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**The Impact of Post-apartheid Agricultural Changes on Citrus Farmers in the
Peddie Area.**

By

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Declaration

I, Bantu Desmond Peter, declare that this dissertation is my own work and that it has not been submitted for any other degree or examination at this or any other university, and that all the resources I have used or quoted have been acknowledged by means of complete references. It is submitted for the degree of Master of Social Science in African Studies at the University of Fort Hare, East London.

Signature

19/06/2017

Date

Dedication

This study is dedicated to the emerging citrus farmers in the Peddie District for their role in boosting the economy and contributing to poverty alleviation in the area.

Abstract

This study explores the impact of post-apartheid agricultural changes on citrus farmers in the Peddie area. The case study focused on the Craighead Citrus Farm at Kwatho as well as the Naudeshoek Citrus Farm, Ripplemead Citrus Farm and Siyamila Citrus Farm in the Balteni area. The study considered the effect of agricultural changes on citrus production, productivity of the farms in question, as well as the impact on poverty alleviation in Peddie District. In the study, the challenges encountered by both farmers and communities due to the agricultural changes in the new democratic dispensation were also considered. The study further considered the role played by the Department of Agriculture and Ngqushwa Local Municipality in assisting these farmers to increase citrus production in order to create employment opportunities. To achieve these objectives, a review of literature and collection of evidence in the form of interviews, and observations were conducted in the research areas. The research findings indicated that the Craighead Citrus Farms is state owned land, which belonged to Ulimocor, a parastatal under the former homeland government (Ciskei). This farm is no longer operational and is abandoned. During the period of this study the Naudeshoek Citrus Farm, Ripplemead Citrus Farm and Siyamila Citrus Farm were operational and progressing. Citrus farming in this area has potential to boost the economy, which would only be possible with the establishment of partnerships between the emerging farmers, government, commercial farmers and Ngqushwa Local Municipality.

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List of Abbreviations

CGA	Citrus Grower Association
CRI	Citrus Research Institute
DAFF	Department of Agriculture Forestry and Fisheries
DoA	Department of Agriculture
ECSECC	Eastern Cape Socio Economic Consultative Council
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FHISER	Fort Hare Institute of Social and Economic Research
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
IEC	Independent Electoral Committee
IFSNP	Integrated Food Security and Nutrition Programme
IFSS	Integrated Food Security Strategy
IMF	International Monetary Fund
KRV	Kat River Valley
LRAD	Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development
NAMC	National Agricultural Marketing Council
NLM	Ngqushwa Local Municipality
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
PGA	Pineapple Growers Association
PineCo	Peddie Pineapple Project
PPECB	Perishable Products Export Control Board
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
RECAP	Recapitalization Grant
SACCE	South African Cooperative Citrus Exchange
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAPS	South African Police Service
SLAG	Settlement and Land Acquisition Grant
TRACO	Transkei Agricultural Corporation
WB	World Bank
WWF	World Wildlife Fund

Figure 1: Map of the Eastern Cape



Chapter One – Overview of the study

1.1. Introduction

This study seeks to investigate the impact of post-apartheid agricultural changes on citrus farmers in the Peddie district. This study was conducted in Kwatho (Craighead) and Balteni (Ripplemead) areas within the district of Peddie. The case study covers four citrus farms, namely, Craighead Citrus Farm which is situated at Kwatho area; Naudeshoek Citrus Farm, Ripplemead Citrus Farm and Siyamila Citrus Farm which are situated at Balteni area.

According to the Department of Agriculture (DoA) and Ngqushwa Local Municipality (NLM) these farms were previously owned by Ulimocor Cooperative (Ulimocor), a parastatal under the former government of Ciskei. In the early 1990s, Ulimocor was liquidated, which led to the termination of operations at the Craighead Citrus Farm. The liquidation of Ulimocor adversely affected production at the above-mentioned farms. In 1992, three farms were leased to officials who had managed it during the period when it was owned by Ulimocor. In 2007, the officials purchased the farms that were being leased to them and the production at these farms steadily improved.

1.2. Background to the study

According to Genis (2012), prior to the 1994 democratic elections, white commercial farmers were recipients of government grants. During the apartheid era, agricultural legislations were drafted in a manner in which white commercial farmers received benefits, whereas black farmers were discriminated against. Subsequent to the democratic elections and with the promulgation of the Marketing of Agricultural Products Act, No 47 of 1996, the agricultural market was open to every potential farmer and the government could not interfere with the market (Genis 2012:1).

In Nelson Mandela, Cacadu, Amatole and Chris Hani District Municipalities in the Eastern Cape, citrus farming is very common. The port in Port Elizabeth plays a significant role in exporting production from these municipalities (DAFF; 2012:46). Amongst the areas producing citrus in Eastern Cape are Alice, Addo, Fort Beaufort, Balfour, Kirkwood,

UMzimkhulu, including Peddie. Citrus farming therefore contributes significantly to the economy of the Eastern Cape (Fakweni 2009: 92-96).

During the homelands era, citrus farming was managed under the parastatal agricultural organisation, Ulimocor. The citrus farming in Ciskei took place in areas such as Kat River Valley and Keiskamma River Valley. After the disbandment of homelands (specifically Ciskei) and the liquidation of Ulimocor, the emerging black farmers took over those farms which were under Ulimocor (Urquhart 1999:3). The study conducted by Isi-Xwiba Consulting in Ripplemead (Balteni) area indicated that Ripplemead, which is situated approximately 23km North-West of Peddie (Ngqushwa Local Municipality) in the Eastern Cape, indicated that the pack-houses date back to 1927 (Rossouw 2012:5).

According to Rossouw, prior to the area forming part of Ciskei, the farmers in Keiskamma River Valley (Balteni area) were traditionally citrus farmers. The following three citrus farms, Naudeshoek Citrus Farm, Ripplemead Citrus Farm and Siyamila Citrus Farm were previously under Ulimicor and were producing citrus fruit for export markets. In the past all farmers in this area packed and processed their production at the Ripplemead pack-house. Due to the unsuitability of Ripplemead pack-house to pack soft citrus and lack of resources to improve the pack-house the farmers had to seek alternative pack-houses (Rossouw2012:3).

The citrus fruits that are produced in the study area are; oranges, grapefruit, lime, soft oranges and lemon. In terms of value and volume, citrus is one of South Africa's most important productions. Around the country, citrus production occurs mainly in the Limpopo, Western Cape, Mpumalanga, Eastern Cape, KwaZulu-Natal and Northern Cape provinces. The Southern African Development Community (SADC) region countries of Zimbabwe, Swaziland and Mozambique also produce citrus (DAFF; 2012:4).

The citrus industry employs approximately 100 000 people in South Africa, with the majority of the employees being employed in the orchards and packing houses. An undetermined number of people are employed throughout the supply chain services such as transport, port handing and related services. It is estimated that more than a million

households are dependent on the South African citrus industry for their income (DAFF; 2012:15).

1.3. Problem statement

The post-apartheid agricultural period brought changes to emerging citrus farmers in the study area of Peddie District. According to Mbatha (2007), the introduction of new legislation in the post-apartheid era, specifically, the Marketing of Agricultural Product Act, provided opportunities that led to improvements for the emerging and former disadvantaged farmers. However, this act did not have the same impact everywhere change (Mbatha 2007). The land reform legislation introduced programmes such as the principle of lease-to-buy arrangement, in terms of which land was only transferred to successful farmers. The farmers that failed to utilise the land productively were required to return the land to the government for redistribution to other potential candidates. This programme was meant to encourage smallholders and specifically black farmers to utilise the land efficiently and effectively (Kibirige, 2013).

Some farms that were previously operational, are now not functioning. This is the case with Craighead Citrus Farm that ceased production due to liquidation of Ulimocor. The citrus fields within Craighead Citrus Farm however lie idle with no production taking place. There were no attempts either by the affected communities or the government to revive citrus production at this farm. In fact this community is so poor that it cannot afford to revive citrus production without intervention from the government or the business community. However, from observation, the production at Naudeshoek Citrus Farm, Ripplemead Citrus Farm and Siyamila is growing steadily.

A portion of this land (under Craighead Citrus Farm) was handed over by Ulimocor to the community of Khalana village. This community claimed that they were forcefully removed from where Craighead Citrus Farm is located during the apartheid era because of racially based discriminatory legislation. However there are no records that this land was ever claimed and transferred to that community in terms of Restitution of Land Rights Act 22 of 1994; therefore it remains state owned land. Since the departure of Ulimocor neither

the government nor private farmers took over the responsibility of maintaining the orchards.

The situation at Craighead Citrus Farm has negatively impacted the economy of Peddie District. The subsequent discontinuation of production adversely affected the livelihood of surrounding communities. Such a situation exacerbates poverty in that area. In other areas where the three farms are situated the situation is promising as the farmers are increasing productivity, which assists with job creation in the area.

The three farmers who own Naudeshoek Citrus Farm, Ripplemead Citrus Farm and Siyamila are improving productivity on these farms. However, it was noted that although there is considerable land available for utilisation on those farms, production cannot be expanded due to a lack of resources and financial support. The farmers are also faced with challenges of exporting their produce due to the state of their pack-house. Ripplemead pack-house is old, dilapidated and does not meet the required international standards. The farmers are therefore required to transport their soft citrus to the Riverside Packhouse in Fort Beaufort for local and global market consumption (Isi-Xwiba Consulting; 2012:5). The result thereof has a negative financial impact on the farmers.

The main focus of this study will be to investigate how citrus farming can be improved in Peddie District, so that it can contribute to the growth of the economy, increase employment for the community and assist in the development of the district. The main problem identified is discontinuation of some of the farms which impacts negatively on the economy and contributes to unemployment in the area.

1.4. Research questions

1. How has the citrus industry been performing in post-apartheid era?
2. How has the citrus industry been affected by the policy reforms in the agricultural market?

3. How are the small-scale farmers specifically citrus farmers affected by the deregulation of agricultural market?
4. What steps could be taken in order to sustain or remedy the situation?

1.5. Research Objectives

The study will focus on the impact of post-apartheid agricultural changes on citrus farmers in Peddie area in order:

1. To investigate the changing dynamics in citrus production post-1994 in Peddie.
2. To outline how policies have affected agricultural markets
3. To examine how small-scale farmers have been affected by deregulation of agricultural markets in Peddie District.
4. To identify strategies that can lead to an increase in citrus production.

1.6. Significance of the research

This study is important as it explores the impact of post-apartheid agricultural reforms citrus farms. Citrus farming remains one of the most important sectors of the South African economy and hence a focus on this area will highlight on key issues that could be incorporated in policy formulation as well as provide practical lessons to this farming sector. These lessons could then be drawn on by farmers in different parts of the country.

The Marketing of Agricultural Products Act 47 of 1996 introduced changes to large-scale farmers, small-scale farmers and the livelihood of farm workers. The Act was introduced in order to “authorise the establishment and enforcement of regulatory measures to intervene in the marketing of agricultural products, including the introduction of levies on agricultural products; to establish a National Agricultural Marketing Council” (Marketing of Agricultural Products Act 47 of 1996). It has been noted that the reforms in the agricultural markets further withdrew the intervention of government in this sector. This meant that the agricultural sector subsequently had the liberty to determine food prices. This study would establish the impact of the reforms on the farmers in the area under study, the community

staying in that area and the economy of the Peddie District. It will determine the impact on poverty alleviation in the area under study, arrive at findings and recommendations.

