Chapter 1
GENERAL ORIENTATION OF THE STUDY

1.1   INTRODUCTION

Since 1994, the South African Government has developed two key strategic policies that embrace the principles of sustainable development: sustainable tourism and land reform. Both policies seek redress and economic development for previously disadvantaged black people but both policies were not integrated to form part of a sustainable development strategy for communities. In terms of the land redistribution programme (as one leg of the land reform programme), the commonage[1] sub-programme has primarily advocated an agrarian style development, even though the contribution of agriculture to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) has dwindled since the 1960s (Tupy, 2006). This has prevented communities with access to commonages from exploring other livelihood opportunities such as sustainable tourism ventures. This lack of integration means that potentially 400 000 hectares of land and more than 1200 households[2] in the Northern Cape alone could have been targeted for some sustainable tourism ventures.

This study examines whether the 'merger' of two discourses: sustainable tourism and land reform, is possible. Woolmer, Chaumba and Scoones (2003) argue, in relation to wildlife management (as part of sustainable tourism) and land reform in Zimbabwe, that the two discourses are embedded in two very opposing models of development. Land reform emphasises direct redistribution, equity and land for crops, while wildlife management focuses on

---

[1] 'Commonage' is municipal land that the DLA purchases for cash-strapped municipalities so that the municipality's poor residents can access the land for agricultural purposes. The land has a conditional title deed or servitude attached to it so that the municipality cannot alienate it for purposes other than land reform.

[2] In the Northern Cape, as part of land redistribution through the commonage sub-programme, the Department of Land Affairs distributed 410 000 hectares of land to 1205 households in 2004 (Department of Land Affairs, 2004:27). Chapter Five outlines comprehensive statistics on land reform in the Northern Cape.

the maximisation of foreign earnings, encouraging public-private partnerships and trickle-down.

Within the South African context, land reform strategic goals not only incorporate equitable distribution of land ownership, but also recognise the "need for land reform to reduce poverty and contribute to economic growth," (Department of Land Affairs, 1997:7). It is clear that the intention of the South African government in terms of its land reform agenda is asset and wealth redistribution. The study argues that it is possible to achieve asset and wealth redistribution not only through agriculture but also through sustainable tourism. It is, firstly, necessary to understand the two discourses in order to deduce possible commonalities and, secondly, to assess whether the commonalities (if any) can be further developed into planning guidelines for sustainable tourism opportunities on commonages.

1.2   LAND REFORM AS PART OF THE GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT DEBATE

The majority of the world's poorest[3] people, especially in Asia, Latin America and sub-Saharan Africa, practice farming and depend on the productive use of land for economic and social survival (Department for International Development, 2002). Inequalities in land-holding patterns and land tenure insecurity have led governments in the above-mentioned developing nations to focus on land reform policies in attempting to reduce poverty and to stimulate the economy.

Why is land reform undertaken in developing countries like South Africa? Richter (1982) provides four reasons:

- many countries have huge landless populations that want to own the land that they farm rather than continue as farm workers or labour tenants;

---

[3] World development indicators for 2000-2001 estimate that 70% of people living on less than $1 or R6 per day are farmers (World Bank, 2001).

- governments want to defuse political unrest and win the support of rural/landless people;
- governments often favour land reform as a means of securing foreign aid; and
- some countries have used land reform on the assumption that small owner-operated farms, though denied the economies of large-scale production, are farmed more intensively and productively.

One other pivotal reason for the utilisation of land reform as a development strategy, especially in the southern African context, is that land ownership patterns remain highly skewed in favour of white commercial farmers[4]. In all the countries that pursue a land reform policy it is essentially an instrument designed to eliminate obstacles to economic and social development arising from defects in the agrarian sector.

Land reform has gained prominence in the international developmental circles after its marginalization from 1980 to 1990. In Latin America, Mexico, Brazil and Peru adopted market-oriented[5] land reform policies. Similarly, in southern Africa in the 1990s, Zimbabwe[6], Namibia and South Africa embarked on market-assisted land reform initiatives to balance the playing field in terms of white and black land ownership patterns. In all of the countries cited, land reform is a socially and economically desirable policy that is necessary to improve land tenure security and/or gain ownership of land for growth, equity and poverty reduction.

Land redistribution policy, although critical, is only one aspect of a comprehensive development strategy. From 2001, insufficient attention has

---

[4] In South Africa, in the 1990s, 60 000 white commercial farmers who constitute only 0.5% of the white population own about 80% of the agricultural land, while 11 million rural blacks owned 13% of the land (Department of Land Affairs, 1997). In Zimbabwe, approximately 4 500 white commercial farmers controlled 42% of agricultural land while in Namibia 4 128 white farmers own 45% of commercial farmland (Moyo, 2001).

[5] The government assists landless people to acquire land through subsidies and/or loans at market-related prices.

[6] Zimbabwe's land reform programme followed the market-oriented approach until 1999/2000 when the War Veterans Movement, supported by the Zimbabwean Government, commenced with illegal occupations of commercial farmland.

been given to the role of land in diversified income-generating strategies (Baranyi, Deere & Morales, 2004). Deininger (2003) noted that Brazilian government planners implementing the Brazilian land reform policy have neglected the diversity of livelihood options that are available to the rural poor.

In Mexico and Argentina, employment in industry, manufacturing, trade, tourism and other services offers options for labour or professional development, which, for many, are more attractive than agricultural work, particularly wage-earning agricultural work. This has changed the rural landscape. They are characterised by the growth of towns and medium-sized cities. There are often strong ties between these towns and cities and their rural hinterlands through non-agricultural trade, transportation systems, and a wide-range of services related to production, consumption and recreational needs (Berdegué, Reardon, Escobar & Echeverria, 2000). Berdegué *et al.* (2000) contend that the services related to production, consumption and recreational needs provide not only better economic opportunities for the rural people but also options for narrowing the quality of life-gap between the rural and urban environments.

There are no examples available in the international arena of sustainable tourism strategies that have been developed and implemented within a land reform context. The only exception is Zimbabwe that has included ecotourism[7] as part of its Land Reform Resettlement Programme in 2001 but there are no current documented case studies of this. Most of the countries that have implemented land reform policies do so in response to the deficiencies within the agricultural sector linked to agricultural land ownership. A country's economic development strategy or poverty reduction strategy caters for tourism development. There is generally no correlation between tourism initiatives and land redistribution.

---

[7] Ecotourism is widely regarded as a sub-set of sustainable tourism (McCool and Moisey, 2001; Swarbrooke, 1999; Weaver, 2001b). This will be discussed in Chapter 3.

1.3   LAND REFORM IN SOUTH AFRICA

Prior to the democratic elections in 1994, the South African liberation movement had prioritised land reform because of the importance attached to the resolution of the land question in South Africa. The African National Congress (ANC) utilised land reform as an instrument to address the partiality of forced removals and the historical denial of land access. The land reform programme sought to address the tenure insecurity of rural farm dwellers, eliminate overcrowding and provide residential and productive land to the poorest sections of the rural population.

The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) document and the Government's *White Paper on South African Land Policy* (Department of Land Affairs, 1997) articulated the concept of land reform. Land and agrarian reforms are national priorities and are further entrenched in Section 25 (4) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 (Act No.108 of 1996). Section 25 (4) emphasises that:

> "(a) The public interest includes the nation's commitment to land reform, and to reforms to bring the equitable access to all South Africa's natural resources; and
> (b) Property is not limited to land."

A three-pronged market-assisted land reform programme aiming at tenure reform, restitution and land redistribution, was launched in 1994 (Ramutsindela, 2003).

1.3.1   Tenure Reform

The tenure reform programme seeks to validate and to harmonise forms of land ownership that evolved during colonialism and apartheid. It is an attempt to redress the dual system of land tenure in which whites owned land as private property as opposed to communal land allocation among blacks (Ramutsindela, 2003). The majority of rural blacks lived and still live on communal land, registered as the property of the State under the erstwhile

6

South African Development trust. Furthermore, tribal chiefs continue to act as custodians of communal land (Department of Land Affairs, 2003c).

1.3.2 Restitution

Land restitution forms the second pillar of the land reform programme. It aims to redress the imbalances in land ownership that were created by policies and legislation of forced removals such as the infamous Natives Land Act, 1913 (Act No. 39 of 1913). The nature of restitution is determined by three broad categories of the effects of land dispossession - namely, dispossession leading to landlessness, inadequate compensation for the value of the property, and hardships that cannot be measured in financial or material terms (Department of Land Affairs, 1997). Some communities, such as the Makuleke of the Kruger National Park, gained land rights in protected conservation areas through the restitution process and are developing tourism development strategies.

1.3.3 Redistribution

Land redistribution was conceived as a means of opening up the productive land for residential and agricultural development. The national government set itself a target of redistributing 30% of the country's commercial agricultural land (about 24 million hectares) (Department of Land Affairs, 1997) over a five-year period (i.e. from 1994 to 1999). This target has been extended since the review of the programme in 2000 to redistribution of 30% of agricultural land by the year 2014 (Department of Land Affairs, 2003c) and encompasses all agricultural land redistributed through all three programmes. The redistribution programme will be discussed in Chapter 2.

This study primarily focuses on the redistribution programme, in particular the commonage sub-programme, as the programme has led to land transfers in the Northern Cape, primarily in the Namaqualand region. There are approximately 150 commonage projects that the Department of Land Affairs (DLA) has implemented since 1997 (Department of Land Affairs, 2004) and all of them are grazing projects or small-scale crop projects. It is not clear why

the focus has been purely on agriculture, because the commonage policy statement reads as follows: "The Department of Land Affairs commits itself to ensure that commonage land needed by previously disadvantaged communities for agricultural *and other entrepreneurial business purposes* [researcher's emphasis] is made available for such purposes" (Department of Land Affairs, 2000:8).

The focus of this study, therefore, is to develop planning guidelines for communities to use commonages for sustainable tourism ventures. The study is not advocating sustainable tourism as a panacea to the economic and social problems of Namaqualand, but merely as another strategy to combat poverty and unemployment, linking to other sectors in the regional economy.

1.4   SUSTAINABLE TOURISM AS PART OF THE GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT DEBATE

It is widely accepted that sustainability is one of the most important issues that the tourism industry faces. Weaver and Lawton (2000) note that, in the past, the focus on sustainable development has tended to concentrate on conventional economic activities such as agriculture, mining, forestry, fisheries and manufacturing, to the exclusion of the tourism industry. Sustainable tourism has its roots in a conservation vision that emerged thousands of years before the birth of Christ. One of the earliest examples of sustainable tourism, occurred in Mesopotamia with hunting and maintaining recreational areas in reserves (Butler, 1991). However, the concept of sustainable tourism is a recent occurrence of the 1990s.

