vital resource for the livelihood of the majority, who are poor and who come from diverse rural and urban situations.
- There is a need to find a balance between the rights and interests of the weak against those of the powerful in policy making, and to ensure that different sections of society are included in realizing different social, environmental and economic benefits from land.
- The capacity of government officials should be improved so that they are able to implement land redistribution policies and manage land administration in a manner that reflects accountability, efficiency and transparency.
- There has to be effective and regular monitoring and evaluation of land redistribution policy implementation to assist policy makers and researchers to continuously gather information on policy successes or failures, in order to improve planning.

5.4 Conclusion

The post-independence period in Zimbabwe and the post-apartheid period in South Africa brought about high expectations of all sorts of public services and goods among their black populations. These expectations included that a major “transformation of property rights” to address the historical challenge of “land dispossession and oppression would be amongst the priorities” of the new governments of Zimbabwe (ICG, 2004:3) and South Africa (Lahiff, 2001:1; Ntsebeza, 2007:109). Land redistribution became one of the interventions for the transformation of property rights. With the benefit of hindsight from the Zimbabwe experience, the objective of the study was to address the question of what could possibly happen when these expectations remain unmet or frustrated in South Africa.

A comprehensive literature review has informed this research study, and it included the following concepts: agrarian reform, land redistribution, land question, public sector, service delivery, native reserves, apartheid and colonialism. This assisted in the definition of the research study and postulating it appropriately with relevant concepts, theories, definitions and other empirical studies. A collection and qualitative analysis of texts and documents used and the content analysis method was applied. The research methodology included the type of research, instrumentation, sampling method and the data collection method from a theoretical perspective. *Primary* data (from original sources) in the study were gathered from written speeches / addresses, while secondary data were gathered from a variety of documents: journal articles, books, internet, etc. The data obtained purposively were statistically and graphically tabulated, analysed, interpreted and discussed accordingly.

The history of land dispossession during the colonial and apartheid periods in Zimbabwe and South Africa and the approach followed in these countries to change this history, is well documented in many sources (Mofune, 2010; Cousins & Scoones, 2010:32). It is a history of “confinement of the indigenous rural population to densely-settled native reserves”, massive state subsidisation for the “development of a white settler farming class, and discrimination against small-scale black farmers in the reserves” (Moyo, 2007:60–3). As a result, “a highly dualistic and racially divided agrarian structure” emerged in these countries. This structure comprised of “a large-

scale (white) capitalist farming sector, which dominated production for both the domestic and international markets, on the one hand, and a struggling peasant sector, on the other” (De Villiers, 2003:6; Cousins & Scoones (2010:32). Among the priorities of post-independence Zimbabwe and post-apartheid South Africa was the need to address this dualism in the agrarian structure. These countries followed different approaches that produced different outcomes, resulting in Zimbabwe becoming an important framing device for reflecting on South Africa’s land redistribution process, for some reflecting “a haunting spectre of potential disaster”, while for others “a hopeful sign of the possibility of radical change” (Goebel, 2005:346-8).

The successful resolution of the land question therefore, according to Cousins (2013a), “is critically important for stability, democracy and development.” By this Cousins means that the legacy of the history of land dispossession “is immense bitterness amongst black South Africans and a powerful desire to have the land restored to its rightful owners”. This is even more important given that there is a “... widespread agreement on the need for land redistribution based on the extent to which there is inequality in access to land, and the history of land dispossession and political contest over landownership” (Hall, cited in Anseeuw & Alden, 2010).

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APPENDIX A MATRIX

ARTICLE TITLES	Type of land reform	Nature of land reform	Historic negotiations	Context of land redistribution	Approach to land redistribution	Case / country profile	Main challenge	Policy delivery context	Policy formulation strategy	Policy implementation instrument	Organising theory for analysis (Continuities – Discontinuities)	Implications of land redistribution
Darkness at Noon: South Africa	•				•			•	•	•		•
Livelihoods after Land Reform in South Africa		•				•		•	•	•	•	
Struggling for a life of dignity	•			•				•	•	•		
Dreams of owning land in tatters as four land reform deals fail												•
State will not meet it's land target												•
Land Reform in South Africa: An Unfulfilled Obligation	•							•		•		
South Africa's Land Reform Crisis: Eliminating the Legacy of Apartheid	•				•		•	•		•	•	•
Paying for the Past: Redressing the Legacy of Land Dispossession in South Africa	•					•	•					
Public administration. Concepts, theory and practice								•	•	•		
Land Reform in Southern Africa in World Historical Perspective		•	•			•	•				•	
Questioning Market-Led Agrarian Reform: Experiences from Brazil, Colombia and South Africa	•			•						•		
Public administration and management: a guide to central, regional, and municipal administration and management								•	•	•		
Land Reform as Social Justice: The Case of South Africa	•					•		•	•	•		
Land Reform in Southern Africa	•		•	•		•				•		
Public administration glossary								•	•	•		
South Africa land: a ticking time bomb	•			•		•		•		•		
Land reform in post-apartheid South Africa – a disappointing harvest	•					•		•		•		•
Land Redistribution, Populism and Elite Capture: New Land Reform Proposals under Microscope	•							•	•	•		