1.7. Chapter Outline

Chapter One introduced the study by providing the context of the investigation. The background to the study was provided and the research problem detailed. The research questions and objectives of the study were also provided. The chapter further justified the need to investigate the changes that have occurred in the farming sector since the dawn of democracy in South Africa.

Chapter Two focused on literature focusing on farming dynamics post 1994 in South Africa. The history of the farming sector during apartheid and the homeland system was also explored. This chapter further notes the gaps within the literature and sought to close the identified gaps through this study. The literature also explored the farming sector in other parts of the world and neighbouring countries that have experienced transformation since they gained their respective political independences. These factors were explored in order to understand the changing nature of farming and apply those to the Peddie context.

Chapter Three provided the road map on data collection procedures that were followed. The study utilised a case study research design, triangulated quantitative and qualitative research approach in data gathering. The sampling techniques are provided and ethical issues explained.

In Chapter Four, the data was presented and analysed. The chapter reflected on the production trends from the time the three citrus farmers (Mpahla, Mgadle and Nyamezele) took over production up to the period this study was conducted. It presented the results of the interviews conducted with the farmers, farm workers, community members, government and municipal officials in relation to the study areas.

In Chapter Five the research findings were presented. The results indicate that since the three emerging small-scale farmers assumed responsibility of the Nuadeshoek Citrus

Farm, Ripplemead Citrus Farm and Siyamila Citrus Farm, respectively, there were changes in the production of citrus. Subsequent to the take-over from Ulimocor, the number of permanent employees grew. The farmers increased the size of the orchards in terms of hectares, and during peak season there is an increase in the number of temporary workers that are employed. However, the situation was different at Craigheid Citrus Farm where there was no production and the community of Kwatho, which used to work there, was left stranded.

Chapter Six summarised and concluded the study. It also recommended steps that could be considered in addressing growth related issues in the farming sector in South Africa. The recommendations were informed by the findings of this study.

Chapter Two – Literature Review and conceptual Framework

2.1. Introduction

This chapter reviews literature on the contributions of scholars to issues around citrus production in South Africa and globally. The gaps in the literature review are identified and strategies of filling in those gaps are detailed. According to Martaza (2012) literature review is an important assessment, summarization, construal and evaluation of existing text or journal in order to ascertain contemporary information on a theme. The conceptual issues around this topic are also explored in order to provide a framework that would guide this study.

The South African citrus industry is generally seen as one of the industries which employs a large number of people and contributes greatly to the South African economy through exports and local markets. According to the Department of Agriculture Forestry and Fisheries (DAFF) (2012), the citrus industry employs approximately 100 000 people. It is estimated that more than a million households are dependent on the South African citrus industry for their income (DAFF; 2012:15).

The deregulation of agricultural markets led to the withdrawal of state subsidy on the agricultural markets. During the apartheid regime, white commercial farmers received subsidies from the government to the exclusion of the black farmers. The present regime introduced reforms to the agricultural markets with the promulgation of the Marketing of Agricultural Products (Sandrey and Vink, 2006; 2-7). These reforms brought about changes to both farmers and farm workers. Farm workers were affected as farmers had to reduce the number of permanent workers and employ workers on a seasonal basis. The commercial farmers were faced with a challenge of competing with heavily subsidized farmers from other parts of the world especially from Europe (Sandrey and Vink, 2006; 12).

The large scale farmers have taken advantage of these changes in agricultural markets. The large scale farmers formed co-operatives and merged with marketing agents in order

to export production to the global market. The intervention by the government ceased subsequent to the promulgation of Marketing of Agricultural Products Act, which left the pricing of agricultural products entirely in the hands of the farmers. The farmers restructured their business which resulted in many farm workers losing their jobs or being employed on a seasonal basis. It should be noted that the price of the citrus also increased.

The transformation on agricultural markets had a negative impact on small-scale or emerging farmers. The large scale farmers monopolized the farming space. The small-scale farmers could not easily access the global market as a result of lack of funds and experience. They were forced to supply their produce to the organisations owned by well-developed and previously advantaged farmers. The stringent requirements deterred the emerging farmers from exporting their fruit in order to compete on the global market. The emerging farmers did not own world class pack-houses, therefore they were forced to take their fruit to the pack-houses owned by large-scale farmers in order for their produce to be exported to Europe and/or other parts of the world (Genis, 2012: 12-14).

The effect of deregulation of agricultural markets generally had a positive effect on the South African economy. The exporting of agricultural products accelerated post 1994. The entire agricultural sector benefitted from the reforms brought about by the Marketing of Agricultural Products Act (Vink and Kirsten 2002:6).

2.2. Agriculture

The DAFF (2010) provides a historical background of the employment trends in the agricultural sector in South Africa based on figures from Statistics South Africa (Stats SA). In 1992 there were approximately 1.1 million commercial farm labourers, who were responsible for the maintenance of approximately four million dependents. By 1996, the number decreased to 914 000 employees, of which 67% were employed on a permanent basis whereas 33% were casual or seasonal employees (Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, 2010:6).

According to the 2012/2013 DAFF statistics, the agricultural sector contributed 12% towards the South African Gross Domestic Product (GDP). It further contributed up to 7% of formal employment and it was indicated that approximately 8.5 million people were dependent on agriculture as a source of income (Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, 2013: 44).

South Africa, in the New Growth Path, targeted job opportunities for 300 000 households in agriculture smallholder schemes and 145 000 jobs in agro-processing. The government resolved to create, by 2014, approximately 130 000 jobs in the agriculture, forestry and fisheries sectors (Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, 2013: 44).

Although agriculture contributed a relatively small share to the entire GDP, primary agriculture is an important contributor to the South African economy. Agriculture remains an important provider of employment, especially in the rural areas and a main earner of foreign exchange. The financial contribution of agricultural production in South Africa was R187 678 million in 2013 and approximately R72 billion towards the GDP. Since 1970 the main agricultural division grew by an average of 9.9%. Agriculture is therefore an essential sector and an important instrument of growth for the entirety of the economy (Economic Review of the South African Agriculture, 2013:1).

2.3. The citrus industry in South Africa

Citrus comprises of four categories, namely oranges, easy peelers (soft citrus), grapefruit, and lemons and limes. Citrus is grown in South Africa in different regions, such as Northern Province, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu Natal, North-West Province, Eastern Cape, Western Cape and Northern Cape (Urquhart P: 1999). The Limpopo Province is the biggest producer of citrus fruits, contributing 31% of total production. Mpumalanga and the Eastern Cape Provinces each contribute 21%, followed by the Western Cape with 16% and KwaZulu-Natal with 7% (Ntombela and Moobi, 2013).

According to the DAFF (2013) the gross value of agricultural production for 2012/2013 was approximately R180 360 million compared to R163 672 million from previous year which was an increase of 10.2%. The increase was attributed to an increase in the value

of animal products. According to DAFF (2013) the citrus export in the 2012/2013 season contributed R7.981 million to total gross value of South African agricultural production. Citrus fruits contributed the major share to South Africa's entire fruit exports, measured in terms of both quantity and value. The value of South Africa's citrus exports improved from R659 million in 1996 to over R9.3 billion in 2013 (Potelwa et al 2014).

Ndou (2012) concurs with other writers who acknowledge that South Africa is a major role player in the export of agricultural products to European countries. Citrus production is an important component of South African agriculture which contributes to growth of the South African economy. According to Mbatha the citrus industry in South Africa grew in the late 1990's, which led to an increase in exports. However, the black citrus farmers could not exploit the growing export opportunity as citrus farming required huge financial capital (Mbatha: 2007). Although agriculture employed many people especially in citrus market, there was a decline in employment during 2001 and 2010 which was attributed to the introduction of the new technology that replaced manual labour with machines (Ndou: 2012).

2.4. Land Reform and Land Restitution

According to Kahn, there are three forms of land reform in Africa, namely, redistribution, restitution and land tenure, and each form has its own dynamics (Kahn, 2007:1). According to Pepeteka (2013) the Native Land Act, of 1913 (Act No. 27 of 1913) provided a systematic process of land dispossession by the state. Section 1(1) of the Native Land Act provided that "Except with the approval of the Governor General - (a) A native shall not enter into any agreement/or transaction for the purchase, hire, or other acquisition from a person other than a native, of any such land or of any right thereto, interest therein, or servitude there-over: and (b) A person other than a native shall not enter into any agreement or transaction for the purchase, hire or any other acquisition from a native of any such land or of any right thereto, interest therein, or servitude there-over."

The intention of this Act was aimed at restricting Africans from purchasing, leasing and selling land. Only 7.3% of land was reserved for Africans and the remaining portion was set aside for the white minority. At a later stage, the land reserved for Africans increased

by 5% through the Native Administration Act (Act No. 38 of 1927) and the Bantu Trust and Land Act, 1936 (Act No. 18 of 1936), however the areas were later converted into Bantustans or self-governing-states (Pepeteka 2013:1).

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, No. 108 of 1996, introduced a constitutional framework for the land reforms in order to redress the land alienation and dispossession that occurred since 1913. Section 25(5) of the Constitution provides that “the state must take necessary legal steps to make sure that the citizen of this country access the land. That must be done in a fair and equitable manner taking into consideration the availability of resources.” Section 25(6) of the Constitution provides that “A person or community whose occupancy of land is not legally protected due to the discrimination which was caused by the apartheid laws, are eligible for redress or compensation.” Furthermore, Section 25(7) provides that “A person or community evicted or their property was forfeited to the state after 19 June 1913 due to previous racially discriminatory legislations or practices is eligible for compensation reasonable redress.”

The provisions of the constitution, as reflected above indicated the “nation’s commitment to land reform, and to reforms to bring about equitable access to all South Africa’s natural resources.” (Section 4(a) of the Constitution). According to Pepeteka (2013:2), whilst the constitution supported land reform, the right to own property was also protected. The constitution balanced the right between those who were denied the right to own property due to discrimination and rights of the existing property owners.

The constitution further provided for that “Parliament must enact the legislation referred to in subsection (6)” (section 25(9) of the Constitution). The democratic government in 1994 introduced a threefold land reform policy to rectify the injustices of the land dispossession, denial of access to land and forced removals. These included land restitution which was aimed at reinstating land or supplying financial reimbursement for people evicted from the land after 1913 land redistribution and land tenure reform.

2.4.1. Land Restitution

The Restitution of Land Rights Act, No. 22 of 1994 provided for “the restitution of rights in land to persons or communities dispossessed of such rights after 19 June 1913 as a result of past racially discriminatory laws or practices” (Preamble of the Act). The “right in land” was defined as “right in land whether registered or unregistered, and may include the interest of a labour tenant and sharecropper, a customary law interest, the interest of a beneficiary under a trust arrangement and beneficial occupation for a continuous period of not less than 10 years prior to the dispossession in question” (section 1 of the Act).

Land restitution is therefore, a land redistribution programme designed to deal with the disparities between white commercial farming and the former ‘homelands’. According to the Land Reform Policy Discussion Document, approximately 7% of land was distributed to the landless poor, labour tenants, farm workers and emerging farmers, through the land distribution programme. It contributed to developing their livelihoods and quality of life and encouraged growth in the agricultural sector (Land Reform Policy Discussion Document 2012:7).

There are challenges that were experienced when the land restitution programme was introduced. A majority of the farms that were redistributed struggled financially and the farmers are faced with enormous outstanding debts, poor infrastructure and insufficient support, disagreement within the projects, no expertise and lack of development. The fact that the government could not achieve its target of distributing 30% of farm land to the previously disadvantaged people prompted the government to introduce the expropriation of land policy (Land Reform Policy Discussion Document, 2012:7).