1.4.1   Definitions of the term sustainable tourism

The term 'sustainable tourism' was initially coined after the concept of sustainable development became popularised, brought to prominence with the publication in 1987 of the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED), entitled: *Our Common Future*, better known as the Brundtland Report (McCool and Moisey, 2001). It recognised for the first time the importance of international environmental policy and the connection

between development, international debt and the environment (Brown, 1996). The Brundtland Report (WCED, 1987:8) defined sustainability as "meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of the future generations to meet their own needs."

Murphy (1995) adds that the Brundtland Report placed the concept of sustainable development firmly on the centre stage. Swarbrooke (1999:353) maintains that there is a need to start viewing sustainable tourism as part of a larger sustainable development system, an open system where every element affects the other elements. For example, regulations proposed to reduce the number of tourists to areas consisting of fragile ecosystems could have a positive affect on the environment but will reduce the economic benefits for host communities that live near or within that ecosystem.

Sharpley (2000) postulates that definitions of sustainable tourism can be divided into two strains of thought: one that is 'tourism centric' and focuses on tourism purely as an economic activity, and the other that attaches importance to tourism as an element of the wider sustainable tourism policies. Hunter (1997:859) also referred to sustainable tourism as an "adaptive paradigm, encompassing a set of meta-principles within which several different development pathways may be legitimised according to circumstance".

Swarbrooke (1999) identifies six other terms that are associated with sustainable tourism (See Figure 1.1) but contends that the concepts are only partially connected to sustainable tourism. Ecotourism is one of the overlapping forms that will be further discussed in Chapter 3 of the study. McCool and Moisey (2001) have also added their definitions to the debate on sustainable tourism and they aver that there are three ways of defining the concept:
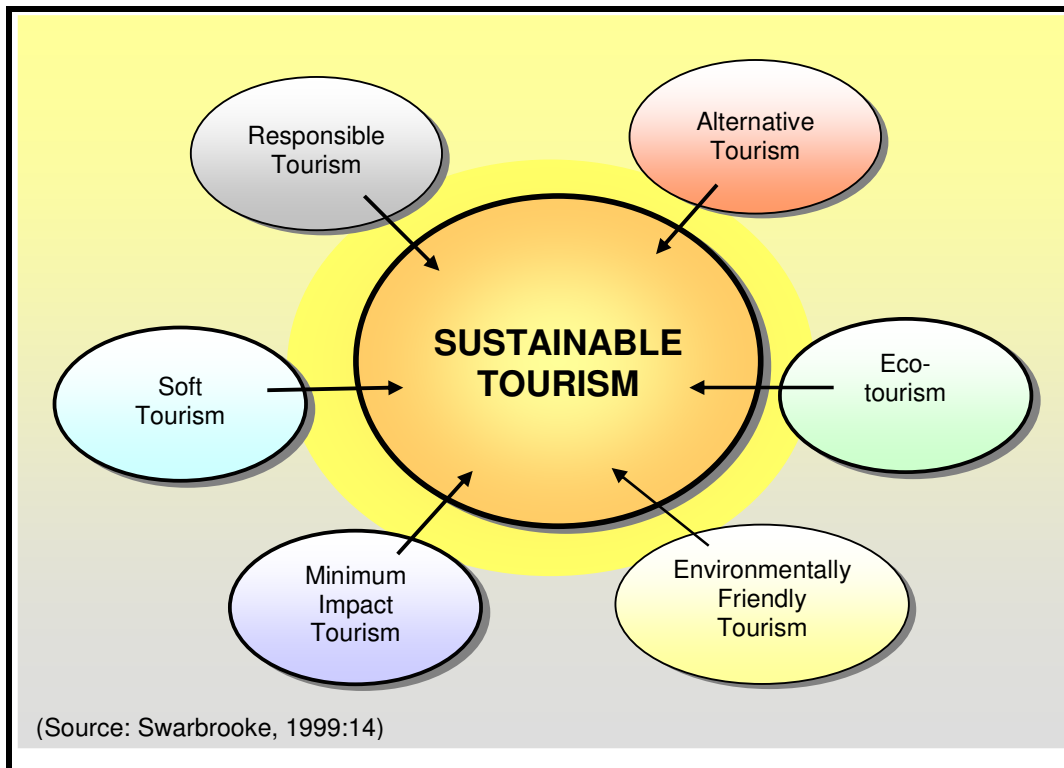
Figure 1.1:   Relationship between sustainable tourism and other tourism forms

- *Sustaining tourism businesses over a long period*. This position suggests that the primary task is to build and manage tourism businesses that can be maintained over a long period. The problem with this approach is that it does not recognise tourism as a tool to enhance economic development (McCool & Moisey, 2001).

- *Sustainable tourism that is a gentler form of tourism, small-scale, low impact, environmentally and culturally sensitive and takes into consideration the views of local people in policy decision-making*. This view recognises the limitation of natural resources and the necessity of local planning and decision-making within tourism. However, the comparative nature of this view with mass tourism does not allow proper development of this concept (McCool & Moisey, 2001).

- *Tourism as a tool for economic development.* This school of thought sees tourism as a tool of social and economic development and not as an end in itself. Tourism must be integrated with the broader economic

and social development programme in order to become sustainable, and can be regarded as a method, to protect the natural and social assets upon which the tourism industry exists (Hunter & Green, 1995; McCool & Moisey, 2001).

1.4.2 Principles of sustainable tourism

The study concedes that the concept of sustainable tourism is clearly a very broad, imprecise developmental concept. It is not the intention of this study to posit a definition but to harness the broad principles and relate this to land redistribution. The study therefore supports the principles that underpin sustainable tourism management (Box 1.1) as advocated by Bramwell, Henry, Jackson, Prat, Richards and Van der Straaten (1998). The principles can also be used to describe land reform since land reform is located within political, social, economic and cultural sustainability and espouses the principles in theory. The primary aim of a land reform policy is to ensure that the targeted people use the natural resource (land) efficiently and for social and economic development.

Box 1.1: Ten principles behind sustainable tourism management

- Policy, planning and management are vital.
- Recognizing that there are limitations to growth and that tourism must be managed within these limits.
- Embracing long-term rather than short-term planning.
- Ensuring that the concerns of sustainable tourism management are not just environmental, but also economic, social, cultural, political and managerial.
- Satisfying human needs and aspirations through equity and fairness.
- Empowering all stakeholders in decision-making process and ensuring that they have been adequately consulted on the sustainable development issues.
- Recognizing that in reality there are often limits to what will be achieved in the short and medium term.
- Understanding how market economies operate, of the cultures and management procedures of private sector businesses and public and voluntary sector organizations, and of the values and attitudes of the public is necessary in order to turn good intentions into practical measures.
- Acknowledging that there may be trade-offs and compromises over the use of resources to prevent potential conflicts.
- Balancing the costs and benefits in decisions on different courses of action and considering how much different individuals and groups will gain or lose.

(Source: Adapted from Bramwell *et al.,* 1998)

The body of knowledge related to the linking of sustainable tourism and land redistribution is limited, and there is a need to understand how communities who participate in land redistribution projects can benefit from sustainable tourism and perhaps create successful sustainable tourism businesses on land that has been set aside for their use such as the commonages. Other reasons for the selection of sustainable tourism as the central research theme of this study include:

- emphasis is placed on the ecosystem rather than on the environment and human beings are recognised as important within this ecosystem;
- sustainable tourism has land-based tourism forms such as ecotourism, wildlife tourism and desert tourism that can be easily integrated within a land reform strategy;
- sustainable tourism involves numerous stakeholders from government bodies, host communities, tourism industry, experts, tourists, pressure groups and the media that contribute to the enhancement of the tourism industry; and
- sustainable tourism has its foundations in sustainable development and acknowledges other sustainable development elements of agriculture, societies/communities, conservation, economic systems and the environment and natural resources as being important building blocks of the same system of sustainable development.

1.5   SUSTAINABLE TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

Tourism comprises an extensive range of economic activities and can be considered the largest industry in the world. In 2004, the South African travel and tourism industry's contribution to GDP, including induced and indirect effects, was R93,6 billion or 7,4% of the total and is expected to climb to 10% by 2010 (Department of Trade and Industry, 2005). It is further projected that in 2010 the South African tourism economy will employ more than 1, 2 million people directly and indirectly (Tourism South Africa, 2003). Ecotourism shows great potential as a source of foreign exchange and investment, especially as South Africa is seen as part of a richly diverse region (Countryprofiler, 2003).

1.5.1   The importance of sustainable tourism for South Africa

Sustainable tourism is identified as a priority sector for national economic growth and development in South Africa. The *White Paper on Tourism* (Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, 1996:3) provides the policy framework for tourism development and defines sustainable tourism as "tourism development, management and any other tourism activity which optimise the economic and other societal benefits available in the present without jeopardising the potential for similar benefits in the future".

South Africa also subscribes to the Global Code of Ethics for tourism that embraces the principles of sustainable development. The World Tourism Organisation developed the Global Code of Ethics for tourism to protect the environment, tourists and workers' rights as well as endorse global legislation from other bodies such as Agenda 21 (Heath, 2001). The basic principles of the code are given in Box 1.2:

Box 1.2: The basic principles of the global code of ethics for tourism

- Tourism's contribution to mutual understanding and respect between people and societies
- Tourism is a vehicle for individual and collective fulfilment
- Tourism as a factor of sustainable development
- Tourism as a user of the cultural heritage of mankind and contributor to its enhancement
- Tourism as a beneficial activity for host countries and communities
- Obligations of stakeholders in tourism development
- Rights to tourism
- Liberty of tourism movements
- Rights of workers and entrepreneurs in the tourism industry

(Source: Heath, 2001)

The White Paper (Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, 1996) maintains that sustainable tourism is an engine of growth that is capable of rejuvenating other sectors of the economy. It also identifies a number of constraints that would hamper sustainable tourism development and its potential to achieve such objectives as job creation, black economic

empowerment and small, medium and micro-enterprise (SMME) development. According to the White Paper *(*Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, 1996:5-12), factors such as the following constrain the expansion and transformation of the South African tourism industry:

- limited integration of local communities and previously neglected groups into tourism;
- lack of market access and market knowledge;
- lack of interest on the part of existing establishments to build partnerships with local communities and suppliers;
- lack of information and awareness; and
- lack of appropriate institutional structures.

It is argued that unless such impediments are addressed, tourism will remain a 'missed opportunity' for the vast majority of South Africans (Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, 1996:4).

1.5.2 Measures to enhance sustainable tourism in South Africa

Despite the multiplicity of actions envisaged by the White Paper on Tourism*,* disadvantaged communities and population groups remain highly marginalised from the 'mainstream' tourism industry and the national, high profile initiatives that underpin its notable growth. Land reform recipients also form part of the disadvantaged communities that were marginalised from sustainable tourism initiatives.