Contested paradigms of 'viability' in redistributive land reform: perspectives from southern Africa	.			.		.	.	.		.	.
Public administration: An action orientation								.	.	.		
Land reform: Issues and challenges. A comparative overview of experiences in Zimbabwe, Namibia, South Africa and Australia	.		.	.	.	.		.	.	.		.
Taking land reform seriously: From willing seller-willing buyer to expropriation African land	.	.		.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Comment on the newly released Green Paper on Land Reform	.									.		
Expropriation of land without compensation for equitable redistribution				.	.					.		
The Undeserving Poor: Poverty and the Politics of Service Delivery in the Poorest Nodes of South Africa.								.	.	.		
Public administration dictionary								.	.	.		
Public management								.	.	.		
The organisation of government: An introduction								.	.	.		
Is Zimbabwe the Future of South Africa? The Implications for Land Reform in Southern Africa	.		.	.		.						.
Dimensions of participation and implementation in South African local government								.	.	.		
Status Report on Land and Agricultural Policy in South Africa, 2010	.						.	.	.	.
Land reform in post-apartheid South Africa: Should South Africa follow Zimbabwe's footsteps	.		.		.		.	.	.	.	.	.
A Political Economy of Land Reform in South Africa	.			.	.	.		.	.		.	.
Two cycles of land policy in South Africa: Tracing the contours Land redistribution in South Africa	.			.				.	.	.		.
Land and Agrarian Reform in South Africa: Caught by Continuities	.							.	.	.	.
South Africa's Ticking Time Bomb	.									.		.
Public management and administration: An introduction								.	.	.		
Who should own the land? An Introduction						.						
Part 1: Introduction - The Context of Land Reform in Southern Africa	.			.		.	.	.		.
In-depth: Land reform in Southern Africa	.					.	.			.
Land redistribution in South Africa proving a failure.	.									.		
South Africa: land issue winter of discontent	.									.		.
The Historical Context of Land Reform in South Africa and Early Policies	.							.	.	.
Land Redistribution: Moving beyond rhetoric	.								.	.		
Land reform in South Africa: Is it meeting the challenge? Policy Brief no.1	.							.	.	.
Willing Buyer, Willing Seller': South Africa's Failed Experiment in Market-Led Agrarian Reform	.		.	.		.		.		.		.
Land Reform in South Africa: A Status Report 2008	.			.				.	.	.

The repeal of the land acts: the challenge of land reform policies in South Africa	.					.		.		.	.
Strategic Management								.	.	.		
Lessons of Zimbabwe: Mugabe in Context			.		.	.				.		.
Land Policy and Human Security Concerns in Southern Africa: A Case Study of South Africa and Zimbabwe	.		.		.	.				.		.
The Delivery Paradox								.	.	.		
Land Rights in South Africa: A mechanism against poverty?	.			.				.		.
Public accountability: A professional basis for the South African public service								.	.	.		
Farm Dwellers – Citizens without rights: The unfinished National Question				.		.				.		.
Land Reform Management in Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe: A Comparative Perspective	.		.			.		.	.	.		.
Fighting Fire with a Broken Teacup: A Comparative Analysis of South Africa's Land-Redistribution Program	.							.	.	.	.
The land question and Land Reform in Southern Africa	.		.	.	.	.
The Land Question in Southern Africa: A Comparative View	.			.	.	.		.		.
Land reform in South Africa and Zimbabwe: Towards the realisation of socio economic rights?	.	.	.		.	.		.	.	.
Public Management								.	.	.		
Land ownership at crisis point. (Feature: South Africa)	.					.				.		.
Land redistribution in South Africa: The property clause revisited	.		.		.			.		.
South Africa land issue: 'we cannot wait any longer; It's crunch time down south	.					.				.		.
Introduction: Agrarian Change, Rural Poverty and Land Reform in South Africa since 1994	.				.	.		.	.	.	.
Land in South Africa: Gift for all or commodity for a few? Occasional Paper no.1 June 2004	.		.	.		.		.	.	.
Why has the ANC government in South Africa gone slowly on land reform, and why did Mugabe in Zimbabwe abandon gradualism			.	.	.	.		
Land reform target can't be met												.
Land Reform in South Africa: An Overview	.				.	.	.	.	.	.
Land reform in Namibia and Zimbabwe: A comparative perspective	.		.			.		.	.	.		.
Outcomes-based evaluation within a systems perspective								.	.	.		
Strengthening the Relative Rights of People Working the Land – Policy Proposals	.									.		
Land Policy in Africa: Southern Africa Regional Assessment	.			.		.	.	.	.	.	.
Review Essay: Land Reform in Southern Africa: Myths, Visions and the Harsh Realities of Development and Justice	.			.			.	.		.		.
Why land reform is so tricky; South Africa	.					.						.
Land Reform in Zimbabwe	.		.			.		.	.	.	.	.