2.4.2. Land Reform

Land reform focused on two objectives. The first was to tackle the state of land administration in the communal areas of the former Bantustan and coloured reserves. The second objective was to reinforce the right of occupancy of farm residents residing at commercial farms (Land Reform Policy Discussion Document 2012:7). The purpose of the Land Reform: Provision of Land and Assistance Act, No. 126 of 1993, was to:

Provide for the designation of certain land; to regulate the subdivision of such land and the settlement of persons thereon; to provide for the

acquisition, maintenance, planning, development, improvement and disposal of property and the provision of financial assistance for land reform purposes (Preamble of the Act).

Furthermore, in terms of section 1A of the Act, the objectives of the Act were to:

- (a) Give effect to the land and related reform obligations of the State in terms of section 25 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996;
- (b) Effect, promote, facilitate or support the maintenance, planning, sustainable use, development and improvement of property contemplated in this Act;
- (c) Contribute to poverty alleviation; and
- (d) Promote economic growth and the empowerment of historically disadvantaged persons.

2.5. Legislation regulating the citrus market

According to the National Agricultural Marketing Council (2014:2), the Marketing Act of 1937 provided an unfair advantage to farms owned by the members of the state-supported institutions. These farms therefore, grew in size and production which to some extent boosted the economy. The Act, however had negative consequences on farms which were not affiliated to the state-supported-institutions, especially for emerging farmers and consumers (Mbatha: 2007). The change in South Africa's agricultural policies brought about transformation which impacted on citrus production. The deregulation in 1996 resulted in removal of citrus boards. Furthermore, as a result of the deregulation, many African citrus industry organisations were created (Marketing of Agricultural Product Act No. 47 of 1996).

The Marketing of Agricultural Products Act (No. 47 of 1996) altered the way in which agricultural marketing policy was administered in South Africa. Section 2 of the Act provided for the "intervention in marketing of agricultural products." Section 2(2) of the Act, further provided that the objectives of the Act be:

- (a) the increasing of market access for all market participants;
- (b) the promotion of the efficiency of the marketing of agricultural products;
- (c) the optimisation of export earnings for from agricultural products;

- (d) the enhancement of the viability of the agricultural sector.

The Act, which was promulgated on 1 January 1997, established the National Agricultural Marketing Council (NAMC). The NAMC was mandated to dismantle the existing Control Boards by 6 January 1998. The NAMC was further mandated to administer and monitor the involvement of the state in the agricultural in the sector (Kirsten, et al: 2007). Section 9 of the Marketing of Agricultural Products Act 47 of 1996 provided for the functions of the NAMC. The NAMC was required;

when requested by the Minister, or of its own accord, investigate, the establishment, continuation, amendment or revocation of statutory measures and other regulatory measures affecting the marketing of agricultural products, evaluating the desirability, necessity or efficiency.

According to Charles Mather (2003:4) “changes in the domestic regulatory environment have also played an important role in reshaping the industry”. In the period between the 1940s and the mid-1990s, citrus exports were managed by the South African Cooperative Citrus Exchange (SACCE). In 1996 a new marketing legislation was passed to regulate exports of citrus production (Mather; 2003:4).

One of the reasons for the creation of a new market policy was to provide opportunities to emerging farmers and the former disadvantaged farmers, in order for them to compete in an open market. This ensured that the farmers could optimise export earnings from agricultural products. However, the situation remained the same as only commercial farmers benefitted and emerging and small-scale farmers have not benefited from the developments. The new legislation (Marketing of Agricultural Product Act No. 47 of 1996) was aimed at empowering the emerging farmers and former disadvantaged farmers. Their elimination in the market exacerbated the economic inequalities instead of closing the gap (Mbatha: 2007).

In 1994, the Settlement and Production Land Acquisition Grant (SPLAG) programme was established. The SPLAG is a grant to provide for both settlement and agricultural production land needs of people living and/or working on rural land (Department of Rural Development and Land Reform). The primary objective of the grant was to improve

security of tenure and livelihoods and to extend property ownership by providing access to land for settlement as well as productive resources for farm dwellers and farm workers. The grant could be used for the following:

- a) in part, to do agricultural production: land improvements, infrastructure investments, capital assets and short-term agricultural inputs;
- b) in part, to effect settlement improvements through the provision of on-site basic infrastructure such as water, sanitation, internal roads, top structures and fencing (bulk infrastructure and connectors to internal services, e.g. electricity, roads, water and sanitation, are not covered by the grant);
- c) in part, to define or measure, secure, upgrade and register tenure rights;
- d) in part, or in its entirety, to acquire rural immovable property (including the fees and taxes related to the purchase) for settlement purposes (Department of Rural Development and Land Reform).

The programme was planned to apply the principles of willing-seller willing-buyer (Kibirige: 2013). Due to shortcomings associated with this programme it was decided that a new programme should be established.

In 2000, the Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development (LRAD) programme was established. The Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development programme was designed to help previously disadvantaged citizens from African, Coloured and Indian communities to buy land or agricultural implements specifically for agricultural purposes (Department of Agriculture – LRAD information booklet). This programme made money available to successful applicants to help supplement what they already had in order for them to purchase agricultural land. It was indicated that the “intended beneficiaries of the grant are primarily those that have a significant own contribution and simply need a ‘top-up’ to cover their land purchases” (Department of Agriculture – LRAD information booklet). This was achieved through the form of government grants. The LRAD programme increased the amount of the cash grant from R15 000 to R20 000 payable to each individual.

The LRAD was followed by the Proactive Land Acquisition Strategy (PLAS) which was initiated by the government in order to acquire land suitable for redistribution (Kibirige, 2013). The PLAS was not a community driven initiative such as the LRAD. This ensured that the state proactively targeted land and matched this with the demand or need for land.

The main advantages of this approach were to:

- a) accelerate the land redistribution process;
- b) ensure that the Department of Land Affairs can acquire land in the nodal areas and in the identified agricultural corridors and other areas of high agricultural potential to meet the objectives of ASGISA;
- c) improve the identification and selection of beneficiaries and the planning of land on which people would be settled; and
- d) ensure maximum productive use of land acquired. Department of Rural Development and Land Reform - PLAS information booklet)

The PLAS allowed the government to acquire land and register it in the name of the government with the intent to dispose of it at a later stage to suitable beneficiaries. The PLAS programme utilised the principle of lease-to-buy arrangement where land was only transferred to successful farmers. Those who failed to utilise the land productively were required to handback the land to the government for redistribution to other potential candidates. The aim of the PLAS was to encourage smallholders and black farmers to utilise the land efficiently and effectively (Kibirige, 2013).

2.6. The citrus industry in the Eastern Cape

The Eastern Cape Province officially came into being in 1994 when the political boundaries in South Africa were redrawn, and the country was subdivided into nine new provinces. The merger of the Eastern Cape, the Ciskei and Transkei homelands formed the Eastern Cape Province (Lent et al., 2000). According to Kalie et al, the population of the Eastern Cape Province comprised of approximately 14.4% of South Africa's population. A greater part of the Eastern Cape was made up of the former Bantustans, Transkei and Ciskei and presently the high poverty and unemployment rates in this

province may be linked to the economic neglect of these areas. Most of the rural inhabitants in this province were linked to agricultural activities (Kalie et al, 2005:1).

The population is generally poor characterised by low literacy levels with high levels of poverty, unemployment, poor infrastructure and lack of other socio-basic needs and the large number of people earn a living through social grants (Kibirige, 2013). The province has few commercial farmers who are contributing to the rural economy. Most farmers are emerging farmers who produce fewer surpluses for the market (Kibirige, 2013). According to Kibirige (2013), there is decline in agricultural production and the contribution to the GDP of the Eastern Cape Province. This decline may be attributed to the relocation of large number of individuals to urban areas, who are seeking better opportunities (Kibirige, 2013). In the Eastern Cape the citrus production centres mainly in the Nelson Mandela, Cacadu, Amatole and Chris Hani District Municipalities. The Port Elizabeth seaport plays a significant role in exporting production from these municipalities (DAFF: 2012).

2.7. Citrus production in the former Ciskei era

The Peddie District formed part of the Bantustan (Ciskei). Urquhart (1999) states that in 1993 it was estimated that the areas which were under Bantustan produced 20% of the citrus crop. Mbatha (2007) states that in 1971, when the Ciskei was formed and even prior to that, the citrus farms under review were owned by white farmers. During the era of the Ciskei, white and coloured citrus farmers abandoned their productive farms, which were subsequently taken over by the government of Ciskei. This led to a decrease in the production at the farms, until Ulimocor was established. Ulimocor stabilized the citrus production in the homeland of Ciskei (Mbatha: 2007). The black farmers who were employees of Ulimocor were trained to take over production of citrus on those farms. Ulimocor encountered several challenges ranging from lack of funding and clashes with the residents who were former employees on those citrus farms (Mbatha: 2007).

According to Mbatha, citrus farming was the largest agricultural trade in the Kat River Valley (KRV). However, not all citrus farms were being used productively or to their potential. Certain farms, especially those under the management of Ulimocor were deserted by the farmers. Various factors contributed to this state of affairs, such as poor

government policies with regard to lease agreements, poor planning and resource mismanagement (Mbatha: 2007).

Furthermore, the group of black citrus farmers from the former Ciskei homeland did not hold the land title-deeds and had collectively incurred massive debt owed to the former Ciskei Agricultural Bank (CAB). Unpaid debts resulted in it being impractical for the farmers to obtain credit loans from financial institutions (Mbatha: 2007). Mbatha (2007) further states that tensions developed between the new farmers and labourers when black farmers took over the ownership of the citrus farms previously managed by Ulimocor.

In the mid to late 1990s, Ulimocor was liquidated and the black farmers faced severe monetary problems; as many could no longer afford the repayments of state loans. According to Lhopitalier (2000), there were issues relating to the parastatal land. There was pressure from the neighbouring communities demanding those state assets, which included pineapple farms, irrigation schemes and citrus farms. The former Ciskei government facilitated the “lease-to-purchase agreements” entered into between Ulimocor and the black citrus farmers, which was aimed at the black commercial farmers purchasing the leased land (Mbatha: 2007).

2.8. Smallholders and emerging farmers

According to Kibirige (2013) there were several terms that were used to describe smallholder farmers, which included small-scale farmers, resource-poor farmers, peasant farmers, food-deficit farmers, household food security farmers, land-reform beneficiaries and emerging farmers. It was perceived that small-scale farming played an important role in rural economic growth, however there was an indication that peasant or small-scale farming was an inadequate basis for development (Kibirige: 2013).

Smallholder farmers could not afford new technologies needed for the expansion of productivity. The low productivity restricted the smallholder farmers from participating in the local, national and international markets (Kibirige: 2013). Commercial farming in the former government operated with various forms of governmental support and remained competitive whereas the smallholder farming was relegated to the former homelands and

remained largely underdeveloped and uncompetitive (Kibirige: 2013). State support towards commercial farmers increased until around 1980 and commercial farmers were provided with access to natural resources, finance, capital inputs, labour and access to local and foreign markets (Kirsten et al, 2007).