As outlined in the respective White Papers on Tourism and on Land Policy, both strategies are seeking redress and economic development for the previously disadvantaged communities of South Africa and both emphasise the sustainability issues. These are laudable but not easy targets and the targets become even more difficult to attain when common policy imperatives are not integrated at a local level to enhance sustainable development.

The Plan of Implementation adopted at the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) held in Johannesburg (South Africa) in 2002, identified

measures to promote sustainable tourism development. The Plan seeks to increase "the benefits from tourism resources for the population in host communities while maintaining the cultural and environmental integrity of the host communities and enhancing the protection of ecologically sensitive areas and natural heritages" (United Nations, 2002:1). The WSSD Plan exemplifies that governments must take proactive steps towards better governance and sustainable development. Achieving the sustainable tourism goals set in the plan would require systematic action and the availability of adequate resources at community level, national level and international level.

South Africa has since then developed a manual for responsible tourism based on the sustainable tourism approach and WSSD recommendations. The Responsible Tourism Manual (Spenceley, Relly, Keyser, Warmeant, McKenzie, Mataboge, Norton, Mahlangu and Seif, 2002) outlines three factors that would contribute to sustainable or responsible tourism and what the document refers to as the *triple bottom line*:

- economic factors
- socio-cultural factors
- environmental factors

This study seeks to outline that while agricultural development is necessary for land reform, sustainable tourism development should form part of a land redistribution strategy and have its own set of planning guidelines. Williams (1998) purports that the aim of modern planning is to seek optimal solutions to perceived problems and it is designed to increase and maximise development benefits, which will produce predictable outcomes. McCabe, Poole, Weeks and Leiper (2000:235) further suggest that a plan provides direction "a plan…enables us to identify where we are going and how to get there, in other words it should clarify the path that is to be taken and the outcomes or end results." By integrating the elements of land redistribution and sustainable tourism (Section 3.10), the study recognises the IDP principles as a possible tool to integrate sustainable tourism and land redistribution (Section 3.11).

1.6   FORMULATION OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

The problem remains that after a decade of adopting a primarily agrarian land redistribution approach to rural development; black people have not derived the full socio-economic benefits from this kind of reform. Approximately 50 years ago, agriculture was the largest sector of the South African economy in terms of employment and its contribution to the GDP. In 1960, it accounted for 10% of the GDP. Primary agriculture contributed only 2.6% of the GDP in 2005 but accounted for 8% of South Africa's exports and employed 9% of the country's formal employees (Tupy, 2006).

South Africa's agricultural production is relatively good but farming conditions are far from ideal. Rainfall is unreliable and recurring drought can severely limit production of important cash crops such as maize and wheat and impact on livestock production, especially if there are unfavourable grazing conditions. The subsistence and emergent farmers in Namaqualand primarily operate in the livestock production sector. However, they cannot really survive in a livestock sector that is overwhelmingly in favour of large-scale producers.

It has also become a problem to recruit the youth and retain them within the agricultural sector because farming is deemed an unfashionable profession[8]. This can be clearly evidenced from the limited number of land grant applications from the youth (Department of Land Affairs, 2003b).

The land redistribution programme primarily operates in the agricultural industry and has not taken advantage of the booming tourism industry. There are no sustainable tourism projects on redistributed commonage land. One opinion that can be offered in this regard is that since approximately 90% of land reform beneficiaries come from rural areas, agriculture is/was traditionally the only means to survival and income generation for rural people. It is seen as a 'safety net'. There are also currently no technical skills within the Department of Land Affairs to assess and implement sustainable tourism

---

[8] This was cited as a reason during several informal interviews with youth living in Eksteenfontein in the Richtersveld area during the fieldwork phase of the study in November 2004.

projects.[9] The United Kingdom's Department for International Development (DFID, 2002) questions the effectiveness of agriculture's role in the redistribution of land and black economic development but suggests that there is no realistic alternative for the people living in rural areas other than to make agriculture work.

This study contends that realistic alternatives to agricultural development could have been ascertained through the Integrated Development Plan (IDP)[10] processes at local government level. One such alternative is sustainable tourism that aims to foster rural economic development but without compromising the other sustainable development elements of agriculture and the communities. Land is a strategic but finite resource and effective use of land, through the commonage sub-programme, for tourism development may improve the livelihoods of poor communities rather than agricultural development in selected instances through well designed integrated local plans.

1.7   RESEARCH AIM AND QUESTION

The fundamental aim of the research *is to provide planning guidelines for sustainable tourism development on redistributed commonages in Namaqualand*. The study aims to establish whether, through careful planning and the establishment of effective guidelines, successful sustainable tourism ventures can be established on one or more of the six commonage projects selected for the study or other commonages that display similar potential.

The pivotal research question and its investigative sub-questions in this are:

What role can sustainable tourism play in commonage projects?

---

[9] The researcher has been an employee of the Department of Land Affairs since 1997 and is aware that the Department primarily employs agricultural economists and social scientists to assess and implement land reform projects.

[10] An IDP is a five-year strategic development plan for a municipality and serves as the principal strategic management instrument. It is legislated by the Municipal Systems Act, 2000 (Act No. 32 of 2000) and it supersedes all other plans that guide development at a local level (Department of Provincial and Local Government *et al.*, 2001). Section 3.11 provides a more comprehensive outline of these planning processes.

This question is pivotal in examining the relationship (if any) between sustainable tourism and the commonage sub-programme. The sub-questions include:

- What are the positive and negative aspects of land redistribution?
- Can sustainable tourism and land redistribution through commonages be integrated and could this integration lead to sustainable livelihoods[11] for people accessing commonages?
- What are the successes and failures of sustainable tourism initiatives in the Northern Cape, especially in the Namaqualand region?
- What are the successes and failures of agrarian-driven commonage projects in Namaqualand?

1.8   THE OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

To realise the aim of the study and to postulate planning guidelines for sustainable tourism development on redistributed commonage land in Namaqualand, the following objectives are proposed:

- To explain the research problem and to provide background information on the discourses of land redistribution (in the global arena and in the South African context) and sustainable tourism development in order to extract the commonalities and set the stage for a possible confluence of these two national priorities (Chapter 1).

- To expound the debates on land redistribution and commonages based on the Brazilian, Namibian, Zimbabwean and South African experiences and to investigate any linkages to sustainable tourism (Chapter 2).

- To establish the relevance of sustainable tourism for land redistribution (Chapter 3).

- To utilise in-depth questionnaires and interview methods to collect and assimilate the data (Chapter 4).

---

[11] Section 2.6.3.1 provides an explanation of the term 'sustainable livelihoods'.

- To provide an overview of agricultural land reform in Namaqualand (Chapter 5).

- To present the findings of the qualitative research on six commonage projects to measure, analyse and interpret the successes and challenges of these projects in order to gain an understanding of the present livelihood strategies on commonages in Namaqualand and to measure and examine the commonage users perceptions of sustainable tourism (Chapter 5).

- To provide an overview of sustainable tourism development in the Northern Cape and Namaqualand (Chapter 6).

- To describe, analyse and interpret the successes and challenges of existing sustainable tourism initiatives in the area (Chapter 6).

- To propose integrated planning guidelines for a sustainable tourism strategy on commonages, to review the aim, objectives, research questions and outline the limitations of the study (Chapter 7).

1.9   METHODOLOGICAL THEORY

1.9.1 Critical social science theory

Graburn and Jafari (1991:1) state that "no single discipline alone can accommodate, treat or understand tourism; it can be studied only if disciplinary boundaries are crossed and if multidisciplinary perspectives are sought and formed."   While the study recognises that sustainable tourism, within the discipline of Tourism Management, cannot be easily defined, it accepts the fact that environmental sustainability is inexorably bound up with the concepts of economic, social, cultural and political sustainability (Richards & Hall, 2000). Sustainable tourism is complex because the concept is loosely based on the concept of sustainable development and therefore social theories and theories of economics, culture and politics would be intertwined within this paradigm.

The methods employed during this research are grounded within the critical social science framework. Critical social science is a "critical process of inquiry that goes beyond surface illusions to uncover the real structures in the material world in order to help people change conditions and build a better world for themselves" (Neuman, 2003:81). It is an amalgamation of concepts from the philosophical and social sciences. Like positivism[12], critical social science adopts a realist position but with a difference. Whereas in terms of positivism, social 'reality' is waiting to be discovered and it is patterned and has order (Mulkay, 1979), reality within critical social science is seen as an evolving reality that is shaped by political, social, cultural and similar factors.

Critical researchers conduct research to critique and transform social relations. The study provides a critique on social relations and development within a land reform context with the intention of formulating sustainable tourism planning guidelines for commonages. Commonage projects have never implemented sustainable tourism as a development strategy and land redistribution policy has never embraced this concept. The case-study approach was adopted as the methodology of choice for the study and this approach clearly fits within the critical social science paradigm.

1.9.2 Case-study approach

Namaqualand in the Northern Cape Province of South Africa was chosen as the case-study area[13] for the following reasons:

- livestock farming is one of two primary livelihoods practiced there, the other being mining;

- the rich cultural heritage of the Nama and San communities;

- the unique desert ecosystem with protected species of plants and animals not found elsewhere in the world;

---

[12] A positivist approach is seen as an organised method for combining deductive logic with precise empirical observations or individual behaviour in order to discover and confirm a set of probabilistic causal laws that can be used to predict general patterns of human activity (Neuman, 2003:71).
[13] Chapter 4 elaborates on the choice of the study area.

- Namaqualand has managed to develop a sustainable tourism venture linked to conservation; and

- Majority of the towns in Namaqualand form part of the South-North Tourism Route (SNTR). The SNTR initiative, developed in 1999 by the South-North Tourism Working Group and funded by the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT) is a community-based tourism route that was premised on the concept of equitable, sustainable and responsible tourism in conjunction with local people from the route. The SNTR takes visitors on a journey through the eyes of its indigenous people while promoting a balance between environmental and cultural issues (Heaton, 2004). The route stretches approximately 965 kilometres from Cape Town to !Ganigobes in southern Namibia and consists of community tourism projects at various stages of development.

Namaqualand is also a peripheral area[14]. Peripheral areas can be classified as largely underdeveloped areas that consist of unique natural capital, where sustainable tourism can provide income and employment opportunities for the communities in that region. Namaqualand's Human Development Index (HDI)[15] is 0,62 with 36% of its 120 000 inhabitants living below the poverty breadline of R800 per month (Northern Cape Provincial Government, 2004). Namaqualand is therefore considered to be an area with medium to high development but the index is still slightly lower than the average HDI for South Africa as a whole of 0.65 (United Nations Development Programme, 2005). On closer inspection of the HDI for Namaqualand, it was noted that the HDI was only calculated for one town in Namaqualand (Springbok), which happens to be the main town in this region and the most developed. It does include the other 26 towns in terms of the calculation, presenting a skewed HDI for Namaqualand as a district and therefore is not the accurate HDI for Namaqualand.