Agricultural land redistribution in South Africa: Towards accelerated implementation	•			•			•			•		•
What is redistributive land reform for? And who should benefit?	•	•				•	•			•		
The limits to Land Reform: Rethinking 'the Land Question'	•		•			•		•	•	•		
Who shaped South Africa's Land Reform Policy?	•							•	•	•		
Three decades of agrarian reform in Zimbabwe	•	•		•			•	•	•	•		
African land	•					•				•		•
Land Redistribution / restitution in South Africa: A Model of Multiple Values, as the Past Meets the Present	•				•	•		•		•		•
Where Zimbabwe got it wrong - lessons for South Africa: A comparative analysis of the politics of land reform in Zimbabwe and South Africa.	•		•			•		•	•	•		•
Land reform targets can't be met												•
Where Zimbabwe got it wrong – lessons for South Africa: A comparative analysis of the politics of land reform in Zimbabwe and South Africa			•			•		•	•	•		•

APPENDIX B

A CODING SCHEDULE DEVELOPED WITH DIMENSIONS / VARIABLES USED FOR COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE LAND DISTRIBUTION POLICIES OF ZIMBABWE (1980) AND SOUTH AFRICA (1994)

Type of land reform programme	Nature of land reform	Historic negotiations	Context of land redistribution	Approach to land redistribution	Case / Country profile	Main Post-independence – post-apartheid challenge	Policy delivery context	Policy formulation strategy	Policy implementation instruments	Organising theory for analysis – Continuities (and Discontinuities)	Implications of land redistribution

A CODING MANUAL DEVELOPED FOR COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE LAND DISTRIBUTION POLICIES OF ZIMBABWE (1980) AND SOUTH AFRICA (1994)

Type of land reform programme

1. Land redistribution
2. Land restitution
3. Land tenure

Nature of land reform

- Redistributive land reform

Historic negotiations

1. Lancaster House Agreement
2. World Trade Centre (Kempton Park) Multiparty Talks

Context of land redistribution

1. Market-assisted land redistribution
2. State-led land redistribution

Approach to land redistribution

1. Radical
2. Gradual and incremental

Case / country profile (similarity)

1. Historical and/or colonial dispossession
2. Race-based minority rule
3. Racial distribution and ownership of land
4. Dual agrarian structure

5. Liberation struggles for land
6. All of the above

Main post-independence – post-apartheid challenge

1. Fundamental question of justice and fairness
2. Fulfil expectations
3. Land invasion and occupation

Policy delivery context / environment

1. Democratic
2. Independence
3. Neo-liberal

Policy formulation strategy

1. Only one phase
2. Two phases
3. Three phases

Policy implementation instruments

1. Constitution (including other Acts)
2. Willing –seller / Willing-buyer principle
3. Policy proposal (s) or framework (s)
4. Green paper
5. White paper
6. Programme (s)
7. All of above

Organising theory for analysis – Continuities (and Discontinues)

1. The Notion of Continuities and South Africa’s Land Redistribution Policy Implementation
2. The Notion of Continuities and Zimbabwe’s Land Redistribution Policy Implementation
3. Both 1 and 2

Implications of land redistribution

1. Implications and lessons of Zimbabwe’s land redistribution policy implementation for South Africa
2. Implications of land redistribution policy formulation and implementation for public administration
3. Both 1 and 2