In theory, according to Freguin-Gresh and Anseeuw (2012), the restructured South African economy and markets should present opportunities for smallholders. Onumah and Mukwene (2009) indicate that government sought more effective and efficient methods to support the smallholder farmers, to be developed into profit-making, risk-taking entrepreneurs and food producers. However, due to the growth of production and market composition, citrus growers encountered rising contest and admission difficulties and had no option but to conform with certain standards in order to access markets (Freguin-Gresh and Anseeuw : 2012). Currently, a majority of the smallholder farmers are affiliated to the former white only Agri-SA (Onumah and Mukwene: 2009).

2.9. Poverty alleviation

Poverty can be understood as lack of opportunity on the part of households or individuals to improve their circumstances and to sustain themselves (Aliber: 2001). In South Africa, poverty involves poor health, inadequate education, and broken families as well as skewed resource distribution, inadequate infrastructure, and scarce employment opportunities (Aliber, 2001). Households that fall below the stated minimum income threshold are said to be living in poverty (ECSECC 2012:07). Poverty in Eastern Cape is relatively high due to the legacy of apartheid. The National and Provincial Government initiated programmes to eradicate poverty. In 2012 the Eastern Cape government adopted an antipoverty strategy, designed to, inter alia,

- a) eradicate extreme poverty and hunger;
- b) promote sustainable community livelihoods ad self-reliant households; and
- c) ensure well targeted, joined up implementation and service delivery by governmental and its social partners (ECSECC 2012:15).

According to Cousins (2005), constant poverty and inequality undermine the gains achieved by the new dispensation. It was indicated that 45% to 55% of all South Africans live in poverty and unemployment levels increased from 16% in 1995 to 29% in 2002. There has been a drastic decrease of employment in the semi-skilled mining and commercial farming sectors. Rural poverty is a major problem, as over 70% of all poor people live in rural areas (Cousins, 2005).

According to the then Minister of Agriculture and Land Affairs, Mr. Hanekom, agriculture had displayed prospects of improving the levels of employment and for improving the welfare of farm workers. Mr. Hanekom indicated that “in future, much greater priority in allocating public funds for the sector would be provided in order to promote new entrants, support the rural poor and provide services that assist their upliftment” (Hanekom: 1998).

The government and the Eastern Cape Provincial government reaffirmed their commitment to promote agrarian economy through encouragement of agricultural growth. Encouragement of agricultural growth was seen as a system that could eradicate poverty and improve food security among the rural poor smallholders and households (Kibirige: 2013). Agricultural improvements were intended to support sustainable employment and local economic growth. Agriculture could assist with poverty alleviation, job creation, upgrading of nutrition and health, development of livelihood for individuals, households and communities (Umhlaba Consulting Group: 2005).

Commercial farmers have revealed that they can play a positive role in assisting and supporting land redistribution projects, which would add value to social stability and safety in rural areas (Hanekom: 1998).

2.10. Food security

Food security entails the accessibility of food. At the 1996 World Food Summit, emphasis was placed on individuals enjoying food security, rather than the nation. It was indicated by the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) that “food security exists when all people at all times have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to

meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life" (Food security, 03/12/2014)

It was indicated that the state set targets to reduce poverty between 2004 and 2014, which would be achieved in compliance with the Constitution (Jacobs, 2009:410). The State adopted an Integrated Food Security Strategy (IFSS), which was translated into Integrated Food Security and Nutrition Programme (IFSNP) under the custodian of the Department of Agriculture (DoA), the aim of which was to eradicate poverty (Jacobs: 2009:411).

The communities in the area under research are living in poverty if not below the poverty line. People living in poverty are vulnerable and lack the basic resources required for a healthy livelihood. Poverty encompassed other aspects such as bad health, literacy, lack of social services, vulnerability and psychological effects (Baumann: 2002: 3). Baumann further suggests that the poor communities should take advantage of the growing economy to develop themselves. Poor communities should actively participate in government programmes which are meant to eradicate poverty. According to Baumann, poverty remained a rural phenomenon and agriculture played a meaningful role in the alleviation of poverty in rural communities (Baumann: 2002:20).

Development is necessary for rural communities to sustain their livelihood. Normally, livelihoods are composed of the following three aspects; capabilities, assets and activities. A livelihood is sustainable when it can survive and recuperate from stresses and shocks; uphold or improve its competence and possessions while not destabilizing the natural resource base (Krantz: 2001:1).

2.11. Neo-liberalism

James Ferguson (2009) describes neoliberalism as the "name of a broad, global cultural formation characteristic of a new era of millennial capitalism a kind of global meta-culture, characteristic of our newly de-regulated, insecure, and speculative times" (Ferguson, 2009:171). Palley (2004) believes that the present neo-liberalism was inclined to the Chicago School of Economics, which stresses on the efficiency of market competition, the role of individuals in determining economic outcomes and distortions associated with

government intervention and regulation of markets (Palley, 2004:1). It was argued that under neo-liberalism, the neoclassical theory believed that the market was efficient and the state was inefficient. It was stated that the reason why poor countries remained poor was not due to a lack of resources but as a result of the state intervention, corruption and inefficiency. It was further stated that neo-liberalism preferred international trade rather than domestic trade (Saad-Filho and Johnston, 2005:113-114).

Che (2005) argued that neoliberalists discouraged imports while encouraging exports. This situation has put African farmers in an uncomfortable position as far as trade was concerned. All over Africa, the ravaging effects of neoliberalism is felt. It resulted in high levels of unemployment, widespread poverty, moral degeneration and misery (Che: 2005). James Ferguson argued that most of the scholars who analyse the neoliberal system come to one conclusion that it was detrimental for the poor and the working class and advantageous to the rich.

According to Caffentzis, there has been a continuous attempt by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) to introduce the neo-liberalism programmes in order to resolve the problem of the poor African states. Such attempts failed and the heavily indebted poor African countries remained poor with the quality of life declining (Caffentzis: 2011). It was argued that even the recent liberated countries such as South Africa could not escape neoliberalism. This was evident in South Africa in respect of the exportation of production and the privatisation of the public sector services. The ruling party was known as the liberation movement with strong socialist agenda but they changed their standpoint bending towards the influence of the World Bank and IMF. During the period of the new the Government of National Unity, the ruling party changed its stance on socialism to neoliberalism (Williams and Taylor, 2000: 21).

According to Habib (2004), a controversial programme called Growth Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) was introduced and it was viewed as a compromise to satisfy the business community or the major capitalists (Habib, 2004:90). Neo-liberalisation was seen as an attack on labour organisations and trade unions, promoting job cuts and wage reduction. It promoted casual labour and public entities were privatised. The free market

was growing and state intervention was reduced. Even if it could be shown that neo-liberalism and capitalism increased productivity, it eroded the conditions in which production occurred.

Neo-liberalism promoted exploitation and social injustice and its policies produced inequality and benefitted the upper classes only. It promoted and widened the economic disparity. It left countries dependent on the global economy, with a burden of heavy debt. The rich got richer at the expense of the helpless poor. It reduced the self-reliance of nations and encouraged a high dependence on the global economy. It resulted in a loss of economic, political and social independence. It rendered the less developed nations to remain economic slaves of the West forever. Like colonisation, it eroded social values of communities.

Chapter Three – Research methodology

3.1. Introduction

This chapter provides a roadmap reflecting the methodology utilised in the collection of the relevant data. The research design which is a case study of the Peddie area is explained in detail. The location of the study is also provided. This study adopted a qualitative research approach. The data collection methods that were used were interviews and observation. The chapter also explains how data was analysed. The ethical procedure in conducting the study is also explained.

3.2. Location of the study

The Peddie District, under the NLM, was selected as the study area. Prior to 1994 democratic elections in South Africa, Peddie formed part of the Ciskei homeland. As a result of the abolishment of the homeland system, Peddie subsequently formed part of the Eastern Cape Province. According to Kibirige (2013) the Eastern Cape Province derived its incomes from eco-tourism, agro-industries, livestock and crop production. It was estimated that 60% of Eastern Cape population resided in rural areas. The population class is generally poor, characterised by low literacy levels with high levels of poverty, unemployment, poor infrastructure and lack of basic needs and a large number of people earn a living through social grants (Kibirige, 2013:121).

The province has a small number of commercial farmers who are contributing to the rural economy. Most farmers are emerging farmers who produce fewer surpluses for the market (Kibirige, 2013:122). According to Kibirige, there was decline in agricultural production and its contribution to the GDP of the Eastern Cape Province. This decline was attributed to the fact that a large number of young adults were leaving the rural areas and relocating to urban areas, in search of better opportunities (Kibirige, 2013:122).

The NLM falls within the jurisdiction of the Amathole District Municipality which is located in the Eastern Cape Province (Ngqushwa Municipality: 2012). The NLM covers 2245 km². The administrative seat of the Municipality is located in Peddie and the municipal area is divided into 13 wards (Ngqushwa Municipality: 2012). Peddie is located in the west of the Amathole district and consists of two towns which are Peddie and Hamburg. There are a further 118 villages, which form part of the NLM. The Ngqushwa municipality is bordered by the Great Fish River to the west, the Keiskamma River to the East and the southern boundary and a part of the coastline of the Indian Ocean (Ngqushwa Local Municipality IDP: 2012).

It is estimated that the population growth rate is 1.2% per annum. The municipal area is predominantly rural in nature with 95% of the population residing in rural areas and only 5% residing in the urban areas (Ngqushwa Local Municipality IDP, 2012). It comprises of rural communities that rely solely on agricultural production as well as the government social security services for a living. The municipality has designed plans, which are aimed at encouraging agricultural development, in order to reverse the high levels of dependency on social grants. Taking into consideration the locality of the area, the communities that reside there, the area has a huge potential for agricultural development (Ingqushwa Local Municipality IDP, 2012-2017). The citrus production, pineapple production and Tyefu irrigation scheme are contributing greatly to the economy of Peddie (Fakweni: 2009).

Peddie District is a predominately agricultural area, which is mostly rural with vast farming lands. There is vast unoccupied land from the district of Peddie up to Middledrift districts. During the apartheid era and prior to the establishment of Ciskei, the Peddie area was occupied by the white farmers. The white farmers abandoned these farms soon after the area was declared a Bantustan. A small number of the farms were leased to black farmers, however the majority of farms were abandoned, which were vandalised. The structures were stripped and materials, including fences were stolen. At the time the study was conducted, many of the farms in the Peddie area were unoccupied (information received from Mr. M. Mpangeva M, the Extension Officer employed at the Department of Agriculture in Peddie).

Monde-Gweleta et al., (1997:622) suggest that reforms should be implemented and state-owned land should be offered to the emerging farmers, in order for the production to be expanded. Peddie has a history of small scale farming. The area is divided into two parts, the dry area which is dependent on rain and the area alongside Fish and Keiskamma River valley (Monde-Gweleta et al; 1997:618). Along the Fish River and Keiskamma River banks, the irrigation schemes were in place, which were managed by Ulimocor. The irrigation schemes were still functional when this study was conducted. In the Keiskamma River valley only the portion situated at Ripplemead (Balteni) area is still producing citrus and the portion situated at Craighead (Kwatho) has been abandoned.

3.3. Research design

According to Koranteng (2010:37), the plans and approaches that are chosen in conducting research are dependent on the nature of questions which the researcher is trying to answer. This case study will be evaluating, assessing and examining the processes and effects of agricultural changes brought about by post-apartheid agricultural policies. The post-apartheid government promulgated a number of legislations, policies and programmes with the intention to address the imbalance of the past.