---

[14] Chapter 3 discusses sustainable tourism in peripheral areas.
[15] The United Nations Development Programme calculates the HDI based on the average indices of life expectancy, education, adult literacy levels and GDP (United Nations Development Programme, 2005). An HDI of 0,6 and above is given medium to high development ratings.

Within the study area, six commonage projects and a sustainable tourism venture were chosen as case studies. The case-study approach[16]   was adopted because the case-study is viewed as a holistic inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its natural setting (Cresswell, 1998). Harling (2002) highlights the relevance of the following concepts within this definition:

- The *phenomenon* can be many different things: a programme, an event, an activity or an individual. In terms of the study, it focuses on a government programme (commonages) and how it affects the livelihoods of people that were targeted to participate in this programme.

- The *natural setting* is the context within which this phenomenon appears. In this case, the commonage sub-programme is targeting primarily peripheral agricultural areas. However, Namaqualand is both peripheral and semi-desert.

- The phenomenon and setting are a *bound system*; meaning that there are limits to what is considered important and workable. The boundaries are set in terms of time, place, events and processes. The Commonage Programme has been in existence since 1996 and will cease in 2014 when the goal of redistributing 30% of agricultural land must have been realised. Land redistribution has also been a major political initiative since 1994 but political goal posts have shifted in the last two national elections and the major thrust now is the Accelerated Shared Growth Initiative of South Africa.

- *Holistic inquiry* involves the collection of in-depth and detailed data that are rich in content and involve multiple sources. Different types of data were obtained and triangulated utilising direct observations, participant observations, interviews, audio-visual material, documents and reports.

---

[16] Chapter 4 further outlines the Case-study approach.

1.10   STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY

The study is structured according to the following chapters:

Chapter 2:   A critical assessment of land redistribution in Brazil, Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa

---

The chapter reviews the existing literature on land redistribution in Brazil and southern Africa and critically assesses its successes and challenges. It examines the necessity for land redistribution as a contributor to social, political and economic stability and astutely assesses the type of land redistribution projects implemented in the countries cited, drawing on the lessons for South Africa's land redistribution agenda. It questions the sustainability of land redistribution projects and whether such projects were integrated with other livelihood strategies and economic development, more specifically sustainable tourism. The chapter concludes with the relevance of integrated planning through the Integrated Development Plan (IDP) approach for land redistribution.

Chapter 3:   The relevance of sustainable tourism for land redistribution

---

Key literature sources on sustainable tourism are explored. Some of the angles embraced include tourism and sustainable livelihoods, ecotourism, sustainable tourism through CBNRM, tourism in peripheral areas and desert tourism. The chapter explores the need to recognise these various options because of the uniqueness of Namaqualand as a semi-desert and peripheral area. It further attempts to seek the relevance of the concept of sustainable tourism for land redistribution and the possible integration of these two concepts through the IDP tool.

Chapter 4:   Study methodology

The chapter provides an outline of the study methods embraced. The case-study approach was utilised to present unambiguous findings and posit sound guidelines.

Chapter 5:   Commonage projects in Namaqualand

The agricultural milieu of the Namaqualand region of the Northern Cape and its diversity in terms of people and history precedes the findings from the selected commonages. The identified commonage projects are critically examined based on data obtained from the field visits. The chapter provides an overview of the impact of commonage policy on the lives of rural people while trying to outline the positives and negatives of an agrarian approach to commonage development through a SWOT analysis of the results. The chapter also outlines the communities' perceptions of the possibilities for sustainable tourism ventures on the commonages.

Chapter 6:   Sustainable tourism in Eksteenfontein (Richtersveld), Namaqualand

The chapter commences with an outline of the sustainable tourism initiatives and potential in the Northern Cape and Namaqualand. An analysis of the findings of the Rooiberg Conservancy project in the Richtersveld (Eksteenfontein) area was presented. Various stakeholders involved in the initiative were interviewed and participant-observation techniques were utilised to triangulate the information in this chapter. A SWOT analysis was further applied on the results.

Chapter 7:   Synthesis

Based on the synthesis of the literature findings and empirical case studies, this chapter posits possible guidelines for sustainable tourism as a livelihood strategy on redistributed commonage land. The study concludes with a review of the objectives, aim and research question. The chapter also outlines the shortcomings of the research and suggests areas for further research.

1.11   CONCLUSION

Chapter 1 provided a summary of the concepts of land reform (land redistribution) and sustainable tourism to gauge an understanding of how these concepts function as policies within a global and South African context. The aim of the summary was to pave the way for a discussion on the research problem, research aim, research questions and objectives. The conceptual summary also provided the groundwork for a detailed description and critical analyses of these concepts in Chapters 2 and 3 that helped in the modification of the research process. This chapter also presented a short exposé on the case-study approach that falls within the critical social science school of thought and concluded with a description of the layout of the subsequent chapters of the study. The choice of the study area Namaqualand was also discussed (1.9.2).

The next chapter investigates the sustainability of land redistribution in the Brazilian, Zimbabwean, Namibian and South African contexts by questioning the theory of sustainable development within a land redistribution context, assessing whether the current land redistribution policies are feasible for rural people and seeking possible linkages with sustainable tourism.

Chapter 2
A CRITICAL ASSESSMENT OF LAND REDISTRIBUTION IN BRAZIL, NAMIBIA, ZIMBABWE AND SOUTH AFRICA

2.1   INTRODUCTION

Redistributive land reform has been a key development issue for decades (World Bank, 2003). Different approaches to land reform have yielded successes but there have been failures and the impact on poverty has often been limited. Land reform impacts on the livelihoods of both, rural and urban residents should be integrated into countries' poverty reduction strategies. A successful land policy must respond to population growth and economic development. As cities expand and non-agricultural economies expand the pressure to convert land to new uses increases (Quan, 2002).

The aim of this chapter is to examine land redistribution policies in Brazil, Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa and the necessity for such reforms in these countries. The selection of the southern African countries was based on their similar history of dispossession through colonial rule (Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa) and apartheid policies (Namibia and South Africa). The South African and Zimbabwean market-assisted land redistribution efforts were modelled on the Brazilian/World Bank concept of 'negotiated land reform' and it was therefore necessary to provide an analysis of Brazil's land redistribution programme. The chapter further focuses on the sustainable development concept and will assess whether land redistribution has been sustainable in Brazil, Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa. Some strategic lessons (Section 2.7) for South Africa's land redistribution agenda are garnered from the case studies, ultimately leading to the synopsis of the concepts of land redistribution and sustainable tourism in Chapter 3 (Section 3.10).

2.2   LAND REDISTRIBUTION IN BRAZIL (1985-2005)

Poverty in Brazil has strong rural and regional dimensions. About 40% of Brazil's poor live in rural areas, and the incidence of poverty in those areas is more than double that of the large cities (International Land Coalition, 2002). There is also a great disparity in terms of the distribution of land where small farms of less than ten hectares owned or leased by subsistence farmers occupy 3% of the total agricultural area and 1% of the large estates owned by wealthy landowners occupy 50% of the total agricultural area (Groppo, 1996).

2.2.1   Reasons for pursuing a land redistribution agenda

This unequal distribution of land resources often prompted the rural poor to invade land, often leading to confrontational and violent conflicts between the wealthy landowners and landless people (Thomas & Van den Brink, 2002). Due to the intransigence of the Brazilian government, it had been the task of social movements to coerce the government to observe its legal obligations regarding land reform. The *Movimento do Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra* (Movement of Rural Landless Workers or MST) formed in 1984, forced the Brazilian government's hand by occupying and expropriating one of the largest agricultural estates in Brazil.

2.2.2   Land redistribution policies in Brazil

At the end of a twenty-year military dictatorship in 1985 and with the return of democracy the new Brazilian government launched into the first National Plan of Agrarian Reform (1985-1989). The Plan resulted in a constitution that allowed for the expropriation of large land holdings that did not fulfil a social function or were unproductive, based purely on that first occupation of the MST (Frank, 2002). The Plan further targeted 1,4 million families to be settled over a period of five years but by December 2005 the government had only settled 200 000 families instead of 400 000 (Prestes, 2005).

A land reform institute called the *Instituto Nacional de Colonizaçã e Reforma Agraria* (National Institute for Colonization and Agrarian Reform or INCRA),

established in the 1960s, was retained as the institutional vehicle to drive the redistribution process. The steps involved in the process of expropriation, which was applicable to unproductive land or land that was utilised to less than 80%, are as follows (Deininger, 1999):

- first there is a visit by an INCRA mission to assess the value of the land and improvements;

- expropriation follows after the President of Brazil signed a decree and it was confirmed by the federal court; this process could take up to a year;

- once the above has been completed, landowners are compensated with a real interest rate of 6% bearing a discount of 25% to 40 % in the market;

- INCRA acquires the land and proceeds with infrastructure development for the next year or two;

- beneficiaries are then selected based on their agricultural skills although in practice all cases are limited to upgrading or confirming the rights of existing settlements; and

- beneficiaries are then eligible for credit subsidised up to 70 % of the land purchase price.

World Bank proponents criticised the INCRA expropriation route for the following reasons:

- the inefficiency of state bureaucracies reflected in the slow pace; costliness and limited enforcement capabilities;

- the impossibility of avoiding opportunism and destructive rent-seeking behaviour amongst beneficiaries;

- lack of control exercised by beneficiaries in terms of site selection;

- stringency of strict tenure controls that can encourage informality;

- the lack of supportive technical assistance;

- weak managerial capabilities of beneficiaries; and

- the strategic guile and bullying of large landowners to outwit the land reform initiatives (Deininger, 1999; Groppo, 1996; International Land Coalition, 2002).

28

In 1998, based on advice and soft loans from the World Bank, the Cardosa government announced its own new agrarian policy called *Novo Mundo Rural* or New Rural World. The policy centred on the concept of negotiated land redistribution that "relies on voluntary land transfers based on negotiation between buyers and sellers, where the government's role is restricted to establishing the necessary framework and making available a land purchase grant to eligible beneficiaries" (Deininger, 1999:3). Based on this concept, the Brazilian government attempted to decentralise land reform to local authorities in order to expedite delivery and to ensure that beneficiaries now negotiate land prices with the landowners (Frank, 2002). The model appeared to be less confrontational than the INCRA model (Deininger, 1999; International Land Coalition, 2002).

2.2.3   Challenges for Brazilian land redistribution

While some target objectives of the negotiated land redistribution policy were met and costs for implementation were significantly lower than with the INCRA approach, questions about the overall utility and effectiveness of the approach remain (International Land Coalition, 2002). The underlying assumption of this policy is that landowners will subdivide and sell off portions of land to small producers who seek to establish family enterprises. The policy also assumes that the land market is conducive to small producers. This was not the case for beneficiaries of the Brazilian redistribution programme. Even though beneficiaries were offered subsidised loans for approximately 70% of the land purchase price, overly high transaction costs and a range of market failures inhibited the optimal allocation of land resources, thereby penalising the market opportunities of small producers (International Land Coalition, 2002).

Although the Brazilian government's land redistribution programme had limited success in transferring land to the rural poor, the government failed to provide adequate support to the beneficiaries. Frank (2002) also postulates that the beneficiaries had little or no knowledge of how the programme functioned and that not all participants knew the terms of the loans or what interest they should be paying. Borras (2003:389) further contends that the

core process of the model focuses on 'negotiation' between the parties and that "it is inconceivable that a landless poor peasant can have the same degree of bargaining power as a rich landlord in negotiation for land purchase".

Brazilian land redistribution was primarily targeting the agrarian sector. By placing the issue of land reform in a framework constructed through the land market, the Brazilian government and the World Bank have attempted to quell any discussion of the meaning of land redistribution that is separate from private property and commercial agricultural production. It has also not presented the landless poor with other livelihood choices. There is an urgency to redistribute land in Brazil but the government is not forward-looking. Some critics question what will bind future generations to the land that their parents and grandparents manage to secure through redistribution (Wagner, 2000). Lack of opportunities on redistributed land may force an exodus of youth into the cities to seek possibilities beyond agriculture.

Wagner (2000) contends that ecotourism[17] may offer future possibilities for creating a diversified economic base in Brazil but notes that aggressive long-term planning, designing of appropriate educational and training programmes, securing adequate funding and developing the necessary infrastructure are necessary prior to embarking on ecotourism ventures. In general, Brazil's tourism industry has steadily grown and in 2005, Brazil received approximately 5,5 million foreign visitors garnering just below four billion US dollars ("Brazilian Tourism", 2005). Beach tourism is still the most popular tourism form in Brazil.

Brazilian tourism authorities have stated that ecotourism estates such as the Conservation International *Fazenda Rio Negro* project, a 7 700 hectare estate with its successful combination of nature conservation and tourism, have lured tourists to Brazil and will continue to do so if more estates of this type are developed ("Brazilian Tourism", 2005). It is such initiatives that the officials

---

[17] Chapter 3 discusses the concept of ecotourism as a component of sustainable tourism.

from Brazil's land reform ministry are investigating as alternative development options for its landless poor.

2.3   LAND REDISTRIBUTION IN NAMIBIA (1990-2005)

Namibia has experienced land dispossession through colonialism and apartheid similar to South Africa. Namibia also has similar land use patterns to Namaqualand in the Northern Cape, based primarily on pastoral agrarian style development (Boonzaaier, Berens, Malherbe & Smith, 1996).   "Diversified strategies are essential in Namibia because of the semi-arid to arid conditions in which even the highest rainfall areas are marginal for rain-fed crop growing and drought is a common occurrence" (Ashley, Boyd & Goodwin, 2000:9).

2.3.1   Reasons for pursuing a land redistribution agenda

During the colonial period large tracts of agricultural land were expropriated for about 4 128 white commercial farmers while the indigenous farmers (120 000 households) were left to farm on marginal communal lands managed by traditional leaders (Ministry of Lands Resettlement and Rehabilitation, 2002). In 1990, Namibia obtained independence and the South West Africa People's Oganisation (SWAPO) government announced its intention to "transfer some of the land from those with too much of it to the landless majority" (Adams & Devitt, 1991:10). The SWAPO government further agreed to a constitution in which the property of citizens could not be expropriated without just compensation. With the support of the opposition parties, it conducted a national consultation on the land question, culminating in the National Conference on Land Reform and the Land Question in Windhoek in June 1991 (Adams, 2000).

2.3.2   Land redistribution policies in Namibia

The 1994 SWAPO manifesto contained a commitment to allocate 20 million Namibian dollars a year for five years to the National Resettlement Policy (NRP) in terms of the Agricultural (Commercial) Land Reform Act, 1995 (Act No. 6 of 1995). The Act provided for the purchase and redistribution of

freehold farms, based on a willing seller, willing buyer principle. The government also adopted the following principles in relation to land redistribution (Jones, 2003):

- individuals on communal land with commercial farming aspirations should be assisted to buy freehold land and withdraw their livestock from communal land;

- unused land in communal areas should be opened up;

- land ownership that is not economical would be prohibited;

- foreign land ownership on commercial agricultural land would be limited; and

- excessive land ownership would be limited.

In terms of the Act, white farmers wanting to sell their land must first offer them to the government that will consider purchasing the farm at the stipulated price (willing-buyer-willing-seller). If the government decides not to purchase the farm, a waiver is issued to the seller that would allow the seller to sell the farm to anyone else. Table 2.1 presents the number of farms waived or purchased by the Ministry of Land from 1999 to 2003 (Sherbourne, 2004).

Table 2.1: Farms waived or purchased by Namibian Government

Year	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
Farms waived	142	118	96	102	125
Farms purchased	6	16	24	8	15
Farms bought as percentage of farms offered	4%	12%	20%	7%	11%

Most of the government farm purchases are advertised and interested people could apply to resettle on the acquired farms. People wanting to apply to the programme must demonstrate that they are landless but have livestock and/or an income. A regional resettlement committee assesses applications and makes recommendations to a national resettlement committee. Individuals will

32

be allocated certain parts of a farm (camps) and a 99-year right to utilise the land in terms of a contract signed between the individual and the Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation (Sherbourne, 2004).

Another scheme initiated by the Namibian government in 1992 was the Affirmative Action Loan Scheme (AALS). Agribank, a state subsidised bank, provided subsidised loans to Namibians who possess more than 150 large stock units or 800 small stock units of livestock (Werner, 1999). The subsidised rates vary from 2% below prime for part-time farmers to 4% below prime for full-time farmers (Legal Assistance Centre, 2005). The aim of the AALS scheme is three-fold (Legal Assistance Centre, 2005):

- to promote the ownership of Namibian farmland by formerly disadvantaged Namibians;
- to encourage communal farmers with large livestock herds to move to commercial farmland to free communal land for smaller upcoming farmers; and
- to encourage formerly disadvantaged farmers to contribute to the country's economy.

Two contradictory views on the success of these schemes are illustrated. The one view, posited by Werner (1999), stated that the scheme showed positive results and the repayment of loans was on track, while a recent study by the Legal Assistance Centre of Namibia (2005) argued that the farmers were unable to meet their loan obligations and Agribank has repossessed a number of the farms. The Namibian Minister for Agriculture, Helmut Angula, also admitted in the Namibian Parliament in 2004 that the scheme had its faults claiming that poor cooperation between his Ministry and Agribank resulted in poor performance of the scheme (Dentlinger, 2004).

Almost half the recommendations of the 1991 National Conference related to the resolution of land-related issues in communal areas. Problems included (Adams, 2000):

- the need to guarantee land to local people,

33

- to abolish land allocation fees demanded by chiefs,
- to grant land to women in their own right,
- to establish a system of land administration,
- to control 'illegal fencing' of grazing areas,
- and to move the herds of wealthy farmers to commercial farms.

In response to the above-mentioned problems, the Namibian government promulgated the Communal Land Reform Act in 2002 (Act No. 50 of 2002) to modernise the allocation of rights in respect of communal land. Land Boards were established in terms of this Act, to aid land administration and delineate the powers of chiefs, traditional authorities and the Land Boards in relation to communal land (Adams, 2000). In a study conducted by Massyn, Corbett and Hailulu (2004), the authors established that land tenure in Namibia's communal areas is widely regarded as vulnerable.

It is this perception, especially amongst the private tourism companies and the banking sector, which is inhibiting acceptable tourism development on communal land. There appears to be uncertainty with regard to the rights of private tour operators (leaseholders) on such lands in the wake of the Communal Land Reform Act. One of the concerns focuses on the maximum period of lease that is limited to ten years and the Minister of Lands must approve any right of leasehold exceeding ten years (Massyn, Corbett & Hailulu, 2004). Ecotourism operators believe that fair lease periods for ecotourism generally range from 15 to 50 years (Mafisa, 2002). Fair lease periods can be negotiated with the Ministry of Lands but arguably, this is a necessary condition to ensure that historically disadvantaged Namibians obtain an equitable chance to embark on such ventures.

2.3.3 Challenges for Namibian land redistribution

Jones (2003) contends that Namibia's land redistribution strategy is problematic for the following reasons:

- the target groups for communal land access are deliberately vague to include anyone on communal land;

34

- a centralised bureaucracy that contributes to the slow pace of delivery; and

- there appears to be no specific plan for deciding which farms to purchase for the land acquisition programme.

There are also strong criticisms that the land reform efforts have favoured the elite of the country (bureaucrats and politicians) and therefore the policy encouraged nepotism (Pompey, 2005). In relation to the poorest of the population with land needs, the state purchased land to settle one or more families and only 1 500 families have actually benefited from this system which is well below the government's objectives to settle 240 000 people (Pompey, 2005). Participants in the land reform schemes are also not clear on their land tenure rights. There is often inadequate technical support, lack of skills of participants and, in many cases, a lack of infrastructure on the land.

One constraint as identified through a study done by Harring and Odendaal (2002) is the exclusion of other ministries such as the Ministry of Environment and Tourism in the land reform process. Tourism has become the country's third greatest source of hard currency (Pompey, 2005). Namibia essentially targets up-market tourism with animal safaris and tours into the Namib Desert. Adams (2000) clearly proposes that there is a need for creative solutions to the land-use problems posed by the need to achieve land reform in a semi-arid pastoral environment because the traditional pastoral agrarian land reform has reached its limitations. Despite the problems associated with the land reform in Namibia, the policy has considerable potential for promoting sustainable use of land, especially in relation to wildlife and tourism conservancies, but a clear plan on how to accomplish this has not been forthcoming from the Namibian Government.

2.4   LAND REDISTRIBUTION IN ZIMBABWE (1980-2005)

2.4.1   Reasons for pursuing a land redistribution agenda

Zimbabwean land dispossession began with the onset of imperialism and colonialism. Unlike South Africa, colonial European interest in Zimbabwe developed only in the late 19th Century when Cecil John Rhodes sent the first European settlers of farmers, artisans, miners, professionals and 300 police officers from South Africa to the area in 1890. Rhodes had three objectives for the region:

- to cut out Afrikaner influence in the interior of Southern Africa;
- to prospect for gold and other precious minerals; and
- to expand British influence in the region. (Centre for Housing Rights and Evictions, 2001).