The aim and objective of this study is to establish whether the changes brought by the post-apartheid government achieved what was intended as far as the agricultural sector is concerned. The farmers in the study area are black emerging farmers, who previously did not benefit from the privileges that were afforded to white commercial farmers. According to Helliker (2013:17) the apartheid government provided subsidies and other support systems to white farmers in order to minimize competition from black farmers. The black emerging farmers could therefore, not compete in global markets like the white commercial farmers.

The post-apartheid government brought changes whereby all farmers were seen and treated on the same basis. The government ceased intervening in the affairs of agriculture, which negatively affected white commercial farmers who were previously the sole beneficiaries of the state subsidy. Various legislations were introduced, which regulated the agricultural sector. According to the Government Gazette No. 36035 (2012:9) the

objectives and aims of Agri-BEE was to empower and embrace the black South African farmers in all spheres of agricultural activities and ventures. In 1996, a new policy to deregulate the agricultural market was created to provide opportunities to emerging farmers and the former disadvantaged farmers, to develop them in order for these farmers to compete in the open market (Mbatha, 2007).

The land restitution programme is one of post-apartheid changes which benefitted the emerging black farmers. This legislation empowered the government to return land to the claimants or rightful owners (The Restitution of Land Rights Act, 22 of 1994). There are other legislations aimed at developing small emerging farmers such as Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development (LRAD) and Proactive Land Acquisition Strategy (PLAS) (Kibirige D, 2013).

3.4. Research approach

The approach involved conducting physical visits to the study area and making direct contact with the residents, including the farmers as well as conducting observations and taking photographs. The qualitative research approach was adopted. According to Creswell, (2003), the qualitative approach often creates knowledge based on a constructivist viewpoint. Furthermore it employs investigative approaches such as narratives, phenomenology, ethnographies and grounded theory studies (Creswell: 2003). However Martaza, (2012) describes qualitative research, as research relating to the extent of attitudes, behaviours and perceptions and includes interviewing methods such as telephone, capture and door-to-door interviews as well as surveys.

This study is a socio-economic type of study. It endeavoured to establish the survival of the Peddie citrus farmers subsequent to the abolishment of apartheid and the Bantustans. The research also considered the social status of the households, who are dependent on the production of citrus to earn an income.

The researcher grew up at Gwabeni village (Breakfast Vlei) in the Peddie area, where the researchers' parents are resident. The Balteni village (Ripplemead area), is approximately 7km from the researcher's home village. The researcher visited the study areas and conducted fieldwork. Consequently, the researcher is well conversant with the study area

and the interviewees, which included farmers, were known to him prior to the study being conducted. As much as the researcher had prior knowledge of these farms, during his fieldwork the farmers provided him with the opportunity to view and take photos of the orchards as well as the Ripplemead pack-house.

All three citrus farmers at the Ripplemead area were interviewed during the data gathering stage of this study. Where there was need, follow up telephonic interviews were conducted. The purpose of which, was to obtain clarity on a variety of issues. Interviews were also conducted with Mr. Mike Mangcobo, the then Manager at Ripplemead Citrus Farm and Mr. Mgadle, both of whom provided the researcher with valuable historical knowledge.

3.5. Sampling procedures

During fieldwork, interviews were conducted with all three citrus farmers. However, a sample of employees and community members were selected for interviewing purposes. In identifying the community members and employees to be interviewed, a random approach was not adopted. However, individuals of both genders from different age groups formed part of the sample interviewees. When interviewing the community members at the Craighead (Kwatho) area and the Ripplemead (Balteni) area, care was taken to balance between males and females, the young and old. The approach, according to Marshall (1996:522) was adopted in that the random sampling enabled all age groups to be studied.

The selection was based on interviewees that possessed historical knowledge of people and therefore added value to the study. The interviewees were selected based on their status and role in the study area and/or in the community, knowledge of the activities around the study area, willingness to share information and individuals that were willing to share everything whether good or bad (unbiased).

3.6. Data collection instruments

An interview schedule was used for data collection among the informants during in-depth interviews. A recorder was also used in capturing voice notes which were later transcribed

and analysed. The data collection methods that were employed included in-depth interviews, observation, a desktop research and analysis. The fieldwork was conducted during December 2014 and January 2015. A considerable amount of time was spent at the Craighead area, Ripplemead area, NLM offices, Department of Agriculture in Peddie and at the Department of Land Affairs in East London. During this time interviews were conducted with farmers, farm workers, residents, government and municipal officials. The purpose of which was to obtain further insight into the farming activities in the respective areas.

The data collection approach was qualitative in nature which was described by Creswell (2003:16) as employing an investigative approach such as narratives, phenomenology and ethnographies. The research goal was to discover the impact of changes on citrus farmers due to the changes to the agricultural policies post the 1994 democratic elections. The primary objective was to understand the complexities that resulted in agricultural changes on emerging citrus farmers in the Peddie district.

The first area visited during December 2014 was Craighead Citrus Farm at Kwatho. During the visit, the approach highlighted by Boyce and Neale (2006:3) was adopted. The approach entails conducting in-depth interviews with individuals or small group of respondents in order to obtain their viewpoint on a specific idea, program, or situation.

Seeing that there was no headman in the area, interviews were conducted with the chairperson, who acted as a community leader of Kwatho and granted permission to the researcher to enter the village, interview residents and observe the manner in which the farm was operating. During the interview the chairperson informed the researcher that he worked at the Craighead Citrus Farm during the time when the farm still formed part of Ciskei. Further in-depth interviews were conducted with eleven (11) community members. The community members represented different gender and age groups. As a result of the interviews conducted, it was established that a majority of the old and middle aged interviewees worked, at some stage at the Craighead Citrus Farm.

An interview was also conducted with a principal at one of the schools in the Peddie district. The interview was based on a piece of a land situated alongside the N2 between King Williams Town and Peddie. The piece of a land formed part of Craighead Citrus Farm which was provided by Ulimocor to the community of Khalana village. The principal was a resident of Khalana village and provided insight into the events that occurred in relation to the piece of land in question.

The researcher visited this area on numerous occasions and created an atmosphere of trust and friendship with the community. The researcher was therefore able to move freely through the village observing the situation and taking photos. According to Creswell J.W (2007:132) observation is a string of steps which are to:

1. Select a site to be observed;
2. Identify who, what, when and for how long should observe;
3. Determine the role to be assumed as observer; and
4. Take notes of the situation that was observed.

Peddie is predominantly a Xhosa speaking area which is the researchers' native language. All the interviews were conducted in IsiXhosa and there was no need for an interpreter. Talking to the participants in a language that they understood and were comfortable with proved advantageous. The researcher was therefore able to accurately capture the information communicated by interviewees. The data collected through interviews was complimented with consulting material such as books, articles, journals and internet articles as secondary data collection.

3.7. Data analysis procedures

The data analysis commenced during the observation and interviewing stage. Whilst still in the field, the researcher identified the problems and ideas that would assist in having a deeper understanding of the matter investigated (Robson. 2002:42).

According to Onwuegbuzie et al (2012:22), the final stage in data analysis process centred on theme analysis. The themes in this case study were analysed in order to identify similarities and highlight differences in respect of the data that was collected.

Subsequently, the researcher analysed the data, noted the findings and arrived at conclusions.

3.8. Ethical considerations

During the course of the study, the researcher adhered to basic requirements of ethical considerations. According to Ngulube (2004:49) the researcher is required to maintain strict ethical standards, whilst conducting research. Wepener (undated) states that it is important to firstly obtain consent from the participants, through the correct channels and ensure that the participants are being observed. Furthermore, the participants should be assured of confidentiality (Wepener: 8-9). Ethical considerations are of great importance as the participants are required to supply confidential information pertaining to their welfare and/or the status of the organisation they represented. Ethical considerations include ethical standards, human dignity, consent, privacy, confidentiality, justice and many more others (Bimenyimana et al, 2009:6).

3.9. Conclusion

The researcher did not encounter problems and/or any constraints in the field work; as all respondents participated fully and willingly. The only possible limitation could be that the respondents could not divulge certain information which may have shed light on some of the questions posed.

Citrus production contributes towards the economy of Peddie and plays an important part in poverty alleviation. The farmers indicated that though financial support and assistance, production can drastically increase. There is farming land that is available and through the proper support and assistance the land can be fully utilised, resulting in an increase in production, employment opportunities and poverty alleviation.

The post-apartheid agricultural changes had positive impact on these three citrus farmers. Due to the change in legislations, they were enabled to compete in global market without any hindrance. The lack of financial support, however prevents the farmers from developing to a level, where they are recognised as sustainable commercial farmers.

Chapter Four – Data Presentation and Analysis

4.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the findings from the interviews conducted with the farmers, farm workers, community members, government and municipal officials in relation to the study areas. The emphasis of this study was on the citrus farmers, therefore the evaluation and assessment of the changes in the agricultural market was considered, taking into consideration its impact on the business of the farmers. The assessment took into account the relationship between stakeholders such as government departments, the NLM, Lona Enterprise, Riverside pack-house, workers and the local community. Furthermore, the assessment considered the financial, technical, marketing and other mechanisms of support provided to these farmers. It further considered response of all interviewees by comparing and contrasting the information that was provided during the course of data collection.

All three farmers were from a similar background and were former employees of Ulimocor under the former government of Ciskei. The farmers were involved in citrus farming throughout their farming career and were managers of different farms at the Ripplemead area. Subsequent to the liquidation of Ulimocor in 1996, the farmers leased these farms (Ripplemead Citrus Farm, Naudeshoek Citrus Farm, Siyamila Citrus Farm) and later purchased them.

Despite the difficulties the farmers encountered when they took over from Ulimocor, they managed to keep production running. Due to lack of capital, there were challenges in maintaining the farms and keeping them productive. However, the government provided them with the Recapitalization Grants that assisted them to develop and resuscitate their orchards which were almost unproductive. The government grant assisted in the

expansion of the orchards. Due to the dilapidated state of the pack-house (Ripplemead pack-house, the farmers could not process their own soft citrus and had to contract Riverside pack-house to process it for them. The farmers jointly use Ripplemead pack-house to process their hard citrus which is thereafter transported to Port Elizabeth harbour for overseas export.

4.2. Marketing Assistance

Lona Trading and Capespan are citrus marketing agents who provide marketing assistance to the Ripplemead citrus farmers. Lona Trading and Capespan are assisting these farmers in exporting their fruit to Europe and other destinations. The support provided includes monitoring and liaising with producers, clients, cold storage, shipping lines, and airlines, trucking companies and authorities, locally and across the globe. They further assist with packing services, collection of the fruit from the farms, sorting and grading the fruit and classifying the fruit into different classes for exports and the local markets. These three farmers at Ripplemead (Balteni) area are utilising the services of Riverside Pack-house only for processing of soft citrus. They are not relying solely on Riverside Pack-house but have their own old dilapidated pack-house which is still operational.

The marketing agents are acting as middle-man between the producers and consumers, therefore farmers are dependent on market agents to market their products. According to these farmers, the agents in this business are very ruthless, farmers take their products to the pack-house for processing after which they are never informed as to what happens to their produce. The agents assume control and farmers remain uninformed of the steps taken and/or the progress made until it reaches the global market. When the product is rejected by the global market it would be returned to the producer and the agent would demand money from the producer to cover costs incurred.

According to Koranteng (2010:43) the farmers who export through agents usually are not aware of what has occurred to their crop when it goes out of the pack-house or farm gates for the export market. They have little or no idea of costs and the market value of their products and they at times wait up to six months for their payments.