Zimbabwe initially offered very little in terms of mineral wealth and the settlers soon turned towards farming. Mashonaland and Matabeleland were invaded and black Zimbabweans were confined to so-called 'tribal' or 'native' reserves. There was a systematic removal of land resources from the majority black community by the minority white community (Morombo, 2002). Colonial land laws such as the Land Apportionment Act and Land Husbandry Act relegated the black farming community to marginal land or communal areas in low rainfall areas (Morombo, 2002). In general, they were the least developed areas of Zimbabwe and at Independence, the new Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) government pledged to redress colonial imbalances through rural development initiatives and a land redistribution scheme (Drinkwater, 1991; Stoneman & Cliffe, 1989).

2.4.2   Land redistribution policies in Zimbabwe

The Lancaster House Agreement that was adopted at independence proved that established colonial entitlements were difficult to dislodge and hence the constitutional entrenchment of private property rights and the moratorium on

36

land (Government of Zimbabwe, 1991). A 'sunset clause' inserted into the Agreement forced the Mugabe government:

- to afford special protection to white Zimbabweans for the first ten years after independence;
- not to engage in any compulsory land acquisition;
- to pay adequate compensation for any commercial farmland acquired from white Zimbabweans, and
- to acquire land in terms of the 'willing buyer', 'willing seller' approach (Centre for Housing Rights and Evictions, 2001).

In 1990, the Government of Zimbabwe pursued a land policy based on non-market principles based and the following objectives:

- to ensure equitable and socially just access to land resources;
- to democratise land tenure systems and ensure tenure security for all forms of land holdings;
- to provide for participatory processes of management in the use and planning of land; and
- to provide sustainable and efficient use and management of land (Government of Zimbabwe, 1991).

2.4.3 Challenges for Zimbabwean land redistribution

Despite the new laws, land resettlement and land acquisition had slowed down. In the first decade of independence, the Zimbabwean Government acquired 40% of the target of eight million hectares of land, resettling more than 50 000 families on more than three million hectares of land (Centre for Housing Rights and Evictions, 2001). By the end of the 1990s, the pace of land reform had declined and the government had settled 71 000 families (as opposed to the target of 162 000) on approximately 3,5 million hectares of land, of which only 19% was classed as prime agricultural land (Human Rights Watch, 2002). In parallel with the formal resettlement schemes, informal resettlement occurred in the decade after independence on under-populated communal areas, state-owned land and commercial farmland (Palmer 1990; Moyo 1995). The former reserves remained over-crowded and with poor

agricultural potential and people's livelihoods were primarily supplemented through dryland farming and livestock keeping but in some districts people remained poor despite a small remittance from farming (Cousins, Weiner & Amin, 1992). By 1999, 11 million hectares of prime agricultural land were still in the hands of approximately 4 500 primarily white commercial farmers (Human Rights Watch, 2002).

From the late 1990s up to 2000/2001, the War Veterans Movement in Zimbabwe began a systematic and often violent occupation of white-owned commercial farms after declaring their dissatisfaction with the land reform efforts. Newly resettled Zimbabweans were assigned plots of former commercial farmland without land titles. Instead, Zimbabweans were forced to lease the land from year to year from the government. With no means to borrow against the title deeds, the newly settled farmers could not obtain production loans for seeds or farming equipment (Richardson, 2005).

With the continued farm seizures, banks were reluctant to lend to the remaining commercial farmers whose land had been 'listed' for compulsory acquisition by the government or occupied by the war veterans (The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2003). Richardson (2005) estimates that from 1999 to 2000 approximately US$5 billion in wealth vanished from the agricultural sector because of the farm seizures.

The ZANU Government formally adopted the Fast Track Land Reform Programme in 2001 and legitimised the process through its Constitution. Section 16(A) of the Zimbabwean Constitution now allowed, the President of Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe, to extend the grounds on which land could be compulsorily acquired, absolved the government from providing fair compensation except for farm improvements and challenged the 'former colonial power' (Britain) to provide such compensation (Human Rights Watch, 2002). By 2003, the Zimbabwean government had acquired 6 422 farms or 10 million hectares of land via the Fast Track Programme (African Institute for Agrarian Studies, 2004).

The disorderly process of the 'fast track' land redistribution efforts "is not sustainable unless there is a stronger basis for optimism on the part of settlers about their future leading them to form viable community organisations aimed at ensuring the sustainability of [the] new settlements" (United Nations Development Programme, 2002:24). Disregard for the rule of law is ultimately more serious for poor black rural Zimbabweans than it is for white commercial farmers who are more likely to have the means to leave Zimbabwe and escape the violence (Human Rights Watch, 2002).

One positive difference between the current redistribution programme and the previous one adopted at independence in 1980 is that the current programme does not have a purely agrarian focus. The Land Reform Resettlement Programme and Implementation Plan Phase Two (Ministry of Lands, Agriculture and Rural Settlement, 2001) aim to:

- reduce the extent and intensity of poverty among rural families and farm workers by providing them with adequate land for agricultural use; and
- promote environmentally sustainable utilisation of land through agriculture and ecotourism following collective approach between the Ministry of Tourism and Ministry of Lands, Agriculture and Rural Settlement.

This joint collaboration is an encouraging sign for rural communities in Zimbabwe who want to embark on sustainable tourism ventures on redistributed land. Given the lack of support from the current government, it would take humanitarian aid organisations such as the United Nations or development agencies such as the World Bank to assist in such developments. The South African Government and Southern African Development Community would need to play a facilitative role in this process to share best practices in relation to the process of negotiated land redistribution.

39

2.5   LAND REDISTRIBUTION IN SOUTH AFRICA (1994-2005)

Land ownership patterns in South Africa are skewed in terms of race. Unemployment is very high among blacks in the cities and in the former homelands. Over 13 million people are crowded into areas where rights to land are unclear and contested and where land administration is in disarray (Quan, 2002). While Brazil, Namibia and Zimbabwe are characterised by unequal distribution of agricultural land, the erstwhile apartheid government created a dual structure of highly mechanised white farms compared to the large overcrowded black homelands, dormitory towns and self-governing territories (Deininger & May, 2000; Mbeki, 1984).

The South African Government sought, through restitution, tenure reform and redistribution, to redistribute 30% of agricultural land by 1999 (Department of Land Affairs, 1997).[18] As of 31 March 2005, less than 4% of land had been redistributed, although approximately 60 000 households received grants for land acquisition, mainly for shelter (Department of Land Affairs, 2005a).

2.5.1   Reasons for pursuing a land redistribution agenda

The *White Paper on South African Land Policy* (Department of Land Affairs, 1997) describes the purpose of the land redistribution programme as to provide poor (not defined) people with access to land for productive and residential use to improve their income and quality of life. The programme aims to assist various target groups such as women, farm workers and labour tenants as well as emergent black farmers. One of the outputs of the land redistribution programme, as stipulated in the *White Paper* (Department of Land Affairs, 1997), is to enhance household income security, employment and economic growth throughout the country.

The 'willing buyer willing seller' principle forms the basis for land redistribution and the government assists in the purchase of land through a subsidy. This is

---

[18] See Chapter 1 for an explanation of each of the three programmes of the South African Land Reform Programme.

also termed market-assisted land reform based on advice from the World Bank that reflects the view that poor people are unable to finance land with mortgage loans because the market value of the land exceeds the value of what it is capable of producing (Binswanger, Deininger & Feder, 1993). In 1994, The World Bank further recommended the use of cash grants to aid historically disadvantaged farmers to finance land purchases based on their experiences in Latin America (Lyne & Darroch, 2003).

2.5.2 Land redistribution policies in South Africa

Between 1994 and 1999 the DLA pursued a policy of market liberalization in commercial agriculture and simultaneously implemented the settlement/land acquisition grant (SLAG) of R16 000 per beneficiary household.

2.5.2.1   *The Settlement/Land Acquisition Grant (SLAG): 1994-1999*

In typical SLAG projects numbers of households grouped together in order to be able to afford the purchase price of the property. Sometimes mortgage loans supplemented the grants if the grants alone could not make up the purchase price or if beneficiaries were interested in investing in joint ventures with white commercial farmers.

The SLAG approach presented the DLA with serious problems. The small size of the grant resulted in large group formations, often riddled with internal conflict and the creation of passive members that made no meaningful contribution to farm production. Bureaucratic processes within the DLA meant that the delivery rate of these projects was slow and project cycles sometimes ventured into years rather than months. By the end of 2000, the DLA had approved 484 projects in terms of the SLAG programme (Turner & Ibsen, 2000).

There was insufficient coordination between the provincial Land Affairs branches (known as Provincial Land Reform Offices, or PLROs) and the provincial Departments of Agriculture (PDAs); leading to poor to non-existent

post-transfer support to projects (Human Sciences Research Council, 2003*a*). This led the DLA to place a moratorium on the implementation of SLAG projects in 2000 and review the redistribution programme. The SLAG programme has been gradually phased out and in 2001, the Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development (LRAD) sub-programme was launched.

The current redistribution programme can be divided into two components:

a) *Agricultural development*: There are essentially two sub-programmes that fall within this ambit, i.e. LRAD and the commonage sub-programme. LRAD offers subsidies[19] to aspirant subsistence or emergent farmers to purchase agricultural land from white farmers. However, one successful LRAD project has started a guesthouse on the farm as part of diversifying their farming operations. The commonage sub-programme assists district and local municipalities to purchase agricultural land for common agricultural use by their poor residents. There are no tourism ventures on commonage land. These two policies are developed for agricultural development and approximately 95% of the redistribution programme centres on it.

b) *Non-agricultural development:* This aspect of the programme is not developed and not implemented according to a defined strategy as compared to the agricultural component. The DLA advances a R16 000 subsidy per household for settlement and non-agricultural activities such as 'ecotourism' (not defined in the policy). However, only the settlement aspect is actually implemented, as the demand comes from the provincial Departments of Housing and municipalities.

The majority (83,3%) of the redistribution projects embarked upon since 1994 have included an agrarian element (See Figure 2.1). The non-agricultural component (13,9%) that the graph illustrates is essentially settlement projects

---

[19] LRAD provides subsidies on an individual basis to qualifying beneficiaries. The subsidies range from R20 000 to R100 000 and are based on own contribution in kind, labour and/or cash. It differs from the SLAG programme that was household-based (one grant per household). In this way a household may end up with two or more grants between R20 000 to R100 000, depending on that individual's own contribution.

undertaken since 1994. The 2,8% in terms of 'other' redistribution projects implemented under this programme has not been classified according to the statistics obtained from the DLA's monitoring and evaluation section.
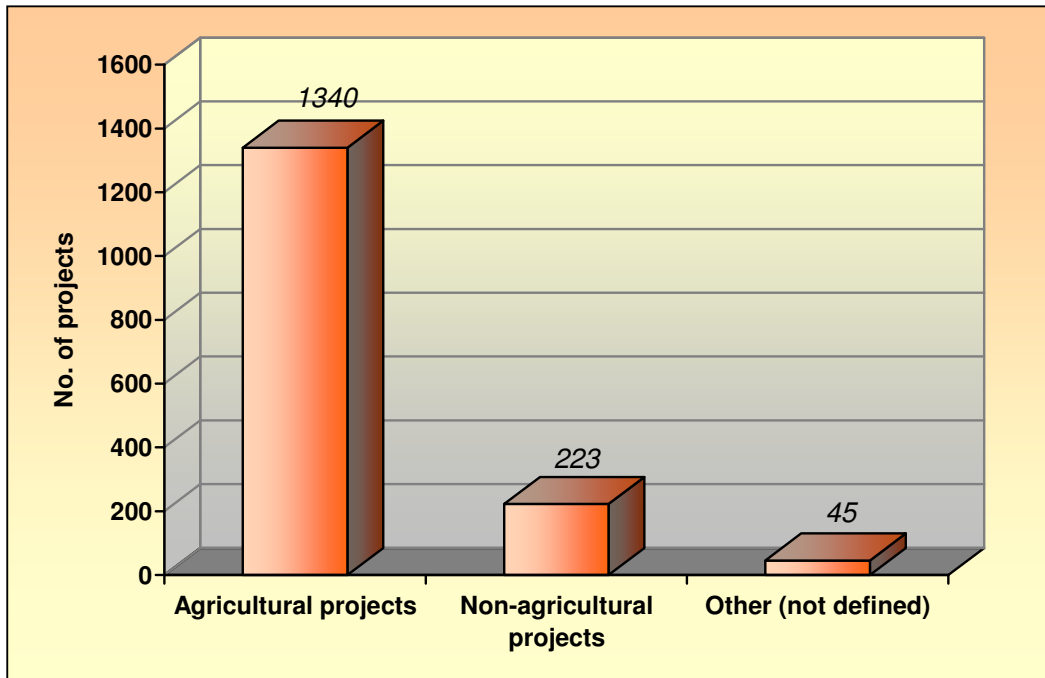

Figure 2.1: **Comparison of agricultural and non-agricultural land redistribution projects as at March 2003**

(Source: Department of Land Affairs, 2004)

2.5.2.2 Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development (LRAD): 2001

The agreed objectives of the LRAD as reflected in the LRAD framework document (Ministry for Agriculture and Land Affairs, 2001) are to:

- increase access to agricultural land by black people (Africans, Coloureds, and Indians) and to contribute to the redistribution of approximately 30% of the country's commercial agricultural land (i.e. formerly 'white commercial farmland') over the duration of the programme (by 2014);

- contribute to relieving the congestion in over-crowded former homeland areas;

- improve nutrition and incomes of the rural poor who want to farm on any scale;

- overcome the legacy of past racial and gender discrimination in ownership of farmland;

- facilitate structural change over the long term by assisting black people who want to establish small and medium-sized farms;

- stimulate growth from agriculture;

- create stronger linkages between farm and off-farm income-generating activities;

- expand opportunities for promising young people who stay in rural areas;

- empower beneficiaries to improve their economic and social well-being;

- enable those presently accessing agricultural land in communal areas to make better productive use of their land; and

- promote environmental sustainability of land and other natural resources.

The DLA provides grants to essentially self-selected beneficiaries who qualify in terms of the LRAD eligibility criteria. This grant consists of a sliding scale of matching grants. The LRAD grant allows for black South African citizens to access land specifically for agricultural purposes, or to foster and improve agricultural development on land already accessed. The grant can be accessed, on an individual basis, on a pre-defined sliding scale from a minimum of R20 000 to a maximum of R100 000, depending on the participants' own contribution. The grant would be used to cover expenses such as land acquisition, land improvements, agricultural infrastructure investments, capital assets, short-term agricultural inputs and lease options.

The LRAD framework document claims that the LRAD is flexible enough to accommodate a range of project types but only within the agricultural value chain. The document does not state that projects with agrarian as well as other entrepreneurial initiatives would also be encouraged. It advocates full-time farming. The LRAD programme, as with the previous SLAG programme, is modelled on the neo-liberal approach of the World Bank. International lending agencies such as the World Bank and International

Monetary Fund made loans available to various low-income countries in return for reforms that favour market-oriented growth.

Fukuyama (1992) noted that this influenced the developing world to mimic the 'first world', so that it can catch up through adoption of the same kinds of economic and management techniques. However, the influences of such agencies are not necessarily negative and in some instances, they do have the ability to encourage economic modernisation in developing countries and to act as a regulatory force. The DLA has made positive strides in eliminating the policy and implementation mistakes of the SLAG programme. The table below highlights the differences in relation to the implementation of SLAG and LRAD projects.

Table 2.2:   The differences between the Settlement Land Acquisition Grant (SLAG) programme and the Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development (LRAD) sub-programme

SLAG PROJECTS	LRAD PROJECTS
A grant amount of R16 000 per household	Grants of R20 000 to R100 000 per individual
Own contribution not required	Own contribution is required
SLAG is linked to the housing subsidy register	LRAD grant is de-linked from the housing subsidy
Grants allocated to households	Grants allocated to individuals
Planning grants of 9% of the grant amount (R16 000)	Planning grant of 15% of the total LRAD project costs
No graduation in grant size	Graduation in grant size up to R100 000 for individuals who need more land and have not accessed the full R100 000 grant
Implementation over-centralized	Implementation decentralised to provinces and district offices within provinces
Covers all land reform projects	Specific to productive land-use agricultural projects

(Source: Mokoena & Thomas, 2001)

2.5.2.3 Challenges for the South African land redistribution programme in terms of the LRAD sub-programme

In the development of the LRAD sub-programme, the government consulted very broadly with a range of role-players. The policy was not extensively debated at local community level and has largely ignored the multiple livelihood strategies of rural people. In fact, some dissidents would deem the LRAD as 'anti-poor'. However, a recent study on the efficacy of the grant system for LRAD, revealed that the majority of the grant beneficiaries are people from rural areas, primarily employed as farm labourers or unemployed (Department of Land Affairs, 2003b). The study also showed that people who had invested more own contribution in the form of capital and assets were progressing at a better rate than the farmers who had accessed the R20 000 entry-level grant (with labour as own contribution). The farmers who had accessed the entry level grant were in fact engaging in non-farming activities such as brick-making and *spaza* (informal) shops and earned incomes from off-farm employment such as working on other farms to supplement household incomes and subsidise farming activities (Department of Land Affairs, 2003b).

"Should sustainability problems develop around livelihoods aspects of land reform, the importance of developing alternative delivery modes under LRAD would increase accordingly." (Human Sciences Research Council, 2003*a*:73). McCusker (2001), writing on the livelihood systems of five rural communities who received land through the land redistribution programme in Polokwane, noted that only 17% of the respondents stated that farming provided them with either 'some' or 'most' of their family's income. The other activities that these people engage in include handicrafts, beer brewing, traditional healing and selling petty commodities. At least 21% derived their income from working on neighbouring farms while 13% depended on pensions to supplement their household income (McCusker, 2001).

One of the major criticisms of the LRAD sub-programme is the lack of adequate post-transfer support to grant beneficiaries after they have settled

on the farms (Hall, Jacobs & Lahiff, 2003; Human Sciences Research Council, 2003*a*). Provincial Departments of Agriculture and local municipalities have not properly integrated these isolated pockets of settlement into local planning processes and therefore basic services such as water, sanitation and electricity as well as agricultural services such as extension are not available to the majority of the LRAD beneficiaries (Department of Land Affairs, 2003b; Human Sciences Research Council, 2003a).

The DLA appears to be committed to providing post-transfer support and to better coordinate activities so that key stakeholders could be roped into assisting in the provision of services and technical support. One of the starting points will be the DLA's active participation in the IDP forums and the development and signing of service level agreements amongst the applicable role-players (Department of Land Affairs, 2003a*; Department of Land Affairs, 2005a). This commitment still appears to be on paper and significant inroads towards implementation of these deliverables must now be made if the DLA wants to meet its target of the redistribution of 30% of commercial agricultural land by 2014.

2.5.2.4   *DLA's commonage sub-programme: 1997-*

Commonage can be defined as follows: "commonage or common pasture lands are lands adjoining a town or village over which the inhabitants of such town or village either have a servitude of grazing for their stock, and more rarely, the right to cultivate a certain portion of such lands, or in respect of which the inhabitants have conferred upon them by regulation certain grazing rights" (Dönges & Van Winsen, 1953:303). In South Africa, it is essentially land set aside for communal agricultural usage but owned by the local or district municipalities.

Historically, municipalities administered commonage agricultural land for the benefit of white residents. A system for commonage management, including provision for the allocation and administration of rights to use commonage, was developed and maintained over many decades. From around the 1950s

47

municipalities stopped making commonages available to white residents and leased it to commercial farmers to generate income (Department of Land Affairs, 2005b).

Since 1996, through the Government's land reform programme, municipalities have approached the DLA for financial and technical support to acquire and develop land as an economic resource for poor black residents. According to the *White Paper on South African Land Policy* (Department of Land Affairs, 1997:48), "In large parts of the country, in small rural towns and settlements, poor people need to gain access to grazing land and small arable/garden areas in order to supplement their income and to enhance household food security." In addition, the Department of Land Affairs sought to encourage local authorities to develop conditions that would enable poor residents to access existing commonage, currently used for other purposes.

The Department also pledged to provide funds to enable resource-poor municipalities to acquire additional land for this purpose. In 1996, the DLA initiated its first commonage project in the town Pofadder in the Northern Cape. The DLA agreed to buy out an existing commonage lease concluded with a white commercial farmer on condition that the Pofadder municipality undertook to make the commonage available to members of a black small farmers association (Anderson & Pienaar, 2003; Department of Land Affairs, 2005b). Since then the Department has embarked on more than 150 commonage projects throughout the country but with the majority being implemented in the Northern Cape primarily due to high land prices in the Northern Cape.[20]

A clear distinction should be made between traditional commonage and commonage land purchased in terms of the land redistribution programme. In relation to traditional commonage, municipalities are sanctioned to set aside land they own for the pasturage of stock and for the purposes of establishing food gardens (Anderson & Pienaar, 2003). In relation to the DLA commonage

---

[20] Section 5.3 discusses this further in relation to land reform in the Northern Cape.

programme, the primary aim is to provide access to land for supplementing income and to act as a 'nursery' for the emergent farmers. The underlying principles are as follows (Department of Land Affairs, 2000):

- there must be an identified community (users), that articulates a need for additional land for a specified and identified agricultural need;
- land provided through the commonage programme is not for ownership but allows access to land;
- this means that a legal person i.e. the municipality will be the legal owner of the land, with the identified user getting access to land for agricultural purposes;
- providing land for a municipality must be included in the district plan; and
- ownership will vest with the municipality and a management committee will administer and monitor the use of the land.