4.3. Financial Assistance

Unlike other emerging farmers who are under mentorship of the commercial farmers and whose financial affairs are managed by their mentors, these three farmers manage their finances. Each farmer employs an administration officer who makes payments for the goods purchased; receive goods and processes invoices. The farmers manage their accounts internally, reconcile their books and file invoices. These farmers were grateful for the financial support provided by the government in a form of Recapitalization Grant. The financial assistance enabled them to develop their farms.

However two of these farmers, one at Naudeshoek Citrus Farm and the other of Siyamila Citrus Farm, had at some point with other seven Kat River Valley citrus farmers, received a loan from the Industrial Corporation Development (IDC). The contract signed with IDC compelled them to work under mentorship of Riverside Pack-house. The terms and conditions of their contract with the IDC did not allow them to manage their finances (loan), as that task was assigned to Riverside Pack-house. These farmers together with other seven Kat River Valley citrus farmers were aggrieved because they could not access their incomes from their products. They were informed that the money went towards repayment of the loans received from the IDC (Koranteng, 2010:47).

The three citrus farmers interviewed at their farms in Peddie provided the Researcher with the following information; Naudeshoek Citrus Farm was initially leased to the farmer from 1992 until 2007 before he purchased it thereafter. Prior to him owning the farm, it was owned by the Ciskei government and managed by Ulimocor. When he took over only 22 hectares were productive and he extended the orchards up to 47 hectares, doubling the size of the farm. His farm is 139,6 hectares and presently about 47 hectares are utilised for citrus farming and the rest still needs to be developed. This farm is producing a variety of citrus such as navel, clementine, valencia and lemon. The packing of production (hard citrus) is done at Ripplemead Pack-house and clementines are packed at Riverside Pack-house in Fort Beaufort. He confirmed that citrus production in his farm is increasing therefore the situation is improving from what it was when he took over from Ulimocor. He

attributed the improvement to the financial support he received from the government, however he still needed more support to develop the remaining hectares.

Ripplemead Citrus Farm is 86 hectares in total. Out of eighty six hectares 58 hectares are under citrus production. This farm was previously owned by the Ciskei government through Ulimocor. It produces oranges and soft citrus (naartjies). The farmer grades his produce into three grades, that is, grade 1, 2 and 3. He received financial assistance from the government in the form of Recapitalisation Grant which assisted him in extending his orchards and improving production. Since he took over from Ulimocor, he extended farming land from 30 hectares to 58 hectares which increased the level of production. At presently 16 fulltime workers are employed and 12 casual employees for pruning. During harvesting season, he employs 90 seasonal pickers and 80 pack-house packers. Seasonal pickers are employed at least four months a year.

The third farmer owns the Siyamile Citrus Farm at Ripplemead area. He is one of the beneficiaries of Kat River Valley Trust fund that he received from the IDC (Koranteng, 2010:47). Like other two farmers at Ripplemead area, he received financial assistance from the government in the form of Recapitalization Grant. He stated that since he took over the ownership of this farm in 2006, production had increased considerably. The farm is 203 hectares in size but only 24 hectares were utilised for citrus production. The financial support he received from the state assisted him to expand his orchards thereby improving the production. He employed eleven permanent staff, six casuals, and during the harvest season he employs approximately eighty temporary staff.

According to the Daily Dispatch, a newspaper based in East London dated 19 March 2015, the Eastern Cape Rural Development MEC Mlibo Qhoboshiyane stated that the Eastern Cape Department of Rural Development and Agrarian Reform were on a mission to overcome poverty in rural areas of the Eastern Cape. The MEC further stated that his Department was planning to cultivate 42 500 hectares of land in the 2015-16 financial year. Mr Qhoboshiyane indicated that the department would support the smallholder citrus farmers with a R4 million budget in the 2015-16 financial year. Mr Qhoboshiyane further indicated that his department would provide infrastructure support to rebuild the dilapidated Ripplemead Pack-house in Peddie with R9.2 million and also R8 million to

assist farmers with production orchard development. He provided an undertaking that his department would assist 120 citrus farmers with production and create an estimated 162 permanent and 1041 seasonal jobs. He anticipated that the support would afford the Ripplemead citrus farmers an opportunity to trade direct with the European Union as opposed to the state of affairs where they struggled to access the international markets (Mini: Daily Dispatch 19 March 2015)

One of the farmers stated that on 4 June 2015 the Eastern Cape MEC of Agriculture Mr Mlibo Qhoboshiyane accompanied by the Mayor of Ngqushwa Local Municipality visited the Ripplemead Pack-house attending an event called “a harvest day ceremony” based on the request that was made by these three citrus farmers for financial support in order to refurbish their pack-house. He indicated that by September 2015, an amount of R9. 2 million would be set aside by the Eastern Cape government, which would be utilised to refurbish the Ripplemead pack-house.

4.4. Technical support

According to the farm owner, the production at Ripplemead citrus farm gets inspected by an independent inspection body called Perishable Products Export Control Board (PPECB) to check whether the production meets the exportation standards and for Naudeshoek and Siyamila citrus farms. LONA is responsible for providing technical support. The technical support provided to these farms among other things includes, soil testing, planting the suitable cultivars for the soil type, conducting changes on spacing, put new irrigation system in order to maximise water usage and fertilisation. The farmers get invited to attended citrus summits, symposiums and workshops in order to develop their knowledge in citrus farming.

An Extension Officer responsible for the area under research was interviewed at Peddie and he stated that the government provides technical support to the emerging farmers including the Ripplemead citrus farmers. Farmers constantly obtain advice from the Department of Agriculture. The department would obtain leaf and soil samples from each farm for analysis to determine the type of fertiliser and chemicals needed. The farmers were also advised on pest and disease control, what varieties to plant (suitable cultivars),

pesticides, and amount of water, farm implements, infrastructure and labour needed. The government places focus on black emerging farmers by introducing various support programmes to improve their productivity and redress the imbalances of the past (Agricultural policy in South Africa: 1998).

These farmers indicated that they were privileged in the way they continuously received technical assistance in a form of training from private institutions such as National Agriculture Marketing Council (NAMC) and Citrus Grower Association (CGA).

4.5. Relationship with Riverside Enterprise

Initially these farmers were under mentorship of Riverside Enterprise. This was a programme which was initiated by the IDC based on terms and conditions of a contract between Kat River Citrus farmers and the IDC. Even after the termination of the said programme, the relationship between three citrus farmers and Riverside Enterprise remained intact. After this programme was terminated, the relationship between these parties was no longer that of mentor and mentee, but it was that of business partnership.

The Head of Human Resource department at Riverside Pack-house was interviewed telephonically and confirmed the existence of a business relationship between Riverside and the three citrus farmers from the area under research. He confirmed that indeed Naudeshoek and Siyamila citrus farmers were mentored by Riverside Katriver Farm also known as Riverside Pack-house. Riverside Katriver Farm also mentored citrus farmers in the area of Katriver such as Jerico, Torties, Oakdene, Leta's, Zanentlutha, Lovers Retreat, Gatyena and Huduza. He mentioned that Riverside's sister company LONA assisted these farmers (Naudeshoek and Siyamila) to access funding from the institutions such as Land Bank, the IDC, the Eastern Cape Rural Development Agency and the government. He confirmed that Riverside provided technical support to these farmers in various kinds, ranging from administration, human resource, fertilisation process, pest control, irrigation and other activities. These farmers were also assisted to access export markets by becoming certified to various international standards such as Global Good Agricultural Practice (Global G.A.P) and the Sustainability Initiative of South Africa (SIZA).

The agritex officer stated that Global G.A.P was created for agricultural producers worldwide to adopt safe and sustainable practices. He stated that SIZA is a domestic ethical standard developed by Fruit South Africa. It is the custodian of ethical standards and oversees that ethical trade is adhered to. The officer further stated that these farmers, Naudeshoek, Siyamila and Ripplemead, entered into marketing and management agreements with Riverside Pack-house where Riverside would pack and process their citrus for export and they pack non-export fruit at the Ripplemead pack-house.

All citrus farmers in the study area indicated that they are using Riverside Pack-house to process their soft citrus. Their pack-house (Ripplemead) is in a bad state, it is dilapidated as a result, it does not meet the international standards, and for that reason it could not be used for soft citrus.

4.6. Conclusion

All three farms are not yet fully developed; there are still many hectares which are not utilized. The Naudeshoek citrus farm is 139 hectares wide and only 47 hectares is utilized and the rest is unused. The Ripplemead citrus farm is 86 hectares and only 47 hectares in use. The Siyamila citrus farm is 203 hectares but only 24 hectares are utilized. This chapter indicated the dedication of these farmers to produce more. It shows their eagerness to reach the level of well-developed commercial farmers. They are aiming high to compete on the global market. There is willingness from the external parties such as the Government, the NAMC, the Citrus Grower Association and the IDC to offer financial, technical and marketing assistance to these farmers.

However these farmers are faced with challenges which retard their development. The number of hectares which are under-utilized is an indication of the challenges faced by these farmers. There is inadequate funding which could help them to develop more hectares. The problem of their dilapidated pack-houses forces them to take their production somewhere else for packaging and processing. Transporting their soft citrus to Riverside Pack-house and contracting with Riverside Pack-house to process their production cuts into their profits.

Chapter Five – Presentation of research findings

5.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the research findings and identifies the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats. It identifies advantages, disadvantages and specific problems encountered by the small scale farmers including the Peddie citrus farmers. The research objective is to study the impact of post-apartheid agricultural changes on citrus farmers in the Peddie District.

The findings emanate from the data collection process employed which included, in depth interviews, observation and literature review. This study indicates a constant growth of citrus farming in the area of study. This improvement came as a result of plans and programmes put in place by the government of the African National Congress (ANC) post 1994 in order to boost and develop the small scale farmers. In order to be able to achieve its goals the government had to bring in new laws which would favour the small scale farmers. The ANC led government put in place laws such as Extension of Security Tenure Act, Restitution of Land Rights Act, Marketing of Agricultural Product Act, Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act, Expropriation Act, Land Protection Bill and other related legislations to support the development of small scale farmers.

All these programmes and legislations were made to redress the imbalances of the past and to correct the damage caused by the colonial and apartheid laws. However, the success of these initiatives has been limited as they have not succeeded in developing black small-scale farmers into well-developed commercial farmers. The three citrus farmers in the area under study are emerging farmers. They are striving towards becoming commercial farmers but their major constraint is funding.

5.2. Agriculture in colonial times

The South African agricultural productivity movement can be traced as far back as 1910 (Mapula et al., 2011:6). However with black communities farming was part of their livelihood prior to the arrival of the colonialists in Africa. In the pre-colonial era the black people of South Africa had plentiful land, with farming and herding being their main economic activities. They had no formal trading system and/or open markets. Farming was intended solely for feeding and supporting families in order to alleviate poverty (Du Plessis, 2011:49). The problem of black people pertaining to their land became evident in 1913. The Native Act of 1913 further enforced the dispossession of land from the black people by the state. The Africans were prohibited from buying, leasing and selling land from certain areas. The process of dispossession culminated in apartheid, where many black communities were forcefully removed (Pepeteka, 2013:1).