Many people such as the evicted or unemployed farm workers drift to nearby towns and because of their agricultural background look to commonages as a basis for eking out a living in these towns (Atkinson, 2005). Commonages have therefore become a strategic resource that can foster pro-poor development.

2.5.2.5 Challenges for the South African land redistribution pro-gramme in terms of the commonage sub-programme

Some of the criticisms levelled at DLA commonage projects are:

- municipalities do not integrate commonage projects into their IDPs and refer to them as 'unfunded mandates';
- municipalities do not have sufficient capacity to manage commonages in a sustainable way;
- there is no post-land transfer-support to enable beneficiaries to successfully farm on commonage land and to build municipal capacity to manage the land (Anderson & Pienaar, 2003);

- "they make municipalities poorer because municipalities now have to divert scarce resources to negotiate, organise and maintain the new asset" (Heartland and Karoo Research Institute, 2005:6);
- people would prefer to own land rather than lease it;
- the commonage policy is inflexible and does not provide scope for a multiple/sustainable livelihoods approach; and
- no monitoring and evaluation system is in place, therefore users and free-riding non-users consequently overgraze the land and degrade the natural resource thereby encouraging Hardin's 'tragedy of the commons.[21]

While the government is chasing a target of redistributing 30% of commercial agricultural land by 2014, the questions of what type of projects are being delivered and their contribution to the socio-economic growth of rural people remain to be answered. In relation to the commonage sub-programme, a small farmer, once he/she has managed to secure enough 'own contribution', can enter the LRAD sub-programme to develop as a commercial farmer. The commonage sub-programme is silent on any other livelihood strategies that could be implemented on commonage land. The study argues that such silence promotes the agricultural sector as the sole provider for rural households.

What this means for policymakers and strategists is that any pro-poor development should first undertake a detailed analysis of social relations in a particular context and, secondly, understand that the modes of livelihoods that typically prevail both within households and between households are highly diverse. Many people amongst rural farming communities derive a part-livelihood from farming, a part from migrant labour/mining and a part from other activities such as arts and crafts.

---

[21] Hardin (1968) postulated that pastures or public spaces such as national parks open to all without restrictions degrade the resource. In relation to agricultural commonages, Hardin contends that the tragedy lies in forcing individuals to increase their livestock without limit "in a world that is limited. Ruin is the destination toward which all men rush, each pursuing his own best interest in a society that believes in the freedom of the commons. Freedom in a commons brings ruin to all" (1968:4). Hardin concludes that the commons should actually be privatised and felt that this would result in sound environmental and ecological management. However, the study does not agree with Hardin's sentiments and argues that private property ownership does not equal sound environmental practices.

The study notes that there is a close correlation between the diverse modes of livelihood and the idea of diversification and sustainability of livelihoods over time amongst farming communities. Bryceson (1999) contends that in sub-Saharan Africa, 60% to 80% of rural household income in the late 1990s was derived from non-farming sources. However, it is not only poor households that are forced to diversify, but also 'richer' households, for example, some businesspersons who are 'weekend farmers'. Such trends have led to the coining of the term 'sustainable livelihoods'.

The phrase 'sustainable livelihoods' was formulated by Robert Chambers and others through a research programme undertaken by the Institute of Development Studies at Sussex, involving work in Bangladesh, Ethiopia and Mali in the mid-1980s and further developed by Chambers and Conway in 1991 (Chambers & Conway, 1991). Both Scoones (1998:5) and Carney (1998:4) have adapted Chambers' definition of the concept of sustainable livelihoods to read as follows "a livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future while not undermining the natural resource base".

The sustainable livelihoods approach recognises the importance of policies and institutions in governing poor people's access to livelihoods assets and in influencing their livelihood strategies. Pasteur (2001) contends that livelihoods analysis involves identifying and understanding the assets and options available to poor people and the vulnerability context within which they operate.

2.6   SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT AND LAND REDISTRIBUTION

Since the emergence of land redistribution in southern Africa from the 1980s onwards (South Africa and Namibia in the 1990s), the question of sustainable land redistribution has plagued development planners. In 2003, the DLA developed a framework for accelerating land reform for 'sustainable

development'. This framework recognised how important it was that the implementation of a sustainable land reform programme is dependent on an integrated approach to land reform, in close collaboration with key government and non-governmental stakeholders (Department of Land Affairs, 2003a). A think-tank on land reform in southern Africa, held in 2003, revealed that there is a general misfit between land redistribution policy and rural development. The current government is pursuing a compensatory (30% target) rights-based approach to land reform rather than a sustainable development approach (Human Sciences Research Council, 2003*b*).

Sustainable development clearly embraces the environment, people and economic systems (Hunter, 1997; Murphy, 1995; Swarbrooke, 1999). Hunter (1997) outlines eight key issues in the interpretation of sustainable development:

- the role of economic growth in promoting human well-being;
- the impact and importance of human population growth;
- the effective existence of environmental limits to growth;
- the substitutability of natural resources (capital) with human-made capital created through economic growth and technical innovation;
- the differential interpretation of the criticality of various components of the natural resource base and, therefore, the potential for substitution;
- the ability of technologies (including management methods such as environmental auditing) to decouple economic growth and unwanted environmental side-effects;
- the meaning of the value attributed to the natural world and the rights of non-human species, and
- the degree to which a systems (ecosystems) perspective should be adopted and the importance of maintaining the functional integrity of ecosystems.

Table 2.3 outlines an adaptation of Murphy's (1995) components for sustainable development, based on the Brundtland Report mentioned in

Chapter 1 and draws a comparison of the components to the land redistribution policies of Brazil, Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa.

In all four case studies, land redistribution does not fare favourably in relation to the components of sustainable development and more of the sustainable development components need to be integrated into the policies. It is acknowledged that the components cited in the table primarily focuses on the environmental issues more than the economic and social components and that these components should also be incorporated into a land reform agenda.

Table 2.3: **Comparing the main components of sustainable development with current land redistribution policy and implementation**

Sustainable Development Component	Brazil	Namibia	Zimbabwe	South Africa
Setting ecological limits and equitable standards	No environmental guidelines for land redistribution	No environmental guidelines for land redistribution	No environmental guidelines for land redistribution	Environmental guidelines exist but not integrated into the planning processes
Redistribution of economic activity and reallocation of resources	81 000 families settled instead of 115 000 families	9 000 people settled instead of 240 000 people	Violent occupation of 6422 farms with minimal benefits to poor Zimbabweans	3 million hectares of land redistributed instead of 12 million hectares as at 2005
Conservation of basic resources	None	None	None	Environmental guidelines ignored.
Community control	Limited	Limited	None	Limited
Broad national/international policy framework	Lack of integration of planning for land redistribution with other sustainable development initiatives	Lack of integration of planning for land redistribution with other sustainable development initiatives	Lack of integration of planning for land redistribution with other sustainable development initiatives	Lack of integration of planning for land redistribution with other sustainable development initiatives
Economic viability	The government provides subsidised loans to kick-start farming operations but many of the projects have not been economically viable	The government provides subsidised loans to kick-start farming operations but many of the projects have not been economically viable	The government allocates farms but do not provide support. Only a few have benefited while the majority of the rural poor have not	The government provides grants to kick-start farming operations but because of the limited grant size, many farming operations have not been economically viable

2.7   STRATEGIC LESSONS FOR SOUTH AFRICA'S LAND REDISTRIBUTION PROGRAMME

The South African land redistribution programme can draw some strategic lessons from the case studies cited in this chapter. The Ministries responsible for land reform in Brazil, Namibia and Zimbabwe have acknowledged the deficiencies of their agrarian-driven land reform efforts and the literature has depicted that the balance between redistributive justice and sustainable economic development has been difficult to attain in these countries. However, the above-mentioned governments have recognised the deficiencies in their land redistribution policies, one of them being the non-alignment of the policies with other sustainable development options such as tourism.

The Brazilian government has noted that the concept of ecotourism estates can successfully blend the sustainable tourism and land redistribution concepts, but with long-term planning, sufficient funding and the necessary skills development programmes. The Namibian government has not only conceded that traditional pastoral agrarian land reform has reached its limitations but has constructively begun developing the idea of sustainable tourism through conservancies as a possible alternative strategy for this semi-arid region. These research findings are also pertinent for Namaqualand because of the environmental and land-use similarities between these regions.

Zimbabwe can perhaps impart the most significant lesson in integration of development objectives despite the country's chaotic approach to land redistribution. The Zimbabwean government has made a significant policy shift by promoting ecotourism through its Land Reform Resettlement Programme even though the policy is not yet at implementation phase.

In South Africa, municipalities own commonages and it therefore becomes incongruous for the exclusion of this resource from the IDP planning processes. The criticisms levelled at the DLA commonage and LRAD sub-

programmes and the issues relating to the sustainability of land redistribution projects should have been addressed in a well-constructed integrated commonage sector plan as a chapter of the local IDPs. A commonage sector plan is a plan that contains concrete and specific project proposals relating to land reform in respect of quantitative and qualitative targets, timing, location, costs and responsible implementing agencies. Leading from the conceptual framework (Section 3.10), Section 3.11 outlines the key elements contained in municipal IDPs that form the basis of a commonage sector plan for sustainable tourism and the planning guidelines posited in Chapter 7. An integrated approach would have better informed the municipalities and the DLA of other potential uses or livelihood options for commonage users.

2.8   CONCLUSION

This chapter profiled the land redistribution policies of four developing countries. It attempted to show that the social, political and economic value of land redistribution is necessary but complex. It also illustrated that agriculture is the cornerstone of such policies in all four countries. While land redistribution in Brazil, Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa were based on addressing land disparities, the literature has demonstrated that the balance between redistributive justice and sustainable economic development has been difficult to strike. Land policies that started with good intentions have not been aligned to other national priorities and developmental objectives.

This chapter has confirmed that redistributive land reform in Brazil, Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa has inadequately integrated sustainability issues into the policies and that there remain countless challenges. The literature has highlighted that sustainable tourism should be considered as one of the major land-uses and should be integrated into the land reform agendas of these developing nations. It therefore leads to the conclusion that, unless land redistribution policies move away from a primarily agrarian focus, some land redistribution projects will become unsustainable, thereby leaving land reform beneficiaries without a sustainable future.

The next chapter presents the key debates on sustainable tourism, including the sustainability of tourism in peripheral and desert areas, its relevance for land redistribution through commonages in Namaqualand and the integration of these concepts through the IDP tool.