5.3. Agriculture during apartheid era

During the colonial period, a bigger percentage of farming land was occupied by white commercial farmers. In the period around 1948 the apartheid government introduced most of the legislations which sought to exclude black people from accessing agricultural land, financial support and any other state assistance and services. As a result, apartheid was built on favouritism, prejudice, inequity, unfairness, discrimination, denial, segregation and was applicable in all three spheres (social, political and economic) of life in South Africa. The apartheid regime intensified the colonial segregation and discrimination legislations. It made sure that these legislations are systematic and strictly applied and policed (OECD Review of Agricultural Policies South Africa, 2006:34).

In this period the agricultural sector like any other state department or entity applied discriminatory systems therefore farmers were not treated equally. The white commercial farmers were heavily subsidised by the state while black emerging farmers were not entitled to the state subsidy. The commercial farmers did not struggle in their business because of government intervention. On other hand, their black counterparts (small scale or subsistence farmers) survived without any assistance from the state. As more prejudicial legislations were implemented against black people, their way of farming was steadily shattered and their output cut down (Kahn, 2007:3).

The Native Act No. 27 of 1913 intended to allocate only 7% of land to the black people of South Africa and with the establishment of Bantustans during apartheid era it was increased to 13%. Therefore 80% of South African population was confined in 13% space of land (Kahn, 2007:3). In most instances the black small scale farmers were found in homelands such as Transkei, Ciskei, KwaZulu, Lebowa, Venda, Gazankulu, Bophuthatswana, Qwa-Qwa and Ndebele. The Bantustan governments were not subsidising farmers. Commercial agriculture was executed by agricultural parastatals such as Tracor in Transkei and Ulimocor in Ciskei. During this era there were no black commercial farmers especially in the citrus farming. Before the establishment of Bantustans, all citrus farms in Eastern Cape were owned by white commercial farmers. This is evidenced by literature cited herein which indicates that black people were not entitled to own land. When the government of Ciskei took over the ownership of land alongside Tyhume River, Katriver and Keiskamma River the land came under the control of Ulimocor. There were no individual citrus farmers owning the land.

5.4. The post-apartheid changes in agriculture

The post-apartheid South African government brought changes in South African agriculture to redress the ill-deeds and injustices of colonialist and apartheid governments. After 1994 democratic elections the new dispensation brought reforms in land and restructured the agricultural sector in order to benefit the small scale farmers. The reforms in agriculture have impacted both the commercial and small scale farmers / emerging farmers. As mentioned above, the white commercial farmers benefitted greatly through the support they received from the apartheid government. Things had changed when the legislations such as Extension of Security of Tenure Act, Restitution of Land Rights Act and Marketing of Agricultural Product Act were passed. These legislations are meant to redress the imbalances of the past. The Extension of Security of Tenure Act deals with the relationship between occupiers and owners and gives directives as to which circumstances an eviction be effected, as well as the manner, processes and procedures to be followed when eviction is taking place. The Restitution of Land Rights Act deals with returning of the land which was lost due to the discriminatory laws of apartheid (Hanekom, 1998).

Due to the fact that the prospective black farmers in South Africa had little access to land, the land reform was essentially to create and restore a considerable number of small-scale black farmers. Therefore land reform was an engine to drive rural development (Greenberg, 2013:13). The ANC led government set targets for the state to achieve. Its goal was to redistribute 30% of white owned agricultural land to the black small-scale farmers within the period of five years. The targets were unachievable and the state missed the deadline and after 1999 the targets were revised. The targets were set for 2008, extended to 2011 and again to 2014, in order to achieve 30% of redistribution of farm land (Cousin, 2013).

5.5. Impact of agricultural changes

Indeed the changes effected on agricultural legislation had impact in farming community. The impact was felt on both sides, in commercial farming and small scale farming. The impact could be negative and/or positive on both sides. As much as the intention was to develop the black small scale farmers to be on the same footing with white commercial farmers, this programme was not without challenges. The first group to feel the impact were the white commercial farmers. The deregulation of agricultural products and ceasing of government subsidy hit hard on their pockets. On the other hand, by deregulating agricultural products an opportunity was given to white commercial farmers to conduct their business in their own terms and the government could not dictate terms for their operations.

The commercial farmers, for instance, determined the prices, selected with who and where to conduct business. This situation caused the prices of agricultural products to increase. The commercial farmers exported their products to Europe and only surplus was sold in South Africa. The commercial farmers adopted a capitalist system; their concern was income rather than food security and poverty alleviation. Their attitude was neoliberal where the business community distances itself from the task of poverty alleviation while pursuing profits at the expense of the surrounding communities, and relegating all such responsibilities to the state. The deregulation framework became an advantage in some way to commercial farmers. For instance, some of them established cooperatives and companies and registered as agents for farming businesses.

The opportunities for small-scale farmers also opened up with the introduction of regulations dealing with land reform, land restitution and marketing of agricultural products. Opportunities became available for them to compete in the open market and export their products abroad. They are no longer discriminated against. The impact of changes affected small scale farmers in both ways, positive and negative. The fact that the small scale farmers have right to access land and the markets, is a positive step towards developing black commercial farmers. However, the system failed to achieve the set goals. Mostly, instead of developing black emerging farmers to close the gap between them and the white commercial farmers, the gap became wide.

The fact that the government limited its interference in the operations of agricultural markets, it left the processes open to neoliberal tendencies. The small scale farmers are faced with obstacles such as standards set by the national and international organisations. They have to comply with standard and quality of production set by Sustainability Initiative of South Africa (SIZA) and Global Good Agricultural Practice (Global G.A.P). Neo-liberalism stresses on efficiency of market competition, it promotes deregulation of markets and non-intervention by the government (Palley, 2004:1). This system is not helpful to the small scale farmers or of assistance to the poor communities. It is a worse capital system which promotes inequality by letting the rich get richer and the poor poorer. It does not assist the government in its endeavours of supporting the underdeveloped farmers and alleviating poverty. Neo-liberalism does not promote imports it encourages exports only (Che, 2005).

The first research site which is Craighead citrus farm (Kwatho village) is worse affected by the agricultural changes. The research indicates that citrus farming is no longer taking place. The citrus farming in this area stopped soon after Ulimocor stopped its operations. This situation left the community destitute and poverty-stricken. Farming in Peddie District affects, not only farmers, but the communities too. Farming is one of the main sources of income for the communities in this district, therefore the communities become greatly affected by what happens in the farming sector.

The researcher's observation of Kwatho area was that it has potential for farming, be it crop, citrus and stock farming. It has huge unused farming land and enough water for irrigation. Alongside the Keiskamma River lie huge deserted citrus orchards which were last planted during the era of Ulimocor. Not far from the Keiskamma River bank there is a pump station (Amatola pump station) erected to supply Peddie District with drinking water. On other side of the river along the N2 road from Peddie to King William's Town, there is another abandoned citrus orchard. This orchard forms part of the land which Ulimocor gave to the community of Khalana.

The eleven (11) people who were interviewed voiced their displeasure with the neglected state of Craighead citrus farm. Many young people in the village are unemployed. Most of elderly people were employees at Craighead citrus farm and could remember the times when this farm was still owned by the white farmer. They reckon that it was very productive as the owner planted vegetables together with citrus plants. There was a high level of employment as almost everyone in that community was working. Furthermore, every employee would receive a monthly ration in the form of grocery, thereby greatly reducing the effects of poverty. During the period when Ulimocor was operational, poverty was not an issue for this community as they continued receiving monthly rations.

This community engaged the Eastern Cape provincial government and Ngqushwa Local Municipality in numerous occasions requesting for resuscitation of Craighead citrus farm. The Eastern Cape government and NLM displayed keen interest in resuscitating and developing that farm. Mrs Maswana from Ngqushwa Local Municipality confirmed the plans by the municipality to resuscitate citrus farming in that area.

The community of Khalana village claimed that the piece of land alongside the N2 road (which forms part of Craighead citrus farm) is their ancestral land. They claimed that they were removed during the apartheid era to make way for citrus farming. A school principal in one of the schools in Peddie District and a resident at Kalana village, gave a brief history of that land. He stated that indeed this piece of land was handed over to Khalana community by Ulimocor. This land was initially occupied by amaNgwevu clan (Woji family) and they were using it for planting maize and other crops. In 1960 they were removed and

relocated to the village which is now called Khalana. The land in question was originally known as “Mabhadikazi”. There were no formalities involved in the transfer of this land but an informal agreement between Ulimocor and the community. The community has no title deed for this land and therefore the land still belongs to the state.

Balteni or Ripplemead is a village situated within the citrus farming area in the district of Peddie. The history of citrus farming in this area goes as far back as during the colonial times (Isi-Xwiba Consulting; 2012). Balteni is where Ripplemead, Naudeshoek and Siyamila Citrus Farm as well as Ripplemead Pack-house are located. These farms are producing a variety of citrus such as navel, clementine, valencia and lemon. The packing of produce (hard citrus) is done at Ripplemead packing house and the soft citrus is packed at Riverside Pack-house in Fort Beaufort. The standard of Ripplemead Pack-house pose a challenge to the farmers and their business, it does not meet the required international standard which affects their exports.

Despite the challenges of the dilapidated Ripplemead Pack-house which is a limitation for farmers to directly export their products to the international markets, these farmers produce quality fruits. The production gets inspected by members of the Perishable Products Export Control Board (PPECB) before it leaves the farm for export. If the production does not meet the required standard, the board rejects the whole consignment. The farmers obtain a Certificate of Conformity from organisations such as Global Good Agricultural Practice (Global G.A.P). Such certificates ensure that their production meets the standard, that it could be exported abroad and that it is safe for consumption. To uphold internationally acceptable standards and maintain the global good agricultural standards, they test the soil for the level of acidity, sugar, quality of juice and also harvest the fruit at the right time. These farms are spreading alongside Keiskamma River and this river is a reliable source for irrigation. These farms still have enough land to be developed in order to expand the orchards.

The three farmers confirmed that there was a difference in the way farming business was conducted now when compared to the apartheid era. Their production is now exported to the international markets. They export their fruits through Port Elizabeth harbour with the assistance of agents. Their revenue and profits improve year by year, however, there are

unforeseen circumstances which at time affects their profits. Sometimes they encounter natural disasters such as drought and hail storm which damage their crops. Out of the revenue generated from these farms, they have to buy chemicals, fuel, pesticides, electricity for irrigation, employ staff and during harvesting season, employ pickers. Furthermore they have to cover costs for exporting their production. The expenses to run and manage the citrus farming bears heavily on their profits.

These farmers appreciated and were grateful for the support they received from the government. They were grateful for the constant training received from the National Agricultural Market Council (NAMC). The government assisted them with Recapitalisation Grant which helped them to expand their orchards and bought equipment such as farm implements. The financial assistance which they received from the government enabled them to develop their orchards and increased their human resource. One of the farmers extended his orchards from 22 hectors to 47 hectares doubling the size. The second farmer extended his orchards from thirty (30) hectares to fifty eight (58) hectares which increased the level of production, and the third developed a further 24 hectares out of his 203 hectors of land.

These farmers have a potential of employing more people which can assist government in its drive to alleviate poverty. They are keen to produce more citrus fruits and that can be made possible by increasing acreage under tillage. The farmers were appealing to the government to provide more financial support in order to revamp the Ripplemead Pack-house to meet the international standards. When this research was being conducted, the pack-house was only operating for a few months per year, mostly from May to August. However if it could be refurbished to meet the international standards, it could operate all year round and therefore create more job opportunities.

The responses from interviews conducted with ten employees from these three citrus farms indicate that people in that area hold different views about the impact of citrus production as far as the livelihood of the community is concerned. However there was a common view that citrus farms were the main source of income (employment) in that area. There were different views among the informants when it came to comparison between

the apartheid era and post-apartheid era. Some believe that things were better during the time of Ulimocor because more people were employed on permanent basis, with others on contract. This is attributed to the fact that during the era of Ulimocor, the technology was not as advanced as it is now; most of work was done manually. Presently, most functions such as irrigation, spraying pesticides and other stuff are done mechanical using advanced technology which operates automatically instead of using manual labour. The other group of respondents believed that farming was better now than in the Ulimocor era. They believe that employment opportunities were increasing due to the expansion of orchards which in return were increasing production. This view concurred with what was expressed by the farmers in that area.

Chapter Six - Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

6.1. Introduction

This chapter summarises and concludes this study. It also recommends the steps that could be considered in addressing development related issues as far as farming is concerned in Peddie District. The recommendations were informed by the findings of this study.

The lesson derived out of this study was that the post-apartheid agricultural changes introduced by the new dispensation impacted on citrus farmers in the area of study. In fact, the impact of these changes not only affected farmers in the district of Peddie, but also affected all small-scale farmers in South Africa. The impact of the changes also affected white commercial farmers. For the white commercial farmers, the impact was severe as the subsidies from the state were discontinued and had to fend for themselves.

6.2. Summary

The intention of the post-apartheid government was to correct the injustice committed by the colonial and apartheid governments. It intended to place the black emerging or small scale farmers on par with the white commercial farmers. During colonization and in the period between 1948 and 1990 (apartheid era) the black communities were dispossessed of their land which was then given to the white settlers. This created inequality between black and white South Africans (Cousin, 2013).

It was imperative for the new constitution to deal with the disparities, inequality, dispossession and discrimination caused by the Natives Act of 1913 and the subsequent apartheid legislations. The South African Constitution of 1996 makes the dispossession of land and discrimination unconstitutional. There are three things that are stipulated in

the constitution to support land reforms, namely; land redistribution, land restitution and land tenure. Section 25(5) of the Constitution provides that

The state must take necessary legal steps to make sure that the citizen of this country access the land. That must be done in a fair and equitable manner taking into consideration the availability of resources.

Section 25(6) of the Constitution provides that

A person or community whose occupancy of land is not legally protected due to the discrimination which was caused by the apartheid laws, are eligible for redress or compensation.

Furthermore, Section 25(7) provides that

A person or community evicted or their property was forfeited to the state after 19 June 1913 due to previous racially discriminatory legislations or practices is eligible for compensation reasonable redress.

After 1994 the government had committed itself to redistributing 30 per cent of white-owned agricultural land to the small-scale black farmers over a period of five years. The redistribution was to be done through the 'willing-buyer willing-seller' approach where the state would buy the land from the willing-seller and redistribute it to the beneficiaries. The 'willing-buyer willing-seller' approach posed a challenge in land redistribution, the pace was very slow. The government relied on the discretion of the landowners whether to sell or not, what to sell and at what price. The landowners took advantage of this system and sold their land at inflated prices. The land they offered to sale was often land that was substandard and not productive. The landowners were unwilling to sell quality and productive land.

The government programmes on land reform and land restitution are not an absolute answer to the problems of the beneficiaries including the small-scale farmers. The beneficiaries are faced with challenges such as inaccessibility of services, poorly trained extension officers, lack of access to credit, the high cost of farm equipment and chemicals, and access to markets and infrastructure. The poor support for land reform beneficiaries has led to the collapse of many land reform projects. Providing small scale farmers with

land without giving proper support in terms of financial and technical assistance will not achieve the set goal (Kahn, 2007:8).

After the abolishment of the SLAG programme in 2000, the LRAD was introduced. This type of programme was not meant for poor people only, but it also catered for those who had investments and could obtain big loans. This programme was designed to help the previously underprivileged people to become successful farmers on their own allocated land. This helped the previously disadvantaged people in rural areas to use their land productively (Land Reform Policy Discussion Document 2012:3-4).

6.3. Conclusions

The Craighead (Kwatho) area has been adversely affected by the post-apartheid agrarian changes. Not much has been done to develop the citrus fields in this area. The level of literacy within this community has also disadvantaged them. Due to lack of education, this community could not seize the opportunities brought about by the land agrarian reform programmes. Perhaps they were let down by the officials from government institutions such as the department of agriculture and land affairs as well as the local municipality. If they had been made aware of the opportunities and assisted to form cooperatives, they could have taken over from Ulimocor and developed the orchards at Craighead Citrus Farm. The failure by the government and the local municipality to assist this community to acquire this land for use and the failure to assist them financially and technically in the development of the orchards, exacerbated their situation (poverty).

According to the Land Reform Policy Discussion Document (2012:5), the former homeland areas have a big number of households that live below the poverty line. What this discussion document highlights is an indication of the problem of poverty in the areas which fell under former homelands including the area under study.

The condition under which the Kwatho community lives does not conform to the ideals of the post-apartheid agrarian changes and land reforms programmes. These programmes revolve around active state support for the previously disadvantaged people and seek to

transform them into subsistence and commercial farmers. The intention is to support them in land acquisition, planning, and extension services.

The three farmers at Ripplemead area were previously employees of Ulimocor who during the liquidation of Ulimocor leased the farms from the state and ultimately bought them. Their situation is slightly different from other beneficiaries of the land reform. Unlike other beneficiaries from land reform programmes, they did not acquire their farms through land claims. They had no claim to that land. Those farms were state owned and belonged to the government of Ciskei. Due to post-apartheid changes in South Africa, the three farmers were able to get ownership of these citrus farms. As stated above, the colonial and apartheid laws had prohibited black people from owning land in certain areas except in homelands. In the Bantustans too, no individuals had owned land, the land belonged to the homeland governments. The land which was under homeland government is now called communal land under the authority of traditional chiefs (Cousin, 2013).

The findings from this study were also that the three citrus farmers were developing and their status changing from emerging or small-scale farmers to becoming commercial farmers. It is evident that the post-apartheid changes in agriculture had a positive impact for these farmers. In chapter four (4.6), it was stated that these farmers were previously under the mentorship of Riverside Pack-house. They were assisted by the Riverside's sister company LONA to access funding from institutions such as Land-bank, Industrial Development Corporation, Eastern Cape Rural Development Agency and the government and received technical support from Riverside Pack-house.

The fact that they had grown and developed, realising profits from their enterprises illustrates their changing status from being small-scale to becoming commercial farmers. In this regard, the aims and objectives of the ANC led government to develop a class of black commercial farms, are slowly moving towards fulfilment. In spite of these citrus farmers and other black farmers elsewhere developing, there still exists a big gap between the white commercial farmers and black emerging farmers. According to Helliker (2013:22), it appears that the land reforms and agrarian reforms benefitted white commercial farmers more than black emerging farmers.

Despite signs of improvement for the emerging citrus farmers, a lot still needed to be done before these farmers could compete with commercial farmers. As long as they still relied on other institutions for exporting their produce, their full potential will not be realised. Due to the state of their pack-house (Ripplemead pack-house) which is dilapidated and does not meet the international standard, their products cannot be directly exported and have therefore to rely on the Riverside Pack-house for packing and export. A request had been submitted to the NLM and the Eastern Cape Department of Agriculture to assist them in the refurbishment of Ripplemead Pack-house. They were confident that should their pack-house meet the international standard they would then be able to export their product directly. The farmers also postulated that job opportunities would be created once the pack-house was in operation all the year round. These farmers challenged to the Eastern Cape government to avail more funds to develop citrus farming and to lure more potential farmers and/or assist the communities to develop the land alongside Keiskamma River.

During the interview, one of the farmers stated that there is enough land alongside Keiskamma River which could be developed for farming including citrus production. The community of Balteni, including their neighbouring communities such as Gcinisa and Zalaze, could benefit if such land could be developed. There is sufficient water for irrigation in this area. During the Bantustan era, this area had irrigation schemes. The recommendation would then be that, the government, local municipality and private sector should join hands and resuscitate agriculture in this area. Agriculture is the only economic activity in the district of Peddie. There are no mines and factories, hence the use of the only available resource (land) should be maximized.

The interview with an official from the NLM indicated that, in line with its vision, the NLM seeks to create an enabling agricultural environment. The municipality relies absolutely on the prioritisation of interventions that have the greatest impact both socially and economically. For these three citrus farmers, the NLM was facilitating provision and maintenance of infrastructure and production inputs. The municipality was facilitating the construction of a new pack house at Ripplemead. It was also negotiating with stakeholders such as the Department of Agriculture and Citrus Growers Association to assist in

construction of a new pack house. These efforts were done with the purpose of alleviating poverty within the jurisdiction of the NLM.

The intervention plan of the NLM as stated by their representative needed to be translated into action for them to have an impact on the affected farmers and communities. It is necessary that the NLM and the Eastern Cape government expedite the request from these farmers to refurbish the pack house. By implementing these interventions that contribute towards poverty alleviation, the authorities would have achieved some of their mandates. According to Kahn (2007:23) the households are sinking deeper into poverty and the gap between rich and poor is widening. The land reforms together with effective agrarian reforms have the potential to reduce food shortages and reduce poverty levels (Kahn 2007:23).

The ultimate results of post-apartheid agrarian reforms has worked to the advantage of emerging black farmers including the farmers in the area under research, (Ripplemead Citrus Farm, Naudeshoek Citrus Farm and Siyamila Citrus Farm) with the exclusion of Craighead Citrus Farm.

6.4. Recommendations

Eastern Cape is one of the poverty stricken provinces in the country. Eastern Cape is predominantly rural. Peddie District is also rural with no factories or mines. The only source of employment in this area is agriculture. The government is faced with the challenge of promoting and developing agriculture in this area. Besides citrus farming, the government should attract investors to invest on agriculture in this area. There is enough farming land and water in this district that needs to be utilized.

It is therefore recommended that the Eastern Cape government and the NLM heed the call from the three citrus farmers and the community to expedite assistance in the refurbishment of Ripplemead Pack-house. They should facilitate the development of the land alongside Keiskamma River (Zalazi and Gcinisa area), where the irrigation schemes used to be during the Ciskei era.

The government and the local municipality should pay attention to the plight of the community of Craighead (Kwatho) where citrus farming has been abandoned. If there are concerted efforts to alleviate poverty, there should be programmes from both provincial and local government to resuscitate the abandoned citrus orchards and develop the existing ones. Both levels of government should implement the programmes and plans rather than paying lip service to the challenges faced by the communities.

There is an example of Tyhefu irrigation scheme where private commercial farmers resuscitated the scheme and planted tomatoes. The area under study is having enough agricultural land and water, it is up to the government to invite investors to come and develop the land. Another good example is that of Peddie Pineapple Project wherein they formed partnerships between the community and Pineapple Growers Association. Communities in these areas under study should be encouraged and assisted to establish cooperatives and form joint ventures with commercial farmers. Taking into consideration the standard of education of the families in these communities, to understand the concept of cooperatives and its importance may be a challenge, therefore, the state has to take lead and guide them through the process. The government should educate the communities on the benefits of cooperatives, fund them and develop them so that they could produce for themselves without depending on government for their livelihoods.

The government could also influence the market to manufacture more merchandises using citrus products. They believe that if they could manufacture more products such as cosmetics, canned fruit and cleaning products from citrus production that would increase supply and demand.

